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THE REIGN OF HENRY THE FIFTH

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THE REIGN OF HENRY THE FIFTH

BY

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PREFACE

AT the date of his death, on February 28th, 1914, Dr J. H. Wylie had corrected the proof sheets of this volume up to page 96. His manuscript of the whole volume was then substantially ready for the press, subject in many cases to the checking and verification of references in the notes, and to some passages of obscurity which were clearly intended to be revised. The manuscript is often difficult to read and follow and could, perhaps, only have been satisfactorily dealt with by one able to refer repeatedly to the authorities quoted. We do not claim more than to have attempted to reproduce the text and notes as written, in the hope that any errors in names and references, which will no doubt appear obvious to those acquainted with the subject matter, will be pardoned. They would not have occurred had the author lived to complete this work, the sole occupation of his leisure and the last thing in his thoughts when he died.

J. W.
A. M. W.

November, 1918.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

LANDING

ACCORDING to the latest orders[1] the ships were to be at Southampton by Lammas (Aug. 1, 1415), but long before that date vast numbers of sailors[2] had been drawing wages at various ports, and when the king arrived a fleet of at least 1500 vessels[3] of all sizes from 20 tuns portage and upwards had assembled, but even these were insufficient for the work, and though as late as July 27[4] an order was issued to secure more vessels, yet in the end many of the troops had to be left behind for lack of transport[5]. At length, when all victuals and other freight had been embarked[6], the king left Porchester[7] on Wednesday, Aug. 7[8], and went on board his ship[9] the Trinity Royal[10], which was standing ready[11] in the open roadstead between the Hamble and the entrance to Portsmouth harbour[12]. She was the best and most noble ship in the kingdom and was

[1] Caxton, Chron. 144; Brut, ii. 375.

[2] Reported at Bordeaux as 22,000 on June 8, 1415, Jurade, 193. For account of John Jacobson (3 H. V), for wages paid to sailors going with the king to France, see For. Accts. P.R.O. p. 21.

[3] See App. X[2].

[4] Pat. 3 H. V, i. 25, which also calls for more bows, arrows and strings.

[5] Par defaute d'eskipeson, Hunter, 8; Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 223, 226, 229.

[6]
And alle her schippes were redy dight,
And fraught with vitayles and wel pight.
Laud Troy Book, 81.

Cf. vitayled and frauzt, ibid. 366.

[7] For previous embarkations of King John and Edward III at Porchester, see Archaeol. Inst. (Winchester), 30, 41.

[8] Gesta, 13; Hard. 389. En la saison d'aoust, Cordeliers, 228. Called Aug. 10 in Tyler, ii. 142; or Aug. 11 in Mon. Franc. ii. 165. Not that the embarkation was delayed "for some weeks" in consequence of Scrope's conspiracy, as Schmidt, ii. 248.

[9] Cf. I-entered withynne the schippis borde, Lydg. Troy Book, 121.

[10] Pat. 3 H. V, i. 29 d; Nicolas, 99.

[11] Standing redi on the see, Laud Troy Book, 37.

[12]
Betwene Hampton and the Yle of Wyght,
These goodly shippes lay there at rode. Harflet, App. 71.

known as the king's chamber, other ships in his immediate attendance being called his wardrobe, his larder, his kitchen, and so forth[1]. She flew the Trinity banner[2] with 2 streamers and 8 getons, gay with figures of the Trinity, and of Our Lady, and the arms of St Edward[3], St George and England[4]. Her top-castle was burnished with a copper-gilt crown[5]; on her capstan was a sceptre wrought with three fleur-de-lis[6], and at her beak-head[7] stood a painted wooden leopard[8] crowned with copper-gilt. She had just been launched from a dock[9] at Greenwich[10] where she had been undergoing extensive enlargements and repairs[11],

[1] Black Book of Admiralty, i. 11; cf. pro stuffurâ cujusdam navis ordinatae pro Aulâ ejusdem Reginae (i.e. Philippa going to Denmark in 1406)℄ Rym. viii. 447; Archaeologia, xi. 155; Charnock, 363; Wylie, ii. 447. Called regium thalamum, regiam aulam in Tit. Liv. 33; First Life, 80.

[2] For the Trinity Banner with triangle, see Soleil, 212; Retrospective Rev. (1827), Frontispiece; Nicolas, 114, 331; Knight, ii. 64; Towle, 324. Cf. Fourth they went in the name of the Trynyte, Harflet, App. 71.

[3] At Westmynster seynt Edward shall not fayle, Lydg. Min. Po. 112.

[4] For. Accts. 8 H. V, m. 32 (Catton's); Exch. Accts. 49/29 (Soper's).

[5] 1 corona de cupr' de aurat p' le Topp' with 1 spindell ferri p' eâdem, For. Accts. 8 H. V, m. 32, or "spynell," Exch. Accts. 49/29, m. 4. Cf. "a corone of laton" (i.e. copper and zinc), Oppenheim, Accts. 39 (1492). She carried 1 toppe, 10 stockynge spars, 1 boat (*batell'*) with a mast and sail, and 2 cockboats (coks), For. Accts. 8 H. V, m. 32.

[6] 1 septr' aur' de cupr' p. le capstan scilicet ad modum trium florum deliciar' op̃at, Exch. Accts. 49/29, though referred to the Holy Ghost by Oppenheim, Accts. 190.

[7] Ibid. 39.

[8] 1 leopard lingn' (*sic*); 1 leop. ligneus pictatus, Exch. Accts. 49/29 (4), Oppenheim, 15.

[9] Post extractionem ejusdem del Dok in aquam, For. Accts. 8 H. V. Called mud ground surrounded by a fence of brushwood, Oppenheim, Accts. xxxv. The order for her construction was issued on Nov. 8, 1413, and the account records payment of £1686. 15*s.* 11½*d.* between that date and Jan. 17, 1416, where she is called the "Trinité de la Tour" (not Roiall). She was in the Thames under the charge of 12 ship-keepers, from Feb. 16, 1415, to March 21 (or June 20), 1415, and 25 sailors were working in her "circa rigging" from Jan. 20 to July 4, 1415. For ship-keepers and riggers, see Oppenheim, Accts. xxvi.

[10] For. Accts. 8 H. V, which contains entries of payments for oak-branches and bark used in building her (Jan. 29, 1416); also for sale of old timber, such as shores, planks and piles afterwards (Jan. 2, 1416). Cf. apud Depfordstrande juxta Grenewich, Exch. Accts. 49/29 (Soper's account for making the "Thomas de la Tour" in Sept. 1420); not at Southampton, as Oppenheim, 13.

[11] Pro elargacione et emendacione of Trinite Roiall, Exch. Accts. 49/29, m. 1; de novo elargando, construendo et faciendo apud Grenwich, For. Accts. 8 H. V, showing payments for her when lying in le Dok, for timber (sawn and unsawn) in boards, pitch, grease (*cepo*), Bewer, whitelead, redlead, vermilion, coperas, verdegres, vernysh, gold, Smaplake hide, fyne ffemyroker (? Flemish ochre), ruskinoker and tynfoil, with charges for carriage of timber to Greenwich from Eltham, Westwode, Hatfeld, Heybregh, Lellingho, Colchester, Wodeham Park, Croydon, Horsemynden, Ealdeng (i.e. Yalding), Newhithe, Bromley, Levesham, Bexley, London, Langle Park and Holwode, some of the oaks being gifts from the Abbots or Priors of Byleigh, Colchester, Canterbury, St Osyth, Hatfield and Dorchester and the Dean of St Paul's. For £140+£13. 6*s.* 8*d.* paid for building and repairing the king's ship La Trinite at Greenwich, see Iss. Roll 1 H. V, Mich., Nov. 8, Dec. 1, 9, 1413; also £66 paid Oct. 30, 1414, and £133. 6*s.* 8*d.*, April 17, 1415, for making La Trinite at Greenwich, Q. R. Accts. 44/24. Two of the king's

and from existing accounts we know that she had a portage of 500 tuns and a crew of 300 men, including a constable, a carpenter and her master whose name was Stephen Thomas[1].

When the king came on board, her sail was hoisted[2] to half-mast as a signal to the swarms of other craft that lay scattered among the neighbouring creeks to be ready for instant departure as soon as they should get their weathering[3]. As each came up she struck sail[4] to the Trinity and fell into position astern, and as they lay dotted across the haven in the gay sunlight, their red waists[5] decked with strange serpents[6], their bulwarks splayed with gay tapets[7] and hung with red-cross pavises[8], their sails[9] broidered with swans and

balingers (i.e. the Gabrielle de la Tour and the Peter) were employed in transporting materials, the latter going to Winchelsea, Smallhithe and Newhithe for timber and board to be shipped thence to Greenwich.

[1] Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Jan. 23, 1416. He was still her master on Feb. 27, March 19, 1417, Sept. 26, 1418, though her crew was then reduced to 130; see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Mich., where she is called Trinité Royal de la Tour. In For. Accts. 8 H. V, she is magna navis regis Le Trinité; Iss. Roll 6 H. V, Pasch.

[2] Cf. hoise up saile...hyse his sayle, Black Book, i. 25, 37; hoise up sailes, Holinsh. iii. 549; velis elevatis, Rym. ix. 508; haunced saylles up, Melusine, 269; tendre et traire les voiles, Frois. i. 106; firent voile, Margry, 194; they hoysed theyr sayles aloft...the saylles shuld be had up to the wynde, Melusine, 164; have up the sayle, Pol. Songs, ii. 182; or "halen up," Pauli-Hertzberg, 46; "halled up," First Life, 70.

[3] Loseth his wederyng, Black Book, i. 117.

[4] For "strike sail," see Lydg. Troy Book, 377; Hazlitt, iv. 50; cf. avaller, Black Book, i. pp. xxiii, 131; vailing her high top, Merchant of Venice, i. i. 28. For this salute supposed to date back to the reign of King John, see Black Book, i. xxiii, though the early records are said to be apocryphal, Stubbs, ii. 314. For abattre le tref (i.e. la grande voile, voile de tempête, Jal, s.v.; Cotgr., s.v.; but called mast or yard-arm in Godefroy, s.v.) as a sign of surrender to pirates on the high seas, see Fréville, ii. 280.

[5] For painting on the hull, see Wylie, iv. 305; cf. dightes yowre schipps, Laud Troy Book, 77.

[6] For a ship built in 1448 for Charles, Duke of Orleans, for use on the Loire, with dragons and serpents below the castle and the name in Irish oak, see Champollion, Meuble, i. 100.

[7] See Humphreys, Frois. i. Plate 1; Montfaucon, ii. 334; Besant, Survey, i. 83; cf. windowes with carpettis splayed, Mann. and Meals, i. 179. For arms painted on linen for ships, see Sercambi, ii. 38.

[8] For pictures of ships (middle 15th century) with shields hung over the sides, from Harl. MS. 4379, see Frois. (Johnes), iv. 171; Humphreys, Froissart, Plate IV; Strutt, Manners, ii. Plate XLIII; Montfaucon, ii. 334; L'Illustration, Vol. vi. p. 252 (Dec. 20, 1845); Roncière, ii. 472; Nicolas, Navy, i. Frontispiece; Cassell, i. Frontispiece; ii. 163; Roujoux-Mainguet, i. 464; Aubrey, ii. 84. For £10 paid to William Soper for making pavys pro navibus at Southampton, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., July 24, 1416. For pavois de gallée at Rouen (1410), see C. Beaurepaire, Invent. Rouen, 41; called a Brustwehr in Jähns, 1238. For "pavesses," see Oppenheim, Accts. 51, where they are "survivals of great shields fixed in earlier days along the bulwarks till fighting commenced."

[9] For ships with painted sails, see Craik-Macfarlane, i. 831 (temp. R. II); Bloom, 225 (i.e. seal of Hastings); also Supino, Camposanto, 138, in the frescoes of S. Ranieri in the Campo Santo at Pisa; Lafenestre, 121; Strutt, ii. Pl. XV, XLII; Carysfort, Pag. ix, xxxvi (from MS. Julius, E. IV); Archaeologia, XX. 75; Thomson, Pt. III.

antelopes[1], and dressed with worsted ensigns[2], standards[3], getons[4], pensels[5] and streamers[6], with the arms of England and St George[7] fluttering endlong[8] and spreading overhead[9], square banners with the leopard or the ostrich-feathers on buckram or white linen planted on poop and prow[10], and the great bellying sails ablaze with painted heraldry[11], the picture seemed a second Paradise[12].

[1] For 1 sign (i.e. ensign) de worsted, 1 swan cont', also with 1 antelope ascendent' sup. uno belyn cont' cooptor' ordinat', p' corpore veli ejusdem navis (i.e. the Thomas de la Tour), see Exch. Accts. 49/29.

[2] For 4 sign' de worsted broudat' p. vel' navium regis, one of them with the king's arms, see For. Accts. 8 H. V, m. 31; also 1 sign' for sail embroidered with king's arms in panno de worsted, and 1 cooptor' de worsted sufficient for 2 bonnets of such sail, Exch. Accts. 49/29; 1 sign' parva with king's arms embroidered in panno de worsted, For. Accts. 8 H. V, m. 32; 1 signum de worsted embroidered with a swan ad infigend' infra vel', Exch. Accts. 49/29.

[3] For 22 standards de diversis armis for Trinity Royal and Holy Ghost, also 2 standardes and 1 streynour, see For. Accts. 8 H. V, m. 31. For a linen standard cum j leopardo (1415), see Wardrobe Accts. 406/26.

[4] For guion, pendon, bandera and estandarte on the poop, see Navarette, p. 387. For 22 gitons diversis modis broudat', see For. Accts. 8 H. V, m. 31. For 1 geton de Plum' Hestrie (i.e. ostrich-feathers), and 1 del swan, see ibid. m. 32; also for the Holy Ghost, Exch. Accts. 49/29 (5). For gittons (Fr. guedon), see Oppenheim, Accts. 40.

[5] For 400 pencels bete with ragged staffes of silver, 1 gyton of 8 yards long for the ship, 1 grete stremer 40 yards long and 8 yards broad for the ship, powdered with ragged staves, for Richard, Earl of Warwick, in 1428, see Dugdale, Warwickshire, 292.

[6] For pictures of streamers, see Strutt, Manners, ii. Pl. XLII; Duro, 440. For 5 streynours of worsted broudat' for the Holy Ghost, see For. Accts. 8 H. V, m. 31. For standards and streamers of linen cloth or say, see Oppenheim, Accts. xxiv. For 4 streamers with swans and ostrich feathers, see Exch. Accts. 49/29. For 1 strem. of St Nicholas for the balinger Gabriel, see For. Accts. 8 H. V, m. 32.

[7] For divers banners (vexill'), pennons, trappings (trappura) and pensels made of buckram, satin, tartrin with the king's arms, the arms of St George, and ostrich feathers, together with linen standards, getons and streamers (*strem.*) for the king's ships, see Wardrobe Accts. 406/26. For St George's Banner, see Oppenheim, 15.

[8] Wylie, iv. 76; Retrospective Rev. i. 208; or "andelong," Halliwell, i. 60; endelong the stronde, Lydg. Troy Book, 40, 274, 322, 383, 412, 423; alenonlong the nekke, York, 99.

[9]
With mast yardes across full semely of sight,
Over all the haven sprede abrode,
On every panes (i.e. pavise) a crosse rede,
The wastes decked with serpentynes,
St George's stremers spred over hede,
With the arms of England hangynge all alonge.
Harflet, App. 71.

Clowes, i. 125, 135, 147; cf. the baners and standarts wayved with the wind upon the toppes, Melusine, 266.

[10] Ensignes high upon each Pup and Prow, Drayton, 33. For St George's square banner at the prow, see seals of Faversham (Hasted, ii. 710), Rye (Boys, 782; Lewis, iii. 723; Pedrick, p. 108, Pl. XXXV), Tenterden (Boys, 815, 822; Pedrick, p. 118, Pl. XXXIX), Lyme Regis (Duro, 60; Lewis, iii. 200; Pedrick, p. 88, Pl. XVI), and Yarmouth (ibid. p. 134, Pl. XLIII).

[11] Cf. saile red of hewe, Lydg. Min. Po. 50; with ryche sayles and heye top-castell, Harflet. App. 71; sayles faire of floures, Speght, 358; Sherzer, 65; Chaucer (Aldine), vi. 198. For St George's Cross on sail, see Bianco's map (1436) in Santarem, Atlas, 50; Vigne, ii. 19, Plate XLIV. For ship on seal of the "Admiral of Suffolk," from Bibl. Nat. MS. Clairambault, 825, p. 56, see Roncière, ii. 248. Probably William de la Pole, E. of Suffolk, who was made Admiral of Normandy, May 19, 1419, Boyle, iii. 436.

[12] Vita, 37; a goodly syght it was to see, Harflet, App. 71.

As the ships lay dancing in the roadstead, one of them caught fire, not wholly, it seems probable, as the result of accident[1]. The flames spread to two others and all three had to be abandoned to their fate till their timbers burnt to the water's edge[2], none daring to approach for fear of spreading the destruction. Again advice poured in to recognise the hand of God and go no further with the business, or at least let the king remain at home and keep himself out of harm's way[3]. But he would not be dissuaded, and it was thus with forebodings of deep gloom that the ships at length drew up sail[4] and weighed anchor[5] with the tide amidst the din of drums and trumpets[6] and the shouting of the crews at 3 o'clock in the afternoon[7] of Sunday, Aug. 11, 1415[8], on which day a document was signed at Portsmouth[9] formally appointing the Duke of

[1] See Vol. i. p. 525.

[2] Le marien d'icelles navires ardoit tout cler a flambe dedens l'eaue, Le Fèvre, i. 224; Waurin, ii. 180.

[3] Pro cujus exitu plurimum sollicita reddebaris, Vita, 70.

[4] Ther sail is drawe, Laud Troy Book, 12, 535; drow up sail, ibid. 34, 87; thei drew ther sayle unto the top, ibid. 106, 548; thei turned ster and sail up drow, ibid. 366; lifte up saiel, Lydg. Troy Book, 48; the sail on high, the stere on honde, Gower, Conf. 430; the sayle is up, Skelton, 33.

[5] Every ship wayed his anker in dede,
With the tide to haste them to the se. Harflet, App. 71.
Toke up theire ancres, Melusine, 265; here ankeres alle in-wounde, Laud Troy Book, 106; to hale up anker, Lydg. Troy Book, 46, 241, 316; our ankers up we pulle, ibid. 373; drow up anker and her ropes, Laud Troy Book, 487; losed both anker and cordes, ibid. 535; weigh up anchors, Holinsh. iii. 549; Wylie, ii. 387; disanker, First Life, 70.

[6] For le Départ with trumpeters at the poop, see Roncière, i. 268, 370; Wylie, iv. 76; cf. subito auratis vexillis copiosâ militum et armatorum manu effulsere ac plausibus sonoque tubarum aera verberarunt, Pisano, 37 (of the departure of the fleet from Lisbon for Ceuta in 1415); al tant les galeres van tocar las trompes et los tabals (i.e. tambours), Vidal, Perpignan, 311, from Dez Clots. For pictures of trumpeters in the stern (13th century), see Vigne, ii. 4, Plate XII; also in stern-castle and on bowsprit, De Witt, 19 (circ. 1450). See also seals of New Shoreham (Jewitt-Hope, ii. 371), Dover, 1305 (Boys, 797; Lewis, ii. 82; Pedrick, p. 61, Pl. XXIII), and Southampton (Lewis, iv. 143).

[7] Chron. Lond. 100.

[8] St Tiburtius, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 106; Gesta, 13; Capgr. De Illustr. 115; the morrow after St Laurence, Chron. Lond. 100; Kingsford, Lit. 294; not "in the spring of 1415," as Power, p. 1; nor June 13, Kingsford, Lit. 325; nor Aug. 7, as York, xxiv; nor Aug. 10, as Hazlitt, ii. 97; J. E. Price, 188; L. W. Pulling, 552; nor Aug. 12, as First Life, 33; Greg. Chron. 109; Sharpe, i. 258; nor Aug. 13, as Tit. Liv. 8; Vita, 36 [though both of these reckon Sept. 22 as the 38th day of the siege (Tit. Liv. 11; Vita, 50) and ought therefore to start the expedition on Aug. 11]; Pol. Verg. 443; Stow, Chron. 347; Duck, 69; Furnivall, in Hoccleve, Min. Po. xx; Larrey, 810; Wright, i. 469; nor Aug. 14, as Halle, 62; Holinsh. iii. 549; nor Aug. 15, as Goodwin, 67; Guthrie, ii. 460; Brougham, 110; Towle, 296; nor Aug. 17, as Roujoux, ii. 242; nor Aug. 18, as Rapin, iii. 442; Tindal, i. 511; Lediard, i. 65; Tickell, 40; nor Aug. 19, as Mazas, Vies, v. 570.

[9] Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 41; Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 353; Rym. ix. 305, although he had already drawn part of his allowance, e.g. £666. 13*s.* 4*d.*, Rec. Roll 3 H. V, Pasch., June 8, 1415. In Waurin, ii. 177, Henry appoints him avant son partement de Londres, see Vol. i. p. 455. For documents signed by him as custos Angliae on Aug. 28, Sept. 1, 1415, see Rym. ix. 309, 310.

Bedford as Warden of England until the king should himself return.

Though Harfleur had been clearly indicated as their probable destination some months before[1] and it was obvious to all that they could not stay in France two months unless they secured some large port[2], yet up to the very hour of starting there was no certainty as to the point for which they were to make[3], some thinking that they might merely be crossing the narrow sea, while others were expecting a long voyage which would land them ultimately in Guienne[4]. The French expected them at Boulogne and the Flemings kept a constant look-out for them along the coast from Nieuport to Sluys[5]. But as the armament included a siege train and heavy guns it was surmised that they were making for some town on the Normandy coast where hard fighting would soon be forthcoming.

The wind was good[6] as they put to sea and as they coasted along the Isle of Wight a flock of swans, probably from the breeding-ground at Brading, clustered about the king's ship and put heart into those who cared to read the omen cheerfully. The Earl of Dorset[7], as Admiral[8], acted as convoy

[1] i.e. before April 19, 1415, Devon, 340.

[2] S'il n'avoit grant port, Mirot, Fusoris, 178.

[3] Celato poene omnibus praeterquam strictissimo suo concilio quorsum proras verteret, Gesta, 10; Chron. Giles, 10; ignorantibus universis, St Denys, v. 532; Goodwin, 61; non cognovit rex traditionem usque in articulum temporis, Capgr. De Illustr. 114. K. Stephen (130) thinks that Harfleur was "the first town that came in his way."

[4] As parties de Guien ou aillours, Rym. ix. 224, 260; Duval-Pineu, ii. 189. For muster of William, Lord Bourchier (30+80) for *Guienne* in 3 H. V, see Dugd. ii. 128; though he was certainly present at Agincourt, Wylie, Notes, 137. In the compact signed at Ypres on Aug. 7, 1414 (Vol. i. p. 415), the troops to be supplied by the Duke of Burgundy might be required to travel versus partes Attquitanie pro conquesta, Cartellieri, Beitrage, iv. 8, 22. For "les gages de Guyenne," see Rym. ix. 258; Vol. i. p. 457.

[5] Gilliodts van Severen, 338.

[6] The wynde was goode and blew but softe, Harflet, App. 71; Lydg. Troy Book, 48, 321; nullis ventorum praepedita tumultibus, Vita, 37.

Par ung matin cler et serin,
Et par le gri de Dieu Nerin. Pastoralet, 759.

The wind sitts fair and the calme sea smiles, G. Daniel, iv. 123; Drayton, Ballad in George and Sidgwick, 1–5, etc.

[7] Sloane MS. 4600, f. 277, which contains an order dated June 20, 1415, for him to remain at sea safeguarding it. For payment (£1231. 15*s.* 0*d.*) to him for this purpose with 50+150 from June 24 to Nov. 1, 1415, including £419. 5*s.* 0*d.* paid to the masters of 4 ships at 6*d.* per day, and 3*d.* per day each to 250 sailors, see Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 180; not £1631. 15*s.* 0*d.* as Nicolas, App. p. 21.

[8] For "Admiral" as a land officer, see Laud Troy Book, *passim*. It is derived from the Arabic "Emir" or Count, see Trokelowe, 30; Stubbs, i. 666; ii. 313, 314, who dates the appointment of a single Admiral in 1360. Previously (i.e. since 1306), the jurisdiction had been divided according to districts, e.g. from Dover to Cornwall and from the Thames to Berwick, Black Book of Admiralty, i. 19, 411; Nicolas, Navy, ii. 487. For seal of the Earl of Dorset as Admiral of England and of Aquitaine, with a

with three large ships, six barges and six balingers, carrying a fighting force of 150 men-of-arms and 300 archers, one of his vessels taking the lead with two lanterns at her mast-head[1]. The king gave the orders on the voyage and after two nights' uneventful sailing[2] they sighted the beacon on the Castilian tower[3] erected on the groyne[4] or tongue of land long since washed away[5], at the foot of the great chalk headland then known to the French as the *Chef de Caux*[6], and to the English as "Kidcaus" or "Kidcocks[7]." This was at early dawn on Tuesday, Aug. 13[8], and by five o'clock

cresset on the poop, see Nicolas, Navy, i. title-page; Hope, Plate XIV; with similar seal of Richard III when Duke of Gloucester, with arms on sail, do. Plate LXXIV. For the Earl of Dorset's re-appointment as Admiral of England, Ireland and Aquitaine, June 3, 1413, see Black Book, I. cix; Wylie, i. 376, note 6. For treatise on the office and function of the Admiral, a beautiful, clean, legible MS. (Vespasian B, xxii), probably written and illuminated for him about this time, see Black Book, I. xviii; Warner, Ser. II, who suggests that it was compiled for John Cokayn, one of the judges of Common Pleas (d. 1438), because of special mention of the feast of the dedication of the church at Ashbourne in Derbyshire; cf. Wylie, ii. 339, note 2. The latest entry = March 21, 1413, with the death of Henry V added in another hand. In Bree, 85, he remains Admiral till July 26, 1426. He died Jan. 1, 1427, Dict. Nat. Biog. lv. 50. For John Urban as Lieutenant of the Admiral of England, see Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 366, 406, July 13, Oct. 23, 1415.

[1] For light at the mast-head of William the Conqueror's ship in sailing from Dives in 1066, see Freeman, iii. 398, who calls it "the guiding-star of the whole navy." For ship with a lantern on the top-castle, see seal of the Earl of Huntingdon in 1443, Bibl. Top. Brit. ii. 34; Clowes, i. 383. Cf. el so fano inpiado, Morosini, i. 128, 131; Wylie, i. 321.

[2]
Theyr course they toke towarde Normandye,
And passyd over in a day and a nyght.
So in the seconde morninge yerly,
Of that country they had a syght. Harflet, App. 71.

Not après qu'ilz eulrent longtemps waueie (i.e. wandered, see Godefroy, viii. 321, s.v. *Walcrer*) supz mer, as Pays-Bas, 353; nor after he had scattered a portion of the French fleet rencontré vers Harfleur, as Boulé, i. 414, which seems to be a confusion with the events of 1416.

[3] For the "foyer de guerre" or "feu des Castillans," placed there in 1364, see Borély, i. 97; A. Martin, Chef de Caux, 19, 27, 72, 73, 74. For la tour des Castillans washed away by the sea, see Morlent, Eva, 2. It probably stood near St Denis or St Adresse. For la Tour de Cordouan at the entrance of the Gironde, see Grande Encycl. xii. 957; Wylie, iii. 70. For pictures of towers built in the sea with a flaming brasier or hanging lantern in Genoa and Lübeck, see Münster, 136, 305, 562 (1545). For fallots (i.e. cressets or lanterns) at Rouen in 1410, see Richard, 67; Puiseux, Rouen, 21. For the Estbekenes at Calais, see Exch. Accts. 187/6.

[4] Que l'en face en touz temps de nuit feu au groing (or grouing, A. Martin, Chef de Caux, 18, 27) de Caux afin que les nefs et navires qui vinront au Port de Harafleur puissent venir seurément, Sauvage, 43; Ordonnances, iv. 428 (1364); Morosini, ii. 110. For "groing," i.e. ness, see Cotgr., Godefroy, s.v.

[5] In the 12th century it extended 600 mètres out to the banc de l'Eclat, A. Martin, Chef de Caux, 62, 76. Called "escale (?) qui remontait vraisemblablement à l'epoque romaine," Albert-Petit, 165. In 1524 the light is "assise *sur le bout* de la falaise," ibid. 74.

[6] Now the Cap de la Hève; not Cap d'Antifer, as Morlent, Arrondissement, ii. 43; quoting Marius Mercator.

[7] See App. O[2].

[8] Called the night of Aug. 14 in Monstr. 366; Le Fèvre, i. 225; Elmham, Lib. Metr. 106; "our Ladiez Evyn the Assumpcion," Brut, ii. 376, 553; "environ Lamy (i.e. la mi-) Aoust," Tillet, Guerres, 111a; not Aug. 16, as Nameche, iii. 54; nor Aug. 18, as

on the same afternoon they lowered sail and cast anchor[1] under the shelter of the head, where at that time a small town and harbour[2] existed, known as St Denis, which has long ago disappeared under shingle and shifting sand, and has been replaced by the suburb now known as St Adresse[3].

The town of Harfleur[4] lay on the north bank of the estuary where the little river Lézarde[5] flows into the Seine. Although at the time of the siege it was (as it still is) a good mile from the Seine[6], its name is in itself an evidence that it once had that river washing its very gates even at scant water[7], for the Norman pirates had called it "*Heruf-fluth*[8]" (i.e. "on the river"), while they called its opposite neighbour "*Onder Fluth*," now Honfleur, from its position on the other bank beyond the Seine[9]. In its very early days[10] the town of Harfleur had been granted to the great neighbouring Abbey of Montivilliers[11], but by the end of the

Cassell, i. 527; Aubrey, ii. 46; Bouchard, cli, who thinks that the English king was Henry IV; nor Aug. 21, as Tickell, 90; Hennebert, iii. 320; Labitte, 133; nor end of August, as Leyden, 342.

[1] Cf. thei lete doun saile and ankeres caste, Laud Troy Book, 148; Lydg. Troy Book, 377; every ship his anker let falle, Harflet, App. 171; cf. keste hyr ancres, J. Page, 10; ankeres gret cast in the sond, Kempe, 20; Laud Troy Book, 38; to cast an anker, Lydg. Min. Po. 50; do. Troy Book, 45, 129, 242; she kyste an anker, Skelton, i. 31; jecterent les ancres, Weale, Van Eyck, lxviii; anker thei caste and tyed here schippes in that port, Laud Troy Book, 81;

Thei made teye her schippes strong,
Fer in the depes and hir ancres caste.
Lydg. Troy Book, 392.

For picture of a ship held by the anchor (1441), see Schultz, 606.

[2] Port aux Bateaux, A. Martin, Chef de Caux, 30; cf. aler au Chief de Caux après le navire de l'armée qui là s'estoit assemblé (1382), Bréard, 87.

[3] Borély (i. 99) derives the name from une certaine adresse which was necessary in doubling the head. For a later story as to the origin of the name, see Macquoid, 160. See also A. Martin, Chef de Caux, pp. iv, 188.

[4] For modern view of Harfleur, see Janin, 96, 156; do. Normandie, 568; Dearmer, 324; Knight, ii. 35; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 35. Not that it was on the *left* bank of the Seine, as Macfarlane, Battles, 28; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 558.

[5] Not "Luzarde," as Vickers, 22. For the channel of the Lézarde assez large et profond flowing into the Seine at the Hoge (or Hoc, i.e. Hook) in 1676, as it does now, see Lamatte, 2.

[6] Gesta, 16. Cf.

Le parc qui sist joust la mer,
Harfleu dessus la marine. Pastoralet, 850.

Called "a little back from the Estuary" in Vickers, 21.

[7] Black Book of Admiralty, i. 111.

[8] Herufflueth, Deville, 63; not Heranfluet, as Morlent, Arrondissement, xxii, where Duke William of Normandy grants to the Abbey of Boscherville duas pensas salis in Heruffluet and Lure in 1050. For variations of spelling, see App. P[2].

[9] Duo fortalicia in maris situ priscorum providentia constructa Harofluctus ex latere Caleti et Honofluctus ex altero, Blondel, Expulsion, 54.

[10] i.e. in 1035, with the tonlieue, Dumont, Montivilliers, 8.

[11] For Herflew Montevilleris nomine, see Scotichron. iv. 1184. Not that it was "a little suburb" of Harfleur, as Strang, 73.

thirteenth century she had secured her independence[1], and as the Seine receded and the ceaseless silt of shingle[2] threatened to block her trade, she began to cut a fresh channel for the Lézarde to find its way out into the sea. Her salt marshes were always a source of profit[3] and in the course of time a prosperous trade[4] sprang up in weaving, washing, fulling and dyeing the grey woollens, burnets, blacks, scarlets, browny-greens, marbles and other mixtures for which the old Abbey town had long been famous all over Europe[5]. Harfleur had her own alnagers and boujonners, and her ingrains, migraines, crimsons and common cloths ranked with the "Musterdevilers" of her neighbour and rival, whose toilers[6] she affected to despise as compared with the quality that thronged her own streets[7]. She granted special privileges to foreigners, and trade flowed in from England[8], Ireland[9], Flanders, Genoa, Venice, Portugal[10], Aragon[11] and Castile[12]. Foreign money was abundant in the town[13]; knights, squires, merchants and soldiers embarked and re-embarked at her quays[14]; pirates found it just the right jumping-off place for a busy livelihood[15], and everywhere it was accounted not only as "the sovereign port" of Normandy[16] but as one of the best seaports in northern

[1] i.e. in 1281, Dumont, 6; Sauvage, 10.

[2] For bancs de galets at the mouth of the Seine, see Fréville, i. 79; also perreys et gligues, Dumont, 54.

[3] Morlent, Le Havre, ii. 77; marais salients, A. Martin, i. 145.

[4] In 1387 the trade of Harfleur includes grains d'escarlates, madder (*garence*), boure de soie, etc., A. Martin, i. 116, 117, 123.

[5] On y fait beaucoup de draps d'étoffes fines, Gamez, 315; Dumont, 62; de moult bons draps, Bouvier, Description, 48; see App. Q[2].

[6] Gens de mestier et de labour (1378), Sauvage, 58; Dumont, 14.

[7] Morlent, Arrondiss. 25, guesses the population at 100,000.

[8] A cause que les niefs d'Engleterre viendrent plus tot au dit port, Exch. Accts. 32/18, from John Pelham's account, Oct. 1414, as a reason for sailing to Harfleur in English ships.

[9] For trade with Dartmouth and Limerick in 1397, see Fréville, ii. 263, 265.

[10] For privileges to Portuguese merchants in 1362 and 1387, see Picot, i. 233; Hippeau, 126; A. Martin, i. 124–127. For Portuguese ships at Harfleur in 1309, 1341, 1350, 1362, see Morosini, ii. 23.

[11] For Lombards and merchants of Aragon and Majorca with their valés ou bermans (see Wylie, iv. 335) at Harfleur in 1340, see Formeville, 290.

[12] Sauvage, 27; Fréville, i. 256, 257; Black Book of Admiralty, II. pp. lv, lvii. For privileges granted to Castilians in 1364, see Ordonnances, iv. 423; A. Martin, i. 197.

[13] For coiners at Harfleur in 1390, see Duplès-Agier, i. 481.

[14] Les chevalier, escuier, marinaulx et aultres gens, Sauvage, 62; cf. soudoyer (i.e. mercenaries) in 1338, Fréville, i. 261; Dumont, 8.

[15] For pirates of Harfleur in 1404, see Roy. Let. i. 128; Echard, i. 184, who calls it "a place grown opulent by Piracy."

[16] L'un des plus notables ports de ce royaume et clef du pays (April 25, 1417), D. Godefroy, Charles VI, p. 680; clef de tout pays, Monstr. 399; Plancher, III. cccivj

France[1]. In 1404[2] the Duke of Orleans collected a large fleet there in readiness for a descent on England. On Jan. 24, 1405, Jean de Béthencourt[3] landed there after 21 days' sailing from Fuerteventura[4], and five months later, i.e. on May 5, 1405[5], he collected 160 fighting men there (24 of whom were accompanied by their wives), and re-embarked in two barges on his second voyage to the Canaries[6], while in 1406, when the English were expected to make a descent on the place[7], 12 armed vessels were assembled in the harbour prepared for the customary reprisals[8]. Nowadays the visitor to Harfleur will need the fullest help from his imagination to realise the activity of those busy years. The river is there, with the bridge, the church, a few silent streets and large portions of the ditch and the walls, but the basin which once formed the galley-close is now filled up and forms a restful *Place d'Armes*[9] on which the burgesses may promenade in somnolent reflection on the trade and traffic of a vanished past.

In the days of which we write the site now covered by the docks of Havre was an unpeopled swamp belted with a huge pebble bank called the Hoc[10], which shifted with the

clef du pays de Normandie en laquelle y a port de mer, Juv. 509; famosiorem portum tocius ducatus et qui in omnes terras vela mittit, St Denys, vi. 100; portum munitissimum Normanniae, Scotichron. iv. 1184; Monstr. 367; Waurin, ii. 184; La Motte, 31; Dumont, 6; Jouin, Voyage, 95, 97; do. Normandie, 568; Cochet, Eglises, i. 140; Letellier, 394; Morlent, Le Havre, xxii; do. Arrondiss. ii. 21; Halle, 62; Grafton, 513; A. Martin, i. 172; ii. 5, 12; toujours bien munie et riche et marchande, Gamez, 315; Dumont, 62; ein gude stat, Hegel, ii. 106; eyne mechtige stad, Posilge, 358. It is called "der Hafen von Paris" in Köhler, ii. 742. Not "the chief seaport of France," as Airy, i. 143.

[1] Un des meilleurs portz de mer nous appartenants en Languedoylx (1385), Sauvage, 18; une des notables villes du roy de France, Blanchard, v. 205; i.e. excluding the ports of Languedoc such as Bordeaux, Marseilles, Toulon, Agde and Aigues Mortes.

[2] Wylie, i. 467. For 46 liv. 10 sols paid for white linen and buckram (bougrante or bougrans, C. Louandre, i. 183; cf. doublé de bougran, Novilleau, 312; bolerean, Engelrechts, 218) for standards and pennons for this occasion, see Add. Ch. 50, Sept. 22, 1404.

[3] Duro, 251. For pictures of him, see Charton, iii. 4, 8.

[4] Otherwise called Albanné or Elbanne, see Wylie, i. 239.

[5] Béthencourt (Gravier), 156, 160, 161; Azurara, II. lxix, lxxiii; Morlent, Arrondiss. ii. 25; Sauvage, 64; Delisle (Margry), 15; Merk, 46.

[6] For the bishopric of Rubicon in Lanzarote founded by Benedict XIII, July 1, 1404, see Eubel, zur Gesch. 267. For a bishopric of the Canaries founded by Innocent VII, see Merk, 46.

[7] Deville, Tancarville, 170.

[8] Wylie, iii. 45.

[9] De ce port si vaste il n'existe plus aucune trace, Belleval, 43; Kingsford, 242.

[10] i.e. the Hook; cf. "potte-hok," Walcott, Osyth, 11. The name still survives in the Pointe du Hoc, where the Lézarde now enters the Seine. For an excellent map of the Hoc at the present outfall of the Lézarde, showing the Lazaret still standing as two desolate blocks of unoccupied buildings known as the Hospital, see Morlent,

roll of the sea from the Cap de la Hève to Tancarville[1], and Harfleur's rival was not Havre, which as yet had no existence save for a little chapel where thank-offerings were hung up to Our Lady in gratitude for deliverance from the perils of the sea, but its predecessor the port of Leure[2], which sprang up in the eleventh century on a creek that has long since been reclaimed and is now built over with streets in a dismal suburb of Havre that still bears its name. For a time it throve rapidly and during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries its haven, known as the Fosse, was crowded with shipping, its relative importance when compared with Harfleur being proved by the fact that of the French fleet that was defeated at Sluys in 1340, Harfleur had sent 9 ships with 800 men, while Leure sent 42 ships with no less than 4560[3] men. But in those pre-engineering days the remorseless pebbles were fatal to all the seaports on the French side of the Channel. The trade of Leure declined and she was powerless to resist a devastating attack made by the Navarrese in 1361[4], after which she never lifted head, and the Fosse where once the world's shipping used to ride is now a centre of street traffic quite cut off from access to the sea.

Before the close of the thirteenth century[5] we have evidence that the men of Harfleur had determined to secure an independent outlet for their trade[6] by turning the channel of the Lézarde into the creek of Graville[7] in order to avoid transhipment of goods into lighters[8] at the Fosse of Leure

Arrondiss. ii. For dem Hocke in dem Swene (i.e. Houcke near Damme in the Zwyn), see Black Book of Admiralty, iv. 358, 360, 362; also Hook near Goole, Hamble-in-the-Hook near Portsmouth, see Vol. i. page 525; also Hok or Hogges (i.e. La Hougue), Hunter, Proofs, 383.

[1] A. Martin, i. 98, 114. For picture of Tancarville Castle, see Cotman-Turner, i. 101.

[2] See App. R[2].

[3] Fréville, i. 262; Lacabane, 15; Lalanne, 81; Dumont, 8; not 54 ships as Guérin, i. 264. For list of the ships with their names and those of their owners and captains, see Borély, i. 445; A. Martin, i. 169; Ronciere, i. 440.

[4] A. Martin, i. 191–193; ii. 8.

[5] Fréville, i. 81, 82; Beugnot, III. i. p. 11; Dumont, 55.

[6] In the direction of Ingouville, Fréville, i. 82.

[7] For la Crique de Graville ou costé de Leure (1403), see ibid. ii. 275. Called Fossa Girdivillae in the 9th century, A. Martin, i. 45, 46. For embouchure of the Lézarde at Graville, temp. Henry V, see Morlent, Le Havre, ii. 70, though doubted in Cochet, Eglises, i. 60. For la Crique d'Espaigne (1475), see Dumont, 57.

[8] Mercaturas quas mercatores tradent et liberabunt batellariis allevando naves pro veniendo de Lora apud Harefleu (1310), Deville, Tancarville, 164; alléges charges de les porter du havre de Leure a Harfleur, Sauvage, 22; tonneaux de vin qui furent deschargiez à Leure, Sauvage, 36; Morlent, ii. 76.

and the consequent exaction of dues[1]; but Leure objected that they were thereby "completely diverting the fresh water from its ancient and natural course[2]." This protest however was without avail, and it is certain that by the middle of the fourteenth century[3] ships sailed up on the tide to Harfleur by the creek[4], those coming by the Fosse of Leure paying double duty at Graville, which was the boundary of the jurisdiction of the two provosties of Harfleur and Leure[5], being itself just within the limits of the former. In 1403 a visitor to Harfleur described half of the town as bordering on the sea[6], meaning thereby the western portion towards Graville, where ships were moored close under the walls of the castle[7], which stood on a mound at the foot of the hill below the Priory, near the aqueduct which conveys water by the high-road to Havre. In 1394[8] we have a note of ships from Rouen coming to anchor in the creek of Graville, because the haven of Leure was unsafe, and Graville was now a regular port of departure for vessels crossing the Seine to Honfleur, while in 1418, goods were

[1] For the customs of Leure, see Sauvage, 39; also of Harfleur to be paid at the creek of Graville (1387), see Fréville, ii. 147, 153, 155, 163, 275. For le hable d'entre la ville de Harefleur et le Leure in 1372, see Dumont, 13; el chable de Leure et de Harfleur, Sauvage, 24.

[2] Borély, i. 101; A. Martin, i. 101.

[3] i.e. circa 1350; et là (i.e. at Harfleur) venoient et povoient venir poser et descharger iceulx nefs et vesseaulx, Fréville, ii. 279.

[4] Naguères il a pleu à Dieu que depuis un pou de temps en ça le cour et le diep de l'eaue soit mue tellement que les nefs les quelles apportoient les marchandises ne povoient passer la dicte fosse de Leure ou le dit vieil hable sans deschargier aux lieux et ils viennent maintenant (i.e. in 1403) jusques auprès de la dicte ville de Harefleu et au dessus tout es mettes d'icelle prevosté de Harefleu et hors des mettes de la dicte prevosté de Leure et ouquel lieu eulx sont plus a seur de tous malveillans qu'ils n'estoient ne seroient en la dicte fosse ou vieil hable de leure, Fréville, ii. 276; Dumont, 13. For payment to a marinier d'avoir porté en son fousset (vaissel) from Harfleur to the Fosse de Leure in 1382, see Bréard, 71, 72, 87, 88.

[5] La prévosté de Leure (1404), C. Beaurepaire, Invent. Rouen, 24; Fréville, ii. 275. For the le Prévôt de Leure (1402), see ibid. i. 292; ii. 269, 271. For praepositurae de Hareflu et de Lure, see Puiseux, Emigration, 120. The two places remained under separate jurisdictions each with its own customs. For "provosty," see Caxton, Dial. 30; A. Martin, i. 113, 119.

[6] La mer borde la moitié de la ville, Gamez, quoted in A. Martin, ii. 8; ein gude stet *an d'r see*, Hegel, ii. 106; Windecke, 87; a proximité de la mer (1465), Dumont, 63; size sur la mer (1492), ibid. 64; assise sur port de mer bonne ville et proffitable pour vostre royaume (1378), Sauvage, 58; fortalicium in amplo Secanae amnis nare aquas in pelagus vomenti constructum, Blondel, 151; portus maris ad classem reficiendam late patentis, ibid. Cf. sur la côte de Graville, A. Martin, Patriote, p. 9.

[7] For the castle at Graville, see C. Beaurepaire, Notes, i. 99, 101. The remains of it were demolished in 1787 in making the high-road from Havre to Rouen, Malte-Brun, 83. For rings in the castle walls for mooring ships, see A. Martin, Leure, i. 27, 112, 119, 120; ii. 6, 7. For picture of a ring for mooring, see Strutt, Manners, ii. Plate XXVII.

[8] Dumont, 13.

taken from "Old Harfleur" to "New Harfleur" (i.e. Graville), whence they were shipped in balingers to Rouen[1].

Thus it may be taken as proved that when the English expedition started in 1415, Harfleur was wholly independent of Leure both as to traffic dues and access to the sea, and long after her old rival had succumbed she still maintained a gallant struggle against their common enemy the pebble-drift that cumbered up the approaches to the creek, defying all efforts of the enforced labour of the peasantry[2] to unpester[3] it by means of sluices[4], stakes, mills, dykes[5], trenches[6] and all the appliances that could be brought to bear by the best engineering skill of the time, until in the sixteenth century she finally gave up the game[7], and Francis I planned out the first beginnings of another haven on an adjoining site which has since developed into the splendid docks and spacious streets of the great modern city of Le Havre.

About the year 1360[8] Harfleur had been surrounded by a heart-shaped brick wall[9] about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference[10], with the apex pointing north, where it was pierced by the Montivilliers gate, with the gates of Leure and Rouen at the south-western and south-eastern corners

[1] De veteri Harfleu usque novam Harfleu, Iss. Roll 6 H. V, Pasch., Sept. 28, 1418.

[2] e.g. in 1372, Deville, Tancarville, 163; Dumont, 12.

[3] Cotgr., s.v. *Desh'aver*.

[4] Cf. deux eventelles pour curer et approfondir le dit hable, Dumont, 57. For esventaille (=sluice), see Richard, 46; Revue de Rouen, ii. 106 (1843); Godefroy, iii. 666; a oster la glize et perroy qui estoient au havre de Harfleur pres de la fosse de Leure (1475), Dumont, 56; A. Martin, ii. 13.

[5] Le grand batardeau au travers du havre (1477), Dumont, 52.

[6] For la tranchée du Hoc faite par la travers de la tête du perrey à l'entrée de ce port (1554), see Dumont, 57.

[7] In the reign of Elizabeth Harfleur was called illud oppidulum, Ocland, H. iij; cette petite ville inconnue, Belleval, 48.

[8] For la forteresse et les gens ordenez à la garde d'icelle ville (1360), with orders sur le fait de la clousture et enforchissement de la dicte ville, see Fréville, ii. 121.

[9] Dumont, 69, 74. For a few remains of a castle made subsequently by the English, see ibid. 62; Joanne, Normandie, 88. For the modern chateau built in the 17th century, see Letellier, 399. The walls were dismantled in 1718 and again in 1839, Viau, in Rev. de Rouen (1845), p. 12.

[10] Or 2900 metres, Dumont, 64, who gives an excellent plan dated 1759, now in the museum at Montivilliers, worked out from details of surveys of 1465, 1477 and 1492, though he might have compared it with the description given by Elmham (Gesta, 10), which seems to be quite accurate in every particular recorded. For repairs to the walls in 1455–1495, see Letellier, 393. For plan of Harfleur and neighbourhood, see Mem. Soc. Ant. Norm. xii. 122. For pictures of the siege of a town with circular walls and a church with a spire in the centre, see Royal MS. 20 C. vii. 13, 37, 134; 20 E. ix. f. 222. Not Harl. 1892, as Green, ii. 524.

respectively[1]. Each of these three gates[2] had its drawbridge and portcullis[3] and was covered by an outlying bulwark or barbican[4], curtained with a "sparrow[5]" or ravelin, according to the most approved skill that military science could command. A portion of one of these may still be seen a little to the south of the present Rue de l'Eure. The whole enclosure was encircled with a deep ditch[6] as a protection against mining[7], of which a large section still remains, cut deep into the hillside on the north-east[8]. This moat was pitched and scarped with lime and stone[9] and was itself protected in places by an outer palisade[10] of tree-trunks clamped together with iron bands. Besides the three main gates the walls were crowned with 26 towers[11],

[1] Not that there was one gate on the west side and two on the east, as Towle, 298; Yonge, 270.

[2] Introitu trino portula trina datur, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 107. Called two only in Monstr. 367, who omits the northern gate which was hard to approach by reason of the stanks and sluices. One of these two gates he calls "Calcinencis," i.e. "Porte de Caux," probably the Porte de Leure; vers la marine, Waur. ii. 182; called "Caltinant," in La Motte, 26, who supposes it to be the Porte de Rouen; see also Goodwin, 68, 69; Nicolas, Agincourt, 192; not "Calthurances," as First Life, 35; nor "Culturances," as Stow, Chron. 347. In Revue de Rouen (1845), p. 12, the "Porte Cancinence" is supposed to be the Porte de Rouen. Called "Porte de Caux" in G. Köhler, ii. 742, who places it on the east side and considers that it is improbable that there were really three gates because only two attacks were made.

[3] Dumont, 64. Cf. portecolys strenge at every gate, Lydg. Troy Book, 162.

[4] Fabrica prae portis lignea fortis erat, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 107; cf. quod nos "barbican" seu communis "bulwerke" appellamus, Gesta, 17. For English working ciro' les logg' duorum Bulwerkes extra portam beatae marie in 1416, see Exch. Accts. 48/8. Cf. "barbiqueinne," Priorat, 273, 280; "barbacanne," Meun, 139; "boulevard," Dumont, 69. For picture, see Cutts, Middle Ages, 389. For turris lign. vocat. Bulwerk, see Exch. Accts. 49/29. Cf.

Barbykans and bolewerkys huge,
Afore the town made for hize refuge.
Lydg. Troy Book, 162.

[5] Moyneau, Dumont, 70; circumcincta muris externis angularibus, Gesta, 16; coni (i.e. coigns) circumducentis aquae, ibid. 17. Cf. oporteret *foveas* facere multorum angulorum, Aegidius, 24; ex angularitate murorum, ibid. 56; Clarke, 170; Meun, 138; Priorat, 271.

[6] Ayant grands et profonds fossés, Monstr. 367; Waur. ii. 182; fossas undique réplet aquis, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 107; Pauli, v. 105. Cf.

Without the town is mad a dike,
Hit was diked down plum,
That no man myzth ther-over com.
Laud Troy Book, 54.

With dyche and wallis wide and long, do. 86, 107; dykes dolven depe and drye, ibid. 108; dyched wel withoute, Lydg. Troy Book, 48, 323.

[7] Aegid. 61; Clarke, 171.

[8] Dumont, 73.

[9] Gamez, 314; Dumont, 62.

[10] Dumont, 78, 80. For pictures of such palisades, see Hewitt, xv. 22, 30, 176. Cf.

And zit he dede a paleis make
Without the diche of many a stake,
That no man schulde the diche come to.
Laud Troy Book, 55.

[11] Not three, as Towle, 297.

ranging from 10 to 20 feet in thickness[1], and having their own distinctive names, as the Lion, the Dragon, the Stork, the Swan, the Snail, the Stag, the Tin Pot, the Pies' Nest, each one surmounted by a leaden figure of the object painted with blue and gold.

The stranger approaching Harfleur from the sea could not but be struck by the beauty of the crested walls[2] standing out against their steep background of wooded hills[3] to the north, while Frenchmen never ceased to boast that it was not only the strongest port in Normandy[4] but a fortress impregnable against attack from any side[5]. The Lézarde entered the town on the north-west[6], midway between the Leure and Montivilliers gates, forming before it flowed out[7] the famous walled harbour[8] or galley-close[9], the approach to which was flanked by two towers[10] of immense thickness in which were engines with copper wheels[11] and pulleys[12] to work the chains[13] and sluices that

[1] Dumont, 78, 80.

[2] "Pulchra valde," "decentis structurae," Gesta, 16, 17; villa quidem sed pulchra nimis patet illa, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 107; cf. s'extasiaient à regarder le panorama, A. Martin, Patriote, 9.

[3] Inter duos monticulos ad Sequanam positum, Pol. Verg. 443; Halle, 62; Grafton, i. 512; Letellier, 393.

[4] Portus tam famosissimus et insignis, St Denys, v. 540; nobiliori et utiliori portu, ibid. v. 542; portus regni Franciae tutissimus, Anjou Lett. 3; un si noble port, Monstr. 381; Le Fevre, i. 264; portus validissimus, Tit. Liv. 9, 10; nobilissimi portus, Vita, 40; see page 9, note 16.

[5] Dumont, 69, 74. Fortalicii praevalidi, fortalicium naturâ et arte munitissimum, Blondel, 151; fortalicium quod Gallorum superbia semper invictissimum arguerat, Gesta, 28; Vita, 43, 50; qui fuit le pluis fort (*sic*) ville cestes parties du mond, Rot. Parl. iv. 62; quod est fortissimum, Niem, Vita, 36; Raynaldi, viii. 438; une des plus fortes défences de Normandie, Monstr. 410; castrum munitissimum, Blondel, i. 260; opidum fortissimum hominum reputatione invincibile, Anjou Lett. 3; "one of the strongest places perhaps in France," Guthrie, ii. 461; "ein Musterfestung des funfzehnten Jahrhunderts," Pauli, v. 106.

[6] Dumont, 68; qui et entrat divisim sub muris per medium villae, Gesta, 16.

[7] Dumont, 66.

[8] In Débat, 27; Pannier, 27, Dieppe and Harfleur are havres fermés.

[9] Clos aux Galeres, Dumont, 59, 61. For ships built in the galley-close at Harfleur in 1295, see A. Martin, i. 86, 87. For picture of a port de guerre with enclosed harbour, see Ronciere, ii. Frontispiece, from Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 5594, fol. 205. Cf. "the barryers of the Clos," Melusine, 267; "fayre porte garnyssed with toures for the savegard of the navye" (at Jaffa), ibid. 278.

[10] Cf. Portus munitur claudentibus undique muris,
Cum defensivis turribus ante sitis.
Elmham, Lib. Metr. 107;
do. Gesta, 18; First Life, 38, 41. Not that they "stood on the *north* side of Harflew," as Trussel, 100.

[11] Dumont, 77, 78.

[12] For poleyns, see Rous, 365; Wylie, iv. 358. Cf. poleys ferr', poleas eneas, Rackham, 36.

[13] At Grenoble in 1422 chains were to be stretched across the streets every evening ante horam simbali and lifted at dawn, Prudomme, 211. Cf. keden uf sloten, Black Book of Admiralty, iv. 446; the chayne that anon was open, Melusine, 267.

closed the entrance at night, and in the larger of the two towers hung the bell that rang out the watch[1]. This galley-close is now a sleepy fair-ground[2], but it then gave shelter to warships[3] and trading-ships from every land[4].

When the fleet had come to anchor at Kidcaus the banner of council[5], bearing the royal arms and the George, was flown at half-mast from the Admiral's ship as a signal for the various captains to come aboard for orders, and on their return it was known that the landing would take place early on the morrow morning, but that no one was to set foot on shore until the king had disembarked, lest the first reckless spirits might mount[6] and scatter for a skry[7] or havoc[8], and so by their rashness wreck the prospect of a secure landing for the bulk of the forces that were to follow.

Before the first glimmer of dawn[9] on Wednesday, Aug. 14, 1415[10], John Holland[11] with a party of notable campaigners,

[1] Dont l'en sonne le guect, Dumont, 79. For le berfroy de la cloche du guet de la tour carrée at Cherbourg, see Amiot, 127. For picture of the bell-tower at Calais, see Strutt, Manners, ii. Plate XXXII.

[2] See page 10, note 9.

[3] Six balleniers bien arméz, Gamez, 387.

[4] Commendabiliorem portum qui in omnes terras vela solitus est mittere, St Denys, v. 532.

[5] Vexillo concilii, Gesta, 14; Black Book of Admiralty, i. 19; 1 baner de consilio de armis Regis et S^ti^ Georgii, For. Accts. 3 H. V, m. 31; also 1 baner de consilio, ibid. m. 32; also Exch. Accts. 49/29 (4); une baner de conseil, Nicolas, Navy, ii. 196, 488.

[6] Illum clamorem quem "mownte" appellamus, Upton, 137; cf. Black Book of Admiralty, i. 287, 455, 462; Nicolas, Agincourt, App. 33; "The Frensshmen cried 'Amound! Amound!'" Harflet, 309.

[7] Escrie the which is callid mount, Black Book of Admiralty, i. 462; at all tymes and every skry, Pol. Songs, ii. 154; cf. to hosteiyng and to soudyours, Lydg. Troy Book, 326, 360.

[8] Grose, Mil. Antiq. ii. 66; Black Book of Admiralty, 286, 462; not "Lanock!" as Upton, 138. It is probably derived from *havot*, i.e. pillage, Godefroy, s.v.; cf. Pillé, Puiseux, 54. Not "mord! schlagt todt!" as Köhler, ii. 757; or "No quarter!" as Kingsford, 209.

[9] Be shippid in the dawenyng, Lydg. Troy Book, 374.

[10] On our Lady Even the Assumcion, Harflet, 306; App. 71; des anderen dags Tede der hilliger jungfrauen, Hegel, ii. 200; Gesta, 14; Wals. ii. 307; do. Hypodig. 459; Capgr. 310; do. De Illustr. 115; Chron. Lond. 100; St Denys, v. 536; Morosini, ii. 52; Strecche, 266; Vita, 37; la vigille de la my-aoust, Verneuil, 217. Called le moys d'aoust au commencement, in Bourgeois, 61; la mi-aoust, Pays-Bas, 354; not Aug. 13, as Usk, 125; Normandie, 168; Dumont, 16; nor Aug. 16, as Chron. Lond. 157; Greg. Chron. 109; Short Chron. 55; Fab. 579; Towle, 296; Jul. B. 1, f. 37 (i.e. a list of wardens, etc. of London from 23 Edward IV), in Nicolas, Agincourt, 209, who supposes the writer to be a contemporary chronicler, but it is really based upon Walsingham and is quite similar to Gregory, cf. Greg. Chron. xix. Not Aug. 21, as Saint Foix, iii. 187; Du Bois, 173; Gasté, Chansons, 121; do. Basselin, 170; Rapin, iii. 442; Tindal, i. 511; Gaujal, ii. 279; nor Aug. 23, as Allier, Ancien Bourbonnais, ii. 18; nor Aug. 24, as Mazas, Vies, v. 574; nor in fine Augusti, as Pauwel, 242.

[11] For his retinue (20+60) with his seal (a wheatsheaf) attached to his indenture of jewels dated June 5, 1415, see Exch. Accts. 45/18, 22 (30). The names include Thomas

including Gilbert Umfraville[1], John Cornwall[2], John Grey[3] and William Porter[4], who probably now received his knighthood[5], slipped ashore in a pinnace in the deep stillness of a lovely summer night, selected a favourable spot for the rest, and between 6 and 7 in the morning a thousand fighting men got swiftly into the long-boats and took land[6] without any shadow of opposition[7], the king falling on his knees and praying God to do him justice on his enemies[8].

The spot where the landing was effected is described as a dangerous ridge about half-a-mile[9] in breadth and strewn

Talbot and William Wymundeswold. The numbers are given as 20+40 in Rym. ix. 223, reduced to 16+35 before the battle of Agincourt, Nicolas, Agincourt, 337; Belleval, 340; Wylie, Notes, 128, 137. Called 350+700 in Dugd. ii. 80. For liveries to him and his brother Edward Holland in 1415, see Exch. Accts. 406/26. For his signature, see Doyle, ii. 230. He was restored to his father's title as E. of Huntingdon soon after Oct. 19, 1416; Rot. Parl. iv. 100 (called before April 5, 1416, in Doyle, ii. 229). For letter dated Chudleigh, Oct. 8 (s. a.), addressed to him by Bishop Lacy as "Excellent prince my Lord of Huntingdon," in the Chapter Registers at Exeter, see Hist. MSS. Rept. Var. Coll. iv. 82. It refers to his wish to be a brother of "the Chirche of Exetre." He was created Duke of Exeter, Jan. 6, 1443, Doyle, ii. 230.

[1] Nominatum comitem de Kyme, Hard. 389. Called "Comte de Kint" in Cordeliers, 228; Le Fèvre, i. 245; "Earl of Kent," as Speed, 776; Echard, i. 183; Rapin, iii. 442; Tindal, i. 511; Mazas, Vies, v. 571; Comes de Kyma nomine Gilbertus de Umfervilla, Strecche, 271; Conte de Quien (Verneuil, 219), or Quient (Juv. 535), or Quin (Bréquigny, 97), or Ken or Kent (Waurin, ii. 188, 240); really Kyme in Lincolnshire (Wylie, iv. 63, note 8); not "Ryme," as H. Morley, vi. 156; Holinshed (iii. 561) calls him "Earl of Kyme or Angus"; Kingsford, 72 (following Ramsay, i. 131), supposes that he got the title from the French; also J. Hodgson, ii. 56; Tout, in Dict. Nat. Biogr. lviii. 24, that he inherited it "by some inexplicable process." He is called Dominus de Kyme in Exch. Accts. 106/24 (1), where he gives a palfrey called "mule grissel Umfraville" to the king and receives one called "sorell kyng," and another called "mule grenewe." Not "Umferville," as Köhler, ii. 766.

[2] Not "Cornwales," as Köhler, ii. 766; nor Earl of Cornwall, as Speed, 776; nor "Stanhop," as Rapin, iii. 447 (i.e. Fanhope or Fownhope, though he was not made Lord Fanhope till July 17, 1433, Dugd. ii. 213). He was in command of English mercenaries (60+500) serving with the Bishop of Liège at Othée in 1408. For "Bayard Cornwaill" and "mulect Cornwaill" (i.e. mule, Du Cange, s.v. *Muletus*) among the king's horses, see For. Accts. 3 H. V.

[3] Son and heir of Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor, then 19 years of age, Dudg. i. 711; Comp. Peer. iv. 97.

[4] Gesta, 27; Hard. 374, 389, 390; where the list includes John Stewart.

[5] See Vol. i. p. 345.

[6] Cf. taken have the land, Lydg. Troy Book, 32, 189, 321, 376; the stronde y-take, ibid. 39; the lond hath nome, do. 108; taken have the see, do. 185, 193, 323; to make the lond, do. 243.

[7] Felici remigio, Vita, 37; sans detriement, Waurin, 180; nul lui contredist, Cochon, 273.

[8] Tit. Liv. 8; Harpsfeld, 588.

[9] Gesta, 15; Chron. Giles, 14; "près de Harfleu et aultres parties sur la mer," Mirot, Fusoris, 205; prope Herflete (125); non longe a villâ de Harflet, Strecche, 266. Called 3 *leagues* in Tit. Liv. 8; Vita, 38; Carte, ii. 679; Henry, v. 35; not 7 miles, as Brougham, 110; nor 3 miles *above* Harfleur, as Clowes, i. 373; not at Caudebec, as Burchett, 334; nor at Touques, as St Paul, 52; nor at Harfleur, as Verneuil, 217; Pays-Bas, 353; sont descendus en pays de Caulx (not "about Caulx," as Catalogue) et près la ville de Harfleu, Add. Chart. 260, dated Rouen, Nov. 8, 1415; fait sa decente au Chef de Caux, La Motte, 110, from the charter of 1493. Called "au desoubz de Rouen" in Brioc. Chron. 891.

with rocks and shingle intersected by ditches[1] and channels banked with mounds of earth[2], which were cut here and there with small passages just wide enough for one man to get through[3] and strengthened with bastions like the walls of a castle. Various guesses have been made as to the exact locality referred to in the above description. It seems clear that it lay somewhere near the harbour of St Denis[4] at the entrance to the creek of Graville, though in a letter written in London on Aug. 20, 1415, it is distinctly stated that they landed at the fosse of Leure[5]. As to the other details, nothing can be now made out on the spot, as the fosse has entirely disappeared, but the mounds and fortifications were possibly portions of the disused mole which once embanked the channel leading from Leure to Harfleur, a long section of which was still traceable in 1717[6], the bastions being similar to those whose foundations were discovered at Les Neiges, or Little Leure, during some excavations in 1761[7].

As soon as each boat-load had landed, the men made their way across the marsh to the wooded hills that faced

[1] In Gesta, 15; Chron. Giles, 14, these ditches are inter nos et terram (i.e. the dry ground about Harfleur). Not "on the opposite shore," as Nicolas, 52.

[2] Fossis et muris plena patebat humus, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 107; fiebant magnae fossae profundae plenae aquâ ac muri magni terrei grandis spissitudinis, Harl. MS. 661 in Hard. 389. Not that "he caused a deep trench to be cut bringing in water to impeach (i.e. obstruct, cf. Cotgrave, s.v. *Empêcher*) the bottom and raising the rampire to a great thickness," as Speed, 776; cf. "sconces of earth like castles," Echard, i. 184, who supposes that Henry made all this intrenchment "from the Rock on which he placed his head-quarters (i.e. Graville) to the sea." Ramsay, i. 201, thinks that "extensive earthworks had been erected along the beach," but that they "could not be manned"; also Kingsford, 129, "in preparation for their enemy." Cf. "a dike and a wall between the shore and the marsh," Historians' Hist. xviii. 531.

[3] Not that there was "only a path 2 feet wide separating each rampart and ditch," as Yonge, 269. Called "a pathway of only a cubit width *over* the ditches and through the wall," Beamont, 235.

[4] Page 8; Cagny, 94; Heron, 77; Morosini, ii. 53 note; Borély, i. 98, 105; Luce, ii. 176; Roncière, ii. 214. Roujoux (iv. 168) even thinks that they landed on the south bank of the Seine and attacked Honfleur (!).

[5] A uno luogo dito la Fosa, Morosini, ii. 52. The letter was received in Venice on Sept. 18, 1415. Cf. deschendi a la fosse de Leure, Cochon, 273 (who was specially acquainted with the locality); Bouvier, 428; A. Martin, Chef de Caux, 82, who thinks they landed at both points, which is probably the true explanation; cf. A. Martin, Fecamp, i. 121; do. Leure, i. 207. G. Dupont, ii. 511, thinks they arrived before the Fosse de l'Eure (*sic*) on Aug. 13. Bordier-Charton (i. 500) thinks that they landed "où est aujourd'hui le Havre"; not "at the port of Le Havre," as Calthrop, ii. 83. Viau, in Rev. de Rouen, 1845, p. 6, places the landing either at the Fosse de l'Eure (*sic*) or at the Port-aux-Bateaux at Neiges, or at Sanvic, which gives plenty of choice.

[6] A. Martin, i. 138; though regarded not as a fortification, but a dike to regulate the inflow of the tide into the salt pans, do. Patriote, 7.

[7] A. Martin, i. 139; Borely, i. 100; Dumont, 54.

them to the north[1] where much of the timber had just been felled, and here they rested amidst the paddocks and orchards[2], while the tents, stores, guns, horses and baggage were discharged into shouts, flats and lighters from the fleet[3] which was lying out in the Seine[4]. The king with his brothers, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, took up his quarters in the Priory on the hillside at Graville[5], and all alike expressed amazement that the landing had not been disputed[6], for the mere stones were there ready at hand and had the French only had the hearts of men, a handful of them could have held us for a long time and perhaps for ever[7].

Several squires took knighthood[8] at the landing[9], and three days were spent in unloading the first necessary freight. Being entirely unresisted the English scourers[10] soon spread to both banks of the Seine[11] and gave vent

[1] Not entre Fécamps (*sic*) et Montivillers, as Mazas, Vies, v. 575.

[2] Pomaria, Gesta, 14; pomeria, Hard. 389; campis, hortis, clausulis et aliis locis, Gesta, 19; Chron. Lond. 100.

[3] St Denys, v. 536.

[4] Lequelle estoit venue en Saine, Deseilles, 415; ou chenal et entrée de la rivière de Saine, Chron. Brioc. 891.

[5] Monstr. 366; sous la côte St Aubyn, Viau, in Revue de Rouen (1845), p. 7; i.e. Graville-Ste-Honorine, Cochet, Eglises, i. 61, with the beautiful sonnet of Victor Hugo, ibid. 96; not that it was 1½ days' journey from Harfleur, as reported in Venice, Morosini, ii. 60. Called "Graule" in Waurin, ii. 181; "Gueraville" in Le Fèvre, i. 225; cf. Hellot, Récit, 14; Tit. Liv. 8, 9; Vita, 38, 41, where it is represented that the king pitched his tent on the *top* of the hill close to a chapel in order the better to keep the Feast of the Assumption; called "an high hill dificile and uneasie for armed men to mount uppon," First Life, 34. Cf.

> Myne engynes that bethe so kene [or that be of tre so clene],
> They shall be sett be syde this hill,
> Over all Harflew that they may seen. Harflet, 308.
> To the highest earth whilst awful Henry gets
> From whence strong Harfleur he might easl'est see. Drayton, 35.

Echard, i. 183. For pictures of the church at Graville, see Bordeaux, I. i. 44; H. Gally Knight, 186; Ruprich-Robert, Pl. XXIII; Cotman-Turner; Normandie Monumentale, 387; Grande Encycl. xiv. 252; Macquoid, 169; Dearmer, 326; Joanne, iii. 1781. The old Priory buildings adjoining the church were rebuilt (as they now stand) in the 18th century. For map of Harfleur and Graville, see Ardouin-Dumazet, vi. 408.

[6] Choisy (318) thinks that the English first engaged and defeated 9 large ships at Honfleur, which is a confusion with the events of 1416.

[7] Gesta, 15; St Denys, v. 532.

[8] Cf. when he the order of knyght had tane, Laud Troy Book, 460, 486, 488.

[9] e.g. Thomas Geney and John Calthorpe in the retinue of Sir Thomas Erpingham, Exch. Accts. 47/20; Hunter, 35, where both are invalided home from Harfleur; also John Radcliffe the elder, Blomefield, i. 513. For William Porter, see p. 17.

[10] Cf. scourers, Sloane MS. 4660, f. 265; coureurs, Nicolas, Agincourt, 197; exploratores vocat' scoras, Wylie, iv. 253; cf. voisent en courerie, Beaurepaire, Accord, 315, 317; cf. coureurs et découvreurs de pays, Chastellain, i. 93. For "rufflers of the camp," see Beamont, 232; also Cent. Dict., s.v.

[11] Before Aug. 30 they had appeared before the Abbey of Grestain near Honfleur, whence the monks fled in terror at their approach, Mirot, Fusoris, 260, 261, where it is called "Grassy quae est ultra Secanam."

to their fierce instincts in firing farms, looting pigs, geese, hens and hencotes, and working all such horrors[1] as made the name of soldier[2] or brigand[3] a terror in the Middle Ages, till men said that if God Himself had been a man-of-arms even He would have been a thief and a robber[4].

To check their fatal fury orders were put out that all this wanton destruction must at once cease under pain of death. Peasants who were brought in as captives were told to go about their work as usual[5], for the king of England had only come to release them from oppression. Churches and monastic buildings were to be left unharmed with their contents and no man must lay hands upon a priest, a woman or any minister or servant of a church, unless they were found actually armed or planning an attack with violence[6]. These rules and others that he subsequently issued[7] in greater detail have often been

[1] Faisant tous les maux que faire poroient, Le Fèvre, i. 225; innumerables maulz ainsi que gens d'armes ont coustume de faire, Waurin, ii. 182; Pays-Bas, 354; couroyent es villages ylec entour, Mirot, Fusoris, 205. Cf.

Ils n'ont laissé porc ne oue,
Tout entour nostre cartier,
Ne guerne ne guernellier (hencote). Du Bois, 178.

Leroux de Lincy, Chants, i. 301; Gasté, Chansons, 94; Basselin, 24. For 5000 liv. claimed by the Lord of Graville on Nov. 19, 1415, for loss of his lands near Harfleur, see Baye, ii. 225.

[2] i.e. = solidarius, Du Cange, s.v. *Solidata*; see Vol. i. p. 462.

[3] For "brigand" connected with brigue, brigade, see Littré, s.v.; S. D. Scott, i. 320, 321; cf. qui Brigantini dicti sunt, St Denys, vi. 81; cf. Boutaric, 284; i.e. gens armés de brigandines, Joubert, Invasions, 55; i.e. a stuffed and ornamented jack, called "a quilted coat with small iron plates sewn inside on canvas," in Strang, 78; lorica annulis contexta, Du Cange, s.v. *Jazeran*; not a coat of mail, as Wylie, iv. 337. For 16th century specimen of a brigandine at Warwick Castle, see S. D. Scott, i. 258. For pictures, see Viollet-le-Duc, Mobilier, v. 228; Planché, i. 59; Ffoulkes, 32. For a brigandier in will of Duke of York (1415), see Gibbons, 146; for 1 payre of Briggandires, see Amyot, 271 (1460); do. brigandines helyd with rede felwet (i.e. velvet), ibid. 252. For briganter, see Wylie, iv. 161; brigantayle, Halliwell, s.v. For brigata (i.e. army), see Sercambi, ii. 249, 398; iii. 45, 144 and *passim*. For brigans (i.e. infantry), see Wrottesley, 29; Hewitt, ii. 52, from Froissart (1327); C. A. Costa de Beauregard, 12; bringuans, Trahisons de France, 131.

[4] A saying attributed to John Talbot in Boutaric, 266. Cf. c'est coustume de guerre que tous jours les pouvres gens en ont charge, Pays-Bas, 355. For "bribours (i.e. thieves, Stratmann, s.v.) and arblasteres," see Laud Troy Book, 254.

[5] Cf. Hi cum securi debent fore tempore guerrae, i.e. presbyter et monachus, mercator, cultor agrique, Pol. Songs, ii. 119; Juv. 505. Murray-Smith (60) refers to "traditions still repeated at Harfleur" of Henry's cruelty to the villagers, but I have found no reference to this elsewhere.

[6] Gesta, 15; Chron. Giles, 15.

[7] Upton, 133–145; "perhaps the originals of the Ordinances of Mantes," Grose, Mil. Antiq. ii. 68; or "a Latin paraphrase of them," Black Book of Admiralty, i. 283; also at Mantes in the summer of 1419, ibid. 282–295, 459–472; Nicolas, Agincourt, App. 31–40; Excerpt. Hist. 28–43; Bridgett, ii. 161; Kingsford, 209; not at Le Mans, as Grose, Mil. Antiq. ii. 69; similarly at Rouen, Pontoise and 35 other places mostly in Normandy, Rym. x. 108, April 25, 1421. For Henry VII's edition of them in 1486, see Lel. Coll. iv. 210. De nostrorum procerum dominorum et magnatum consilio quasdam

pointed to as evidence of the magnanimity of the English king[1], who was styled by his contemporaries the "well of worship," the "very lodestar of knighthood" and the "father of military honour[2]." But there was really nothing new in this practice of issuing such proclamations. Since the days of the early crusades rules of the utmost stringency had been found necessary for stopping contek[3] and barratry[4] among troops employed in foreign service, and in the days of the Lion Heart[5] if one crusader struck another with a knife, his hand was cut off for it; if convicted of theft on board ship, he was to be cropped like a champion, tarred and feathered[6] from head to foot and put ashore naked at the first port they touched at; if he killed a man on land, he was to be buried alive with the dead body, and if on board ship, the two were to be tied together and pitched into the sea.

A large portion of King Henry's rules are purely self-regarding[7] and are framed to check camp-rioting, chance raids, skries[8] and other disorderly derays amongst a motley

constitutiones fecimus, Upton, 133, i.e. probably before the expedition started; easdemque in eodem exercitu nostro promulgatas publicè fecimus proclamari; each captain was to have a copy in writing (p. 134); Black Book of Admiralty, i. 295.

[1] Tit. Liv. 8; Vita, 38; Cassell, i. 542; Kingsford, Biogr. 82.

[2] Upton, 75; Greg. Chron. 53. For Nicholas Upton, Fellow of New College, Oxford, see Vickers, 388; also Fuller, Worthies, i. 280, where he is a Canon of Salisbury, Wells and St Paul's. In his preface (p. 2) dedicated to Duke Humphrey, he calls himself "minimus orator tuus." He was then (temp. H. VI) an old man, "ebetiorem senectus me reddat" (p. 3). He was in the service of Thomas Montagu, Earl of Salisbury (d. Nov. 3, 1428), whom he calls "dominum meum specialem" (p. 75), adding that he had often seen him preside at lists and reconcile the combatants after they had fought. On April 6, 1431, he received the prebend of Dinder or Dyndre (not Dyme, as D. N. B. lviii. 39) in the Cathedral of Wells. On April 10, 1443, he held the prebend of Wildland (or Wedland) in St Paul's, which he resigned in May 1446, on becoming Precentor of Salisbury. He died in July 1457, Le Neve, ii. 448, 643. For John Upton, a Carmelite, confessor to the Duke of Clarence, see Harl. MS. 3838, f. 35 [37].

[3] Cf. "contake," Laud Troy Book, 60; Halliwell, i. 268; contek and debate, Lydg. Troy Book, 34, 76, 221, 307; cf. debate and battell, Misyn, 18; descort et débat, Vidier, Notes, 346; contekour, Kingsford, Hard. 746, 749.

[4] Black Book of Admiralty, i. 285, 461, 462; Rym. x. 107. Cf. foule baret, Laud Troy Book, 410, 412, 497; baratous, Lydg. Troy Book, 276; a chydere, a barratoure, Secreta, 234; comon Barectours, Kingsford, Hard. 745.

[5] Dated at Chinon, June 1190, Roger of Hovedon, iii. 36; Henderson, 135; Rym. i. 65; Grose, Mil. Antiq. ii. 63; Nicolas, App. 32, 33; Nicolas, Navy, i. 89; Oppenheim, 3; Marks, 19. For similar rules issued at Dijon, April 20, 1396, for the force of the Count of Nevers before starting for Nicopolis, i.e. que gentilhomme faisant rumour perd cheval et harnois et varlet qui fest du coutel perd le poing et s'il robe il perd l'oreille, see G. Köhler, 9; C. A. Costa de Beauregard, 157; cf. upon peyne of hors and daryneys, Melusine, 192; sur peine de perdre harnois et chevaux, Bourgeois, 627.

[6] Cf. inter plumas corpus volutaverunt, Otterbourne, 281.

[7] Cf. ne seuffre tensons ne discors, Cent Ballades, 16.

[8] Cf. "askrye," Nicolas, Agin. App. 37; "ascrie," Black Book of Admiralty, i. 467. Not "estrie," as ibid. 292; cf. "askryeth," ibid. 282, 462. Not "asketh," as Nicolas, App. 33; cf. "seit la crie fete," Stat. i. 96. See p. 16, note 7.

host composed of Gascons, English, Welsh and Irish barrators[1], who would fall out at any moment over prize-money, prisoners, harbourage or old standing feuds. According to such rules all victuals which might be useful for the support of the army were to be spared from waste and pillage[2]; every man in the muster was compelled to wear a large red St George's cross[3] on his chest and back; and loose women were not to come into the camp, but to be collected in some spot at least three miles away under pain of having their left arm broken, after having been once warned off[4]. But apart from these disciplinary rules which had become a necessity for any force that meant to hold together in a foreign country, there were humaner clauses built upon higher principles of kindness, such as the prohibitions against taking ploughs, harrows, carts, horses and oxen, or otherwise hindering the men of labour, against making captives of children under 14 years of age, or requiring that the room should be spared in which a woman was lying-in with child[5], though it is certain that the rules regarding priests, women and plundered churches cannot be attributed in the first instance to Henry V. A contemporary writer indeed regards them as of very great antiquity[6], tracing them back even to the days of the mythical Arthur both in France and England.

[1] Cf. barrateurs, barratours, Black Book of Admiralty, i. 461, 470; Wylie, iv. 334. Not "barteteurs," as Nicolas, App. 32; cf. "withoute fraude ne barat," Curial, 15; barat, tu seras baraté, Rouyer, 30; n'ont barat ne guille, Petit, 40; Hellot, Nobles, 43; dy moy sans guille, Petit, 210; par ses faussetés et baraz, Cagny, 16.

[2] For proclamations of Henry V "that no man take vitaille be force without payment made in hand," see Noblesse, pp. xiii, 31, 72. For order of the Duke of Burgundy before St Denis in Feb. 1414, fit crier qu'on ne prinst rien sans payer, see Bourgeois, 617. Cf. and toke ryzt nouzt but it were to selle, Lydg. Troy Book, 30.

[3] Black Book of Admiralty, i. 289, 456, 464. For vexillum Sti Georgii, see Upton, 139. For pictures of English soldiers with red cross on their back and chest, see Wallon, 211; A. France, ii. 63, 131; iii. 1, 49, 129; iv. 129, from Bibl. Nat. MS. 5054, dated 1484; Froissart (Johnes), iv. 668; De Witt, ii. 29, 147, 167, 308; Sarrazin, Cauchon, 105; do. Jeanne d'Arc, 14, 427, 430, 470, 499; do. Rouen, 120; B. Zeller, 52; called "une croix rouge dedans ung souleil" in Verneuil, 219. For English troops leaving for France in 1430, cruce S. Georgii in vestibus eorum infictâ, see Amundesham, i. 51; Englois ont pour ensaigne la croix rouge, Pastoralet, 851; cf. Angloiz portant la croix rouge, Longnon, Paris, 306.

[4] Upton, 145; Grose, Mil. Antiq. ii. 70; Lel. Coll. iv. 211; M. Bernard, 99. For harlots with armies, see Rabutaux, 139; cf. Scipio comandid that no bordelle were founde in hure company, Secreta, 189.

[5] In geseme, Black Book of Admiralty, i. 468; Nicolas, App. 38; M. Bernard, 99.

[6] Statuta antiquissima, Upton, 133. Called "earlier fragments of legislation" in Stubbs, iii. 95; "of an apocryphal character," ibid. i. 666; ii. 314. For rules for sparing women and churches, see Black Book of Admiralty, i. 25; Nicolas, Navy, ii. 489.

But whatever their age and place of origin, they had produced little effect in either country. In France the code of strategy prescribed cruelty to the enemy, death to man, woman and child, and fire and pillage to the land[1]. War was the mother of all wrong; it slew the priest, deflowered the maid[2] and slaughtered flocks and herds, not for food but to vent its fury like a wild beast[3]; while with the English the rule against plundering churches had certainly secured little general acceptance as yet, for when an English army, 12,000 strong, invaded Scotland in 1385[4] and burnt the abbeys of Dryburgh, Melrose, Newbattle and Dunfermline and the great church of St Giles[5] in Edinburgh in spite of the proclamation of their king, the fact was quite mechanically recorded by the chroniclers of the time without the slightest sign of shock or disapproval[6]. Indeed so little were these precepts regarded by the armies of Henry V in France, that six years later the proclamations had to be

[1] Cf. Soyez crueulz contre vos enemis,
Que leur terre soit destruite et honnie. Deschamps, ii. 75.
Vous entrerés dessus ses terres et meterés tout a l'ouny tuerés hommes femmes et entfants et bouterés fu en tous costés, Trahisons de France, ii. 78;
Les desfianches faites en ou pais entrés,
Hommes femmes en riens n'i déportés,
Vilaiges et houmiaus ardés et embrasés. Ibid. ii. 410.
Se a guerre convient venir y soyès larges, *aspres* et diligent et tant hastez vos ennemies qu'il n'ayent pas loisir de vous presenter la victoire, Lannoy, Oeuvres, lxxxvi. 391.

[2] The werre is mothir of the wrongis al,
It sleath the priest in holy church at messe,
Forlith the maide and doth hir flour to falle.
Gower, in Urry's Chaucer, 540.

[3] Haec sunt modernorum militum exercitia—omnibus inimicari, omnes toto posse depraedari, colonos et agricolas ex agris fugare, equos culturae deditos rapere, domos pauperum subintrare, totum evolvere, lectisternia, utensilia, et supervenalia asportare, arcas rumpere, infantium et parvulorum panem tollere, matres etiam gravidas pedibus calcare, volatilia greges armentaque interficere, ad non victum competentem ut faciunt ferae sed ad explendam furiam ut bestiae, Pierre de Versailles, in Mart. Anec. i. 1729 (written in 1418).

[4] For ordinances of Richard II, dated Durham, July 17, 1385, concluding: "If one overthrow an enemy but from going on another should receive his faith," from Harl. MS. 1309; also in MS. Nero D. vi, from MS. L. 5 in College of Arms; see S. Turner, v. 401; Michelet, vi. 21; Nicolas, Agin. App. 31; Black Book, i. 453–458; Grose, Mil. Antiq. ii. 64; M. Bernard, 98; Köhler, ii. 757; Tytler, i. 333, quoting Records of the Parlt. of Scotland, 135, 136; i.e. Acts of Parlts. of Scotland, i. 188. According to these, pillage in Scotland was to be forbidden, merchants and victuallers were to be paid prompt, any soldier who killed another was to be hanged, if a varlet defied a gentleman he was to lose his ears, and no burning of churches, or ravishing or slaughter of women was to be allowed. See also Ridpath, 355; Exch. Rolls Scot. III. lxvii; Wallon, i. 243; Archaeologia, xxii. 13–19 (where the composition of the force is given).

[5] Scotichron. iv. 1067. For position of it outside the western wall, see map (1550) in Scottish Hist. Review, i. 25 (Oct. 1903).

[6] Wals. ii. 131; elle fut toute arse abbaye et ville (i.e. Dunfermline), Frois. ii. 335.

solemnly re-issued on account of the "enormous crimes and excesses[1]" that were being everywhere committed through the plunder, theft and villainy of that same blind and bloody soldiery[2]. On the other hand, it is not to be forgotten that from the first the humane intentions of the English king had made so deep an impression in France that one of the most high-minded of the French ecclesiastics appealed to him to protect French churches from the plundering violence of their own people[3].

When the whole force had landed, the channels of the Lézarde were searched in boats[4] but it was found impossible to cross and occupy the ground on the eastern side of the town[5], so they assembled at the foot of the western hill[6] fronting the port of Leure[7] about a mile from the walls. Here the king called a council of war, where he arranged for watch and ward and foray, and finished with a little speech, saying: "Fellows[8]! be of good cheer, breathe you[9]

[1] Praedantur, furantur, diripiunt, exigunt et extorquent, tenent mulieres in concubinatu et (quod deterius est) in adulterinis et aliis illicitis amplexibus, Rym. x. 107, Apr. 25, 1421. Cf.

> Aut paulum aut certe nil relligionis in altum
> Caelorum Regem cujus non alma verentur,
> Templa manu si quando queunt violare nefandâ
> Quae Galli exornant ingenti semper honore.
> Astesan, 550 (writing of the English in 1451).

[2] H. V, iii. 3. 34.

[3] Videmus nostrae hodiernae nobilitatis summum esse praecipuumque studium personas ecclesiasticas insectari, spoliare, depraedari, bonis omnibus exuere, nihil illis quod utile sit aut quod asportari valeat relinquere et in tantam jam vulgo prorumpunt amentiam ut effractis portarum claustris serisque revulsis ipsa Christi sanctuaria non vereantur irrumpere, Clamenges, Epist. 351 (circ. 1420). Cf. en églises prennent ils livres et toute autre chose qu'il pouvoient happer, Bourgeois, 626 (of the Burgundians in 1417).

[4] "Tok hys bottes and scherchyd ye water," Cleop. C. iv. f. 22 (not 15, as in Cotton, Catalogue); Nicolas, Agin. 206; Kingsford, Chron. 117. Not that he took off his *boots*! as Gesta, 19 note, adding "with his sword to ascertain the depth." For the habners (i.e. haveners) at Rye, see Hist. MSS. 5th Rept. 501.

[5] Propter fluvios prohibentes, Gesta, 20.

[6] Super ripam montis, Gesta, 16; super litus montis, Hard. 389. Not "on the *top* of the hill," as Echard, i. 183; nor that Henry "marched *up* the Hill and *from the Height* presented himself before Harflew," as Speed, 776; cf. Goodwin, 67, 69; nor "couronnaient les hauteurs," as Borély, i. 108.

[7] Gesta, 17; Dumont, 65; devers la mer, Normandie, 168. Not the Porte de Montivilliers, as Köhler, ii. 742.

[8] "Felwys" or "ffelowes," Kingsford, Chron. 117. Called "Lodys" in Gesta, 19, where it is translated "Lads!" For "ffelowes be mery now everychone," said by Henry V at Rouen, see J. Page, 16, 30; Archaeologia, xxi. 61; cf. "Loofelow," Kail, 7, 16; "felaw or frinde," Förster, 44; "felaws of oure," Anjou Lett. 22. Cf. "fellowys be of good chere," Pol. Songs, ii. 153; "falawes myne alle!" Laud Troy Book, 478, 479; thi felowis, Secreta, 189.

[9] "Ablowe yow"; called "save your breath and keep cool" in Kingsford, Chron. xxxix. 117, 304; cf. "to abreth hym," Lydg. Troy Book, 383; "till they had farther brethed," Halle, 57; Holinsh. iii. 547; "hardie, deliver and wele brethed," Noblesse, pp. xiv, 76. Not "eat heartily," as Gesta, 19 note.

and cool you[1] and then come up with your ease, for with the love of God we shall have good tidings!"

It is at this point that we are able to work in with unusual exactness an episode relating to the capture of a Norman priest whose name is held up by a modern writer as the model of a French patriot[2], but whose adventure is at any rate of exceptional interest to the researcher. Raoul Le Gay was the son of a Norman labourer who had been ordained priest at 18 years of age and had now attained the age of 28. Up till the summer of 1415 he had been a chaplain to the Abbess of Montivilliers[3] and had afterwards joined the household of a rich burgess of that town[4] who resided at a place called La Demi-lieue in the suburbs of Harfleur. When the English landed, his employer fled to Rouen, and on Friday, Aug. 16, Le Gay was sent after him to try and bring him back. But soon after starting he was captured at Bois Bernard[5] between Eprétot and St-Romain-de-Colbosc by a company of seven English scourers[6], who stripped him of his jupe[7], his knife and his purse containing 3 francs, tied his hands and took him to Epouville, and thence in the night time to Sanvic[8] near the Chef de Caux, where they kept him during the following Saturday and Sunday (Aug. 17 and 18). Here he was taken to the tent of an elderly English knight, who having ascertained that he was a priest, asked him the name of the commander at Harfleur, but he replied that he did not know. The English demanded 100 crowns as ransom, which of course he was not able to pay, and on the following day he was taken to Graville, where his guards kept him seated on the ground till midday, without food or drink, while they enjoyed the beautiful view from the hill.

Hereupon a young Englishman came up and spoke with

[1] "Kele yow wel," or "rekelem yow," J. F. in Stone, xxi. Called "regale yourselves" in Gesta, 19 note, but more probably from "kelen," to cool, see Stratmann, Toller, and Murray, s.v. Cf. "lete coule themself," Melusine, 168="les laissons refroider," Arras, 185; "hit wolde make thy corage kele," Kail, 101; lat it kele, York, 50.

[2] A. Martin, Patriote, 8–14.

[3] For which he received an allowance of 18 sols a fortnight. Et ses despens per fortnight, Mirot, Fusoris, 205.

[4] Mirot, 255.

[5] Mirot, 205, 255; prins à Harfleu, ibid. 201.

[6] Qui discurrebant per campos, dispersi per patriam, Mirot, 256.

[7] Or jupon, see Baildon, Wardrobe, 501, 509.

[8] Sandwych, Mirot, 256.

him in Latin, and finding out his plight turned to the guards and spoke to them in English[1], but the only word that he could make out was "drinch," the meaning of which he knew before. The English then helped him up, saying: "comine! comine!" *qui voulait dire Venez! Venez!* as he says, and took him into the Priory precinct, where he found many great lords, to whom he uncovered and crooked his knee respectfully as he passed. Noticing his tonsure they asked him in French if he was a priest, and when he said "Yes" they wanted to know where the soldiers were who had captured him, but they had disappeared. Then the Englishman who had stood his friend before called one of his men named Burgess (*Bourgeois*) and said: "Take him to the Earl of Dorset who is lodged near Graville." This was done, and Burgess told the Earl that this was a priest and that the king had sent him. The Earl then questioned the prisoner in French and told him to sit down on a mill-stone and not stir. So there he sat with nothing to eat or drink till nightfall, when they gave him a piece of bread and some ale (*de la bière appelée cervoise*), and so he remained in the Earl's quarters for a week[2] in great penury and want. During all this time he kept demanding his liberty and asking for a safe-conduct, and on Sunday, Aug. 25, they took him before the king, though of this interview he unfortunately gives us no particulars, except that the king asked him if he had been taken in arms[3]. In the morning of Tuesday, Aug. 27, he was passed on to Bishop Courtenay's tent which was close to the king's[4]. Here he lay on a mattress in his clothes[5] and when the bishop came in he wanted to rise, but Courtenay told him to lie still while he went into his retreat behind a curtain[6] and changed his dress preparatory to paying a visit to the king. The next morning the bishop heard Mass in his tent about 9 o'clock, and then Le Gay was taken to the king's chapel where he heard the king's choir and was struck with the beauty of the service[7]. Afterwards the

[1] Just before the battle of Baugé in 1421 it is noted that the Duke of Clarence spoke with the Scottish spies "en langage Anglois," Bouvier, 440.

[2] Or 10 days, Mirot, Fusoris, 139.

[3] Prins armé, ibid. 212.

[4] Ibid. 207.

[5] Ibid. 258.

[6] Ibid. 261.

[7] Audivit cantores capelle regis qui faciebant pulchrum servitium, ibid. 258.

bishop asked him if he knew one of his friends named Jean Fusoris who was a canon of Notre Dame in Paris, this being the French astronomer whose visit to Winchester a few weeks before has been already recorded[1]. The bishop then promised that he would set him free if he would carry a message to the canon, holding out to him also the prospect of a good benefice and that he should be a rich man ever after.

At first Le Gay refused, never having been in Paris before, but fearing lest they might ship him across to an English prison he at last agreed to the terms, and on Thursday, Aug. 29, Bishop Courtenay took him into his retreat, where he handed to him a letter written on paper and tied with thread[2] to which was attached a seal with the figure of a swan[3]. He gave him also a small parchment schedule, a finger-length long[4], making mention of certain pumpkins, melons, almonds and other fruits which Fusoris was to get from the Prior of the Celestines in Paris[5] and send back with his answer and for which he would receive payment. The bishop likewise charged him to tell Fusoris that the king of England had landed with 50,000 men, 4000 barrels of wheat, 4000 casks of wine and 12 large guns and sufficient material for a 6 months' siege of Harfleur, and to ask whether the king of France was agate[6] and whether he had decided to oppose him, and if so whether "Mons. de Guienne (i.e. the Dauphin) and Mons. de Bourgogne" would be with him and how many other lords and with how many men. One of Courtenay's chaplains also, whose name he gives as William[7] but who appears in the letter as Jenkin[8], commissioned him to deliver a letter to a friend of his in Paris

[1] Vol. i. p. 498.

[2] Close d'un fil de scellée ; ligate modico filo, Mirot, Fusoris, 259.

[3] Le signet dudit evesque, ibid. 177, 201, 232, 251, where Courtenay claims some consanguinity with Archbishop Boisratier quia defferebant ambo in suo signeto cygnum. In Blomefield, iii. 528; Bedford, Blazon, 92, Courtenay's seals show 3 torteaux or roundels.

[4] Mirot, Fusoris, 178.

[5] Referring apparently to the incident in the Priory garden in Aug. 1414, see Vol. i. p. 230; Mirot, Fusoris, 149. For le clos des vignes des Celestins, see Thibault, 410.

[6] S'est mis sus, ibid. 140, 208. Not "sur," as A. Martin, Patriote, 11.

[7] Mirot, Fusoris, 140, 209.

[8] Quidam juvenis vocatus Guillermus multum habilis de sciencia astrologie, Mirot, 231; familiaris dicti episcopi, ibid. 233; un joennes homs familier et clerc ou varlet de chambre du dit evesque, ibid. 209, 211; called Jennekin, ibid. 201. For Gulliermus qui se mesloit d'astrologie, see ibid. 163, 177, showing that he was attended by Pietro of Milan when ill at Harfleur on the return of the first embassy from Paris.

called Denisot le Breton[1] who was in the service of the Princess Catherine. The text of both these curious letters is still preserved. In the former, the bishop writing in Latin[2] with his own hand on Aug. 29, 1415, addresses Fusoris as "my dearest friend and comrade," refers to their previous acquaintance (*inchoata noticia*), how they had frequently talked together face to face and how he had lately heard of him from his clerk T. B. He urged him to reply in writing within the next 8 or 10 days, but to be careful in his answer not to mention either of their names, as the matter was an entire secret from everybody except the king "who is very close, as you know[3]." "Jenkin," the chaplain, writing in French, told his friend in Paris that the king had come to France "to win his right and for the love of Madame Katherine," and asked if she was married or engaged[4], ending up with: "Commend me to all my ladies, especially to the one who gave me an apple." No one ever found out who was meant by this last pretty allusion[5], for when the judicial inquiry was subsequently held, Le Breton who was lame[6] had left the Princess' service[7] and nobody knew where he was; neither could anything be made of the melons, and the Prior of the Celestines could only suggest that it was a mistake as no such things grew in his garden, though perhaps the bishop might have seen some in their house at Mantes[8]. With his letter Courtenay handed to Le Gay a silk-covered leathern purse containing 20 half-nobles[9], into which he placed the letters and the schedule, fastening it round his neck and underneath his shirt, and so he passed through the English lines and started westward as if on the road to Paris.

But after a while he doubled back in the darkness and presented himself before one of the gates of Montivilliers before sunrise on Friday, Aug. 30. Waiting till the gate was open he passed into the town with his English safe-

[1] Mirot, Fusoris, 140, 209. For gold and silver vases and flagons sold to Bishop Courtenay by another Le Breton in Paris in the previous spring, see ibid. 148. For payments by the Duke of Burgundy to Denisot le Breton for divers embassies, see Mirot, D'Orgemont, 140, 144.

[2] Mirot, Fusoris, 161, 177, 194, 201, 213, 214.

[3] Qui secretissimus est ut novistis, ibid. 141, 213.

[4] Mariée ou accordée, ibid. 209, 211.

[5] Ibid. 176, 275.

[6] Ibid. 276.

[7] i.e. in April 1416, ibid. 169.

[8] Ibid. 149, 178.

[9] Or mails, Wylie, iv. 45.

conduct in his hand. Asked whence he came he said: "From the host," where the English had kept him a prisoner. The watch looked at his passport and tore it up saying that it was nothing to do with them, but they let him in without any questions as to the letters. So he wandered about the town and had a drink with some friends, but being accosted later in front of the Town Hall he was sent to prison in the Abbey, where however he was neither searched nor interrogated. On the day following he was taken to the Town Hall, where he was confronted with a Benedictine monk from Grestain near Honfleur, who had also been captured by the English and knew that he was the bearer of a letter[1]; whereupon he confessed to having it, but averred that he never meant to deliver it.

Word of all this being sent to Paris, Fusoris was arrested on Sept. 6, 1415, and thrown into the Little Châtelet[2], and on the next day he was brought before the President of the Parliament and charged with high treason. On Sept. 18[3] an official was despatched to Montivilliers, who brought Le Gay to Paris where he was kept for three months a prisoner in the Châtelet and the Conciergerie. On Dec. 14 and 21, 1415[4], he was examined as to his share in the business and after that we hear of him no more. His story, as told above, is taken from the depositions in Fusoris' trial, which are still preserved among the archives in Paris. It tells a plain, intelligible human tale, affording many undesigned corroborations of the few details we now possess from other sources of the days that passed between the English landing and the surrender of Harfleur.

Moreover, if we would truly picture the scenes accessory to the siege, we ought not to forget that, in contrast to the miseries endured by the attacking force in the swamps around the walls, the king himself abated nothing of the splendours and comforts of his court on the hill of Graville, where the royal household was installed beyond the reach of danger. He had put to sea with regal array[5], taking with him a gold crown and a sword of state, with

[1] Mirot, Fusoris, 137. [2] Ibid. 161. [3] Ibid. 203.
[4] Ibid. 164, 204, 210.
[5] And our kynge with ryall array,
To se he put. Harflet, 306.

gold and silver spoons and jewelled salsers[1] for his table. We have already noted[2] the amazing quantity of sweetmeats that were purchased for the royal table. He had with him his heralds, minstrels[3], kings-of-arms[4], chaplains[5], surgeons[6], pages, painters[7], hall-carpenters, pavilioners[8], grooms, night-watchmen, clerks, and purveyors[9] of the stable, the avenery[10], spicery, ewery, buttery, napery, pestry[11], scullery[12], kitchen, wardrobe and marshalsea, with other

[1] Nicolas, 259; Monstr. 376. [2] Vol. i. p. 482.

[3] For claim of John Cliff of London, minstrel, who served with 17 others throughout the campaign, see L. T. R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 6/11, where both he and his wife Joan are dead (temp. H. VI), the account being presented by Joan's executor, Henry Jolypas, each minstrel receiving 1*s.* per day. For their names, 15 or 18 in number, see Nicolas, 101; called 18 in Rym. ix. 255, 260; several of them were minstrels to Henry IV, Wylie, iv. 245; Chambers, i. 50.

[4] i.e. Guienne, Ireland and Leicester, Nicolas, 387. For petition of the latter named Henry Greve for payment of arrears (10 marks per annum), see Vol. i. p. 493, note 4; Sloane MS. 4600, ff. 298, 311; Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 299. It was granted to him by Henry when Prince of Wales for going twice to Coity "in the time of the rebellion," i.e. in 1405, see Wylie, ii. 305.

[5] For Simon Morpeth, Thomas Redborne or Rodborne (chapellain du roy, Q. R. Exch. 44/30 (1)), and 12 more chaplains going to Harfleur, see Sloane MS. 4600, f. 275, July 5, 1415; Nicolas, 389; Hunter, 51, 55. For Master Esmond Lacy, Dean of the Chapel dans lostel du roy, see Exch. Accts. 44/27; Gams, 186. The following chaplains occur in Exch. Accts. 45/5, m. 10: viz. Edmund Lacy, Dean of the King's Chapel (Nicolas, 389), Stephen Morpeth (called Simon in Q. R. Exch. Accts. 44/30 (1)), John Seeward, John Woburn, Thomas Kylham, Thomas Donnet (? Dumet), Thomas Gyles, John Prentys, Dean of the King's Chapel (i.e. St Stephen's at Westminster in 1425 and 1430, Monast. vi. 349), John Arundell, John Burell (probably the same as Burnell or Burwell, *infra*), John Cook, Thomas Walker (repetitor in capellâ regis, Brodrick, Merton, 228), Nicholas Storgeon, William Cave (or Cane), and John Hereford, together with 16 servants of the vestry (or revestry), including Friars Alain Hart and John Brotherton (Nicolas, 289). In Exch. Accts. 46/3, John Stevens is named as a chaplain with one varlet (Hunter, 53); in Sloane MS. 4600, f. 270, June 19, 1415, John Burnell or Burwell and John Mildenhall are chaplains of the king's chapel with one servant. Both of them, as well as John Hereford, are on the roll of the sick at Harfleur, Hunter, 55. In the king's will in 1415 (Rym. ix. 292) he left a missal or a portos to the following amongst his chaplains, viz. John Wickham, Henry Romworth, Thomas Rodbourne and Richard Cassy. In Wardrobe Accts. 406 26 (Easter, 1415), 9 parsons of the royal chapel receive gowns, hoods, and fustian doublets as vestura sive aestivales; cf. 1 doubletz de fustyan, Add. MS. 4601/95 (122). For gown, tabard, cape, doublet, shoes, boots (2 pair), and black spurs (2 pair), see ibid. For John Wade, one of the king's chaplains, Dec. 11, 1413, see Devon, 328; he held prebends in Lincoln Cathedral, Le Neve, ii. 102, 197, 214. For Dom Edward as one of Henry's chaplains when Prince of Wales, see Wylie, iv. 89, note 8.

For Master Nicholas Colnet (see Vol. i. p. 467) and 20 surgeons, see Rym. ix. 235, 262, where his stipend as the king's physician is 40 marks per annum; not per quarter, as Power, p. 2. For Thomas Morstede, king's surgeon, with a retinue of 3 archers, see Rym. ix. 235, 252, 363, where he receives 1*s.* per day; also William Bradwardyn, each with 9 more surgeons, Nicolas, 97.

[7] For 6 vallectz peintours, see Nicolas, 387; Belleval, 364.

[8] For John Covyn, sergeant of the king's tents, and 28 other yeomen of the pavilions, see Nicolas, 97.

[9] Not "surveyors," as Nicolas, 387.

[10] Sloane MS. 4600, f. 271. For l'office de Avenerye, see Pat. 8 H. V, 23; Panetrie et Aveynerie, Rot. Parl. iv. 325.

[11] For l'office de pestrie al hostel le roy, see Pat. 8 H. V, 23; cf. pestour, Wylie, iv. 357.

[12] Pourvayoiors de la Squylerey. See Skeat, s.v. *Scullery*.

bowgemen[1] who were dressed in scarlet[2] and lived at free quarters about the court. And among the chief officers of the household[3], many of whom came accompanied by retinues of 3 or 4 lances or archers, the indentures[4] show the names of the king's cofferer (William Kinwolmarsh), the clerk or under-clerks of the green cloth (John Feriby)[5] and of the kitchen[6], grooms of the chamber, and sergeants of the counting-house and the poultry[7].

[1] Sloane MS. 4600, f. 276; Nicolas, 389; i.e. taking *bouche* or rations, see Cotgrave, Stratmann, s.v. *Bouche*; Murray, Dict., s.v. *Budge-a-court.* For bouche-en-cour (*sic*), see Bibl. de l'Ec. des Chartes, xx. 436; bouche-à-court, Lobineau, i. 534; ii. 912; Bozon, 181; budge or bowge of court, Skelton, i. 30–50; Letters and Papers, xx. Pt. 2, p. 549; Stow, vi. 49; Besant, Westminster, 37, 54, 92; Nicolas, App. 111; S. D. Scott, ii. 364; bouche au court, Blount, s.v. from indenture, March 29, 1383; bouche at court, Anstis, i. 326. For a list of 82 valletz de chambre et des offices sont a bouche de courte, see Exch. Accts. 407/10, including William Porter, John Cheyne, Nicholas Merbury, William Kinwolmersh, etc. For John Bugecourt at Calais in 1414, see Exch. Accts. 187/4. In an indenture dated June 1, 1415, between the Earl of Salisbury and William Besly, kt. the latter is to serve for a year and to have Bouche de Courte for *himself* and 1 varlet desa la mere a tout temps, Rym. ix. 259. For despens de bouches, see Toulgoët-Treanna, 123.

[2] Cf. vestivit caros coccum, Acta Regis, H. V, in Bodl. MS. 496 (2159), f. 224 b, with the gloss: Rex vestit suos rubio. Called "rubro" in Archaeologia, xxi. 292, where it is supposed to mean that "the military uniform *of the army* was red." For 4000 archers soiont vestuz d'un suite, see Chancery Warrants, file 1538, temp. Ed. III; de unâ sectâ, Vol. i. page 458, note 5.

[3] For constitution of the king's household (domus) in 1135, see Liber Niger Scac. i. 341–359; Red Book of the Exchequer, iii. 807–813; Abram, Life, 12. For servientes regis ad arma, valetti regis, scutiferi regis, forming the permanent household, see J. E. Morris, 85, 86.

[4] Nicolas, 389; Belleval, 354.

[5] For John Feriby as the king's clerk, see Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 250, 272. In Iss. Roll 7 H. V, Mich., Feb. 22, 1420, he buys silver vessels as cofferer. On July 23, 1419, he is cofferarius hospitii nostri at Rouen, Bréquigny, 103. For his account, 1421, 1422, for wages paid to soldiers in France, see For. Accts. P.R.O. p. 22; see also Iss. Roll 8 H. V, Pasch., May 6, 1420, where he is "coferar" to Henry V. In Rec. Roll 8 H. V, Pasch., May 23, 1420, he is farmer of the subsidy and of the ulnage of cloth in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Herts.

[6] For William Bangor one of our kitchen varlets who receives a grant of the manor of Nettlebed near Henley, see Pat. 2 H. V, 13, Oct. 7, 1414. For Richard II's master-cooks, see Forme of Cury, xviii. For coquus dominicae coquinae, see Lib. Niger Scac. i. 347; Red Book of Exchcq. iii. 809. For brass of Richard Burton, "cocus" (not magister, as Lysons; Ironside, etc.) to Henry VI, in Twickenham Church, see Cobbett; Haines (Brasses), etc. For livery for 3 varlets de cuisine of Duchess of Burgundy at Dijon in 1415, see Itin. 608.

Cf. Ces garcons de fouyers
Qui contretont les escuiers,
Ces happelopins de cuisine. Petit, 63; Hellot, Nobles, 18.

[7] i.e. John Hanham, clerk of the poultry, and John Ryder, sergeant of the king's pallie or poletrie. In Rot. Parl. iv. 325 he is sergeant Pult' et Ewer' (i.e. Ewery). In Du Cange, s.v. Pulteria = pulmentum, pulsatorium, unless it be straw; see Godefroy, v. 693, s.v. *Paillis.*

CHAPTER XXIX

HARFLEUR

THREE methods of reducing a fortress were prescribed by mediaeval strategists, who laid down scientific rules for proceeding either by methods of drought, famine or fight[1], "after the doctrine of Vygecius[2]." The first was worked by poisoning or cutting off the supply of water[3], the second by blockade, and the third by assault. At Harfleur the first plan would be frustrated owing to the steady plenty of sweet water from the Lézarde that flowed through the heart of the town; the second would be tedious and uncertain, as the crops had already been harvested, and no other course was open except a sharp and vigorous siege[4]. For this purpose the first rule prescribed mining, i.e. working a passage underground with spade and pick[5] right up to the foundations of the wall, shoring up the roof with stanchions of dry timber[6] and then setting fire to the staging[7] so that the foundations of the wall would tumble in[8]. But the full success of this method was barred at

[1] Per sitim, famem, pugnam, Aegid. 45, 58; Clarke, 172; Meun, 141.

[2] Lydg. Troy Book, 3. See App. S[2].

[3] There watrys destrye or elles envenyme, Lydg. Burgh, 78.

[4] Ipse villam ipsam *per viam sedis* fortiter perquisivit, Lansdowne MS. 1054, C. 53 (Salisbury Records).

[5] En mines, en eschielle en tous lieux,
On proesce les bons avance. Cent Ballades, 14.

The Spade and Pickaxe working are below, Drayton, 37. For miners' tools, see Caxton, Fayt, ii. 26, including pickoses, shovels of wood, scoops for to void water, iron levers, large iron hooks with 2 bokels to each, 1500 back-paners (or creels, Halliwell, 134) all garnished, 200 lanterns, 1000 great iron pins 1½ feet long, 1200 other pins, barrels of nails 2, 3, 4 or 6 inches long, and 1200 paveyses.

[6] Appodiamentis ligneis sustentare, St Denys, vi. 312.

[7] Estachier à Paris l'apeloient,
Et per ce les font estachier,
Qu'il se gardent de trabuchier. Priorat, 308.

Cf. Meun, 155; Clarke, 188; Boutaric, 295; Scott ii. 177.

[8] Aegid. 48. Cf. succensâ et collapsâ turri (at Antequera), Valla, 1012; apposito igne in minis (at Avignon), Ehrle, Perpignan, 429; the walles stode only upon postes to fal when fyre should be put to it, Halle, 78; Grafton, i. 524; Holinsh. iii. 559.

Harfleur by the water-ditch that encircled the western portion of the walls, and it was accordingly decided to proceed at once by bombardment, to be followed by direct assault when sufficient breaches had been made. In the old days this preliminary work used to be done by means of rams[1] brought up under the protection of movable sheltrons, which the guard-room gaiety of the time called cats, sows, plover-cotes, snails, mussels, cowls, hutches, mantles, rondels, or any other familiar figure, indicating that a farrow of devilry lay littered inside. The defenders on their side were ready to snap up the ram's head with scythes or great iron shears called wolves. In addition to the rams there were arblasts, bricoles, catapults (sometimes known as wild asses or scorpions), mangonels, springalds, robinets, trepgets, all of which were stone-slinging engines, fitted with every variety of mechanism for tension, torsion and counterpoise, to increase the force of the projectile.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that much change had been yet made in siege methods by the introduction of gunpowder[2]. That invention had been known and developed in Europe for over three-quarters of a century, but though guns were by this time cast 12 feet in length, with a calibre of over 2 feet, which could throw stones of 400 or even 500 lbs., yet owing to their great weight, the shortness of their range, and the general difficulty of handling, either by hoisting them up with the muzzle downwards and loading at the breach[3], or by inserting a movable box or chamber, the new invention had not yet superseded the older methods of battery. Each gun was furnished with two or three chambers, known as thunder-boxes, whose weight varied from 9 to 66 lbs.; these were filled by means of a powder-spoon, and were fitted with a tube to insert the heated touch, or lunt, which fired it. The chamber-mouth was closed with a tampion or bung, made of soft wood such as walnut, willow, or maple, to act as a wad between the charge and the stone, as hard wood was liable to cause an explosion. When this had been rammed in with a pusher, the box was lifted into the breach by the handle and

[1] Moutons, Meun, 143. [2] See App. T[2].

[3] See the early pictures in Essenwein, 10, Plates A. III, IV, XXIV, XXV, XXX, with guns at Pössneck in the Thüringer Wald showing rings for lifting them.

clamped in its place by means of a flail or iron rod, which pivoted from the middle ring of the tube and fitted into staples before and behind. Each large gun had its trunk of elm or oak, in which it was set with a packing of hay or tow at each side. It had a pair of wooden gemels on which it could be raised or lowered by means of chains, pins, pulleys and levers. Nails, bands and bolts were always wanted for repairs, and forges and bellows formed an essential part of every siege-train.

It is true that the old primaeval ram no longer played so large a part as in earlier days, but the siege operations still bustled along at quite close quarters. The arblast and springald still shot their shafts and quarrels at very near range, and the mangonel and trepget slung their stones as they had done any time since the "disciplines of the pristine wars[1]" in the days of ancient Rome. The only real difference yet produced by the new explosive was the increased power to throw stones of heavier weight and hurtle them with greater force, and as the guns were usually laid at points quite near to the gates and vulnerable portions of the walls, often inclined at a steep angle in order to crash stones on to the roofs of the houses within, it is no wonder that their booming thunder gained for them the name of bombards, while their smoke and fury seemed like all hell's devils let loose on the road. Besides the general name of guns, cannons, brides, bombards and busses, certain definite kinds of them were known as coillards, fowlers, ribalds, lancets, martinets, falconets, muskets, demicannons, demiflutes, bombardettes, culverins, and serpentines, many of these names being derived from the shape of the open throat.

The siege of Harfleur was begun on Aug. 17, 1415[2], and though the French had missed their chance of opposing the landing on the shore, they had not been altogether inactive in preparing their defence of the town. On the northern side of it they had broken up the causeways and bridges of the Lézarde, dammed up the river itself[3], thereby

[1] H. V, iii. 2, 77; d'après les principes qui remontent à l'antiquité, Boutaric, 294. Not that they were "antiquated weapons," as Cook, 177. Viollet-le-Duc, Architecture, v. 249, thinks they had disappeared since 1412.

[2] Letter Book I, 131; Riley, Mem. 619; Halliwell, Lett. i. 84; Gesta, 15; Wals. ii. 307; Hypodig. 459; Chron. Lond. 100; Greg. Chron. 109. Called Aug. 16 in Cochon, 274.

[3] Tit. Liv. 10; Vita, 42.

flooding the valley to the breadth of a mile[1] towards Montivilliers. On the western side they had built up a semicircular outwork[2], known in those days as a bastille, barbican, or bulwark, about a stone's throw in diameter, to strengthen the Leure gate. This projected into the moat and was fenced with tree trunks, standing as high as the wall itself, held together with iron bands and strengthened with earth and timber, behind which guns and arblasts were trained through loops commanding the entrance in all directions. Besides this they had barred the approaches to the galley-close with stakes[3] and had strengthened and raised the enclosing wall with a high breastwork of timber, and so with these preparations well in hand they awaited with much confidence the onslaught of the invader.

The defence of the town was in the hands of a group of Norman barons[4], including Jean, Lord of Estouteville, the lords of Blainville[5], Clères[6], Hacqueville[7] and Quitry[8], Monsieur Lionnet de Braquemont[9], the Castellan of Beauvais[10] and many others[11]. These were now joined by

[1] Kingsford, Chron. 117.

[2] Antemuralis fortissimini munimine roborata, Vita, 52; fortalitium, Gesta, 17, 23. There is no reason to suppose that "the ordinary fortifications were in bad repair," as Hume, ii. 355 (edition 1854).

[3] Then caused his ships the river up to stake, Drayton, 35, who supposes that this was done by the English.

[4] For list, see Masseville, iv. 44; Borély, i. 108, who supposes that there were 4800 fighting men in the town together with une foule de braves chevaliers. Called "800 men of werre without lordes and states" in Brut, ii. 553; or "states of the towne," ibid. 554. Not that there were only 200 defenders in all, as Lavisse-Rambaud, iii. 137.

[5] Near Rouen. Called "Bleynvile" in Brut, ii. 553; or Villantville, Waurin, i. 181.

[6] Brut, ii. 554.

[7] Near Fresles. Called Hankville, Riley, Mem. 619; or Hakvyse, in Brut, ii. 553; i.e. Guillaume II, Seigneur du Lion, Hellot, 54, 61, 98.

[8] i.e. Guillaume de Chaumont, Lord of Quitry, near Les Andelys, Anselme, viii. 885. Called "Count de Guitri" in Cassell, i. 527.

[9] Tit. Liv. 11; Vita, 48; St Denys, v. 538; Cagny, 95; not "Bruequemount," as Speed, 776. He is called captain of Harfleur in 1406, Hippeau, 126. In 1415 he was a chamberlain in the service of the Duke of Orleans, Cagny, 69. For William, Lord of Braquemont as an Orleanist, April 6, 1414, see Add. Ch. 63. The mother of Jean de Béthencourt was Marie, daughter of Regnaut de Braquemont, knight, Lord of Travessain, and Lyonnet de Braquemont was her nephew, Béthencourt, lxiii, 165, 213; Boutier, 292, 296, 303.

[10] Called "the Lord of Chasteleyn de Beauvise" in Brut, ii. 554.

[11] St Denys, v. 538, who gives also Baudran de la Heuse, Manigot de Courtes (or Mignet de Coutes, Juv. 504), and 200 others; called 100 knights in Bouvier, 428. For other names including Hermanville, Gaillart-Bos, Bethonde and Liladan, see Monstr. 366; Waur. ii. 181; Le Fevre, i. 225; "and other also both more and lasse," Harflet, App. 73; Brut, ii. 553, adds the Lords of Florry (? Fleury), Tiptot (? Yvetot), Combrevyle and Beushvyle (? Boscherville, or Guilliam Buchier, Bocher, Bowser, Harflet, App. 73).

Ralph, Lord of Gaucourt, who entered the town from the eastern side with 300 or 400 men-of-arms[1] on Sunday, Aug. 18[2], and at once put heart into the defence. But on the same night the Duke of Clarence started with the Earl of Salisbury[3] and a large force to work round to the east of the town. Finding the fields flooded and the Lézarde[4] swollen to about a quarter of the breadth of the Thames at London Bridge, they made a long *détour* of 9 or 10 miles up the valley through difficult country, where they crossed the river unopposed[5] with some of the big guns[6] which were named the "London," the "Messenger," the "King's Daughter" and her "Maidens[7]," and appeared at daybreak on the hillside that overlooks the town to the north-east, to the surprise and dismay of the besieged, who appear to have regarded this side as impregnable owing to the steep abruptness of the ground up which the walls and moat were carried at this point[8]. The Duke fixed his head-quarters near a chapel on the slope[9], and promptly made a capture of guns, barrels of powder, quarrels and cross-bows that were being hurried up in carts from Rouen for the defence[10]. Thus was Harfleur completely invested on the

[1] Waurin, ii. 181; Le Fèvre, i. 225; Monstr. 366; Juv. 504; La Motte, 24, 218. Called 500 in Vita, 41.

[2] Gesta, 19; lux fuit haec domini, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 108.

[3] Therle Montague did wel there alweye, Hard. 374. For expenses in his household in 1421, see Vol. i. p. 318, note 2; Arundel MS. xlviii. 54, in Heralds' College (Black, 82), where he is Lord of Monthermer (in Bucks.), Haywardyn (i.e. Hawarden, Wylie, iii. 286, note 4), and Mount Joye.

[4] Not the Seine, as Guthrie, ii. 460.

[5] The Duke did so of Clarence withoute lette,
On the ferre sode wher as he then laye. Hard. 374.

[6] For the "Messenger," weighing 2 tons, broken at Aberystwith, and the "King's Daughter," broken at the siege of Harlech (i.e. in 1409, Wylie, iii. 266), see Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 339.

[7] The tother syde shull ye kepe,
With my doughter and hyr maydyns gay
To wake the Frensshmen of there slepe,
London he seyde shall with here mete,
xxx[ti] is myn seyd messagere. Harflet, 310.
Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 340.

[8] For pikes, halbards, cuirasses, and human bones found on the eastern side of the town, see Morlent, Voyage, 22; do. Arrond. Ingouville, 53.

[9] Juxta quandam capellam in montis clivo situatam, Tit. Liv. 9; Vita, 41; dans le champ qui touche au calvaire sous la côte St Eloi, Viau in Revue de Rouen (1845), p. 7. Belleval (44) locates him at Guinneville and Rogerville but gives no authority.

[10] Monstr. 367; Waurin, ii. 182; Halle, 62; quadrigas, tela, pulvera, vasa simul, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 108. Kingsford (130) thinks that they were captured near Montivilliers. Not by the king's ships that watched the river, as Holinsh. iii. 550; nor "upon the sea," as Stow, Chron. 348.

land side, while access from the sea was barred by the presence of the English fleet in the Seine[1], and boats were placed on the Lézarde both above and below the town to secure communication between the divided sections of the force[2].

Having thus closed all approaches, burnt the suburbs and cleared away all surrounding buildings[3], the king sent to call for the surrender of the town, with an offer of peace if the captain would immediately open the gates. On receiving a refusal he brought up his guns and other engines[4] as close as possible to the walls and trained them on the gates and towers. Some of them were sheltered in trenches bordered with fascines, others were mounted on wheeled timber-towers known as bastilles, belfries or equipars, hung with hides to screen them from the enemy's fire, and from the ground in the rear he tunnelled three mines[5] or coney-clappers in the direction of the bulwark before the Leure gate. All these operations were closely supervised by the king, who worked hard throughout the day and went the round of the sentries at night, barely closing his eyes for short snatches of necessary sleep[6]. Three times each day[7] a rain of stones was battered against the bulwark and the adjoining walls, to which the besieged stoutly replied with guns, arblasts and springalds[8], flinging

[1] Classis in pelago, Wals. ii. 307; Hypodig. 459; in faucibus Sequanae, Vita, 40; the schippis be the water, Capgr. 310; on every side by land and water wanne, Hard. 374; by lande and eke by water, Claudius A. VIII. f. 23, in Nicolas, Agin. 213; Chron. R. II–H. VI, p. 40; par mer et par terre, Fenin, 558; Cousinot, 133; Add. Ch. 69, in Nicolas, Agin. App. 86.

[2] Not that the English built a bridge, as Goodwin, 68, quoting Tit. Liv. MS. f. 233, p. 2; Monstr. Ch. 142, f. 223; though there is no such passage in the printed edition of Tit. Liv. p. 9. Called "a readie and safe passage" in First Life, 36.

[3] St Denys, v. 536.

[4] Avec grosse artillerie, bombardes et canons et gens se cognoissans en armes, Juv. 504. Cagny (94) says that he had with him 5 or 6 des plus grosses bombardes qui eussent esté veues par deça; cf. grantz instrumentz motz subtins (moult subtils) per pren la bila, Jurade, 257.

> Hyse grete gunnys and engynes strong,
> At London he shipped them all on fere (i.e. together).
> Harflet, 304.

[5] Monstr. 367; Waurin, ii. 184; Le Fèvre, i. 226; subterraneâ fodinâ aream contribulat, Usk, 125.

[6] Gesta, 21; Tit. Liv. 10; Vita, 46; absque sopore tenens noctes, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 109; en grand diligence et labeur, Monstr. 367; Le Fèvre, i. 226.

[7] Morosini, ii. 60.

[8] For Thomas Hostell, who was "smitten with a springolt (*sic*) through the head" at the siege, whereby he lost one eye and had his cheek-bone broken, see Orig. Lett. Ser. II. i. 95; Nicolas, 173.

fire-hot[1] torches from the battlements[2], pouring hot water[3] or boiling oil[4] and fat[5] from the brattice, or shooting mallets[6], distaffs[7] and tow-trenders[8], i.e. flaming arrows rolled round with tow dipped in resin or pitch[9], and when the English mined[10] they countermined and brought off prisoners from the workings after hard fighting underground[11].

A few days' pounding served to reduce the bulwark[12], and many buildings were shattered in the heart of the town[13].

[1] First Life, 111.

[2] From the crestis caste the grete stonys,
With lym also and caste of wilde fyre.
Lydg. Troy Book, 328.

[3] Cf. With boylyng cawdrens both grett and smalle
All hote to gev them drink. Pol. Songs, ii. pp. xl, 154.
A jetter grosses pierres, eaues et graisses bouillantes, Juv. 562.

[4] Oleum quod incendiarium vocant, Clarke, 174, 208; =oyle ardent que on appelle feu grijois (Greek fire), Meun, 174.

[5] Hard. 389; see Speculum Regale (14th century) in Meyrick, i. 200; Antiquarian Repertory, Vol. iv. 625–631.

[6] Malleoli, Clarke, 181; maillés, saietes en gros, quarrians, Meun, 149; melliz, Priorat, 295.

[7] Aegid. 60, 63, 66.

[8] That men cleputh totrendare, Digby MS. 233 in Gesta, 24; i.e. tow-rollers, Stratmann, s.v. *Trendere*; Bosworth, s.v. *Trendan*; cf. trendle the appel never so far, Bozon, 23. For "trendle" (=roll) see Halliwell, 887; Nares, 899; Ogilvie, Dict. ii. 1055. For arrows tipped with wild fire (1250), see Hime, 168. For Raketen, Rute, Feuerpfeile in Kyeser, see Romocki, 152, 155, with picture.

[9] For garros à feu (1337), see Larchey, 21; Tout, Firearms, 670. Cf. per ensulfrar los viratos at St Flour, 1380, Boudet, 143. For viretons that spun in the air, see Lacabane, 40, where 3000 of them are packed in 6 barrels and 292 in 1 barrel in 1359. Not siege-engines, as Wylie, iv. 367. Cf. le chastel doit estre garni de quantité d'oyle, de pois et de souffre pour ardoir les engins de leurs adversaires, Christine, Charles V, p. 270; urens sagitta, Romocki, 168, 237.

[10] Cf. thei undermine, Lydg. Troy Book, 325.

[11] Tryal many oure kyng ded make,
And thorough the dyke they gan pas.
The Frenchemen spyd ther wallys gan schake,
And conterminyd azeyne in that place,
Togyderes hereyn they gan race,
Hyt ys gret frad to se hem fyzt,
Presoneres oure men there they dyd take,
And out of the mynde (i.e. mine) they had hem dyzt.
Harflet, 309.
For fights in mines, see Maizeroy, 228; by countermynes doe meete with them belowe, Drayton, 40; Bullen, 134; cf. contreminer doivent avoir à l'entrée grand cuves plaines d'eaue et d'orine to pour in and flood the miners out, Christine, Ch. V, p. 270.

[12] Fabrica conteritur hostilis lignea fortis, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 110; cf. lignea castra cremans, ibid. 111.
An Englysshman the bulwerk brent.
Ther wallys that were right sure,
He brast them down the sothe to say. Harflet, 310.
Cf. whan thei had the bolewerkis wonne, Lydg. Troy Book, 328.

[13] Wharevere that the ball gan glyde,
The houses of Harflew they al to-rent. Harflet, 310.
The wallys ben down on every side, ibid. 312; cf. "fireworks shot into the streets," Speed, 776; Echard, i. 284; "by darting upon them all their means of inflammation,"

But as fast as the besiegers battered, the besieged repaired[1]. They banked up the lanes and vennels with earth and mud in the hope of saving their buildings[2]. The breaches made in the day were patched up with sand, stones and faggots[3] in the night, and as each section was laid in ruins they opened loopholes for a fresh attack[4], keeping pots full of hot lead, resin, oil and pitch[5] ready to pour on to the besiegers, with chalk, quicklime[6] and powdered sulphur to dash into their faces if they should dare to scale[7] or venture an assault. On the eastern side the English tried to drive a trench, but as they started from the hillside and had not sufficient cover they were foiled from the outset. Then the Duke of Clarence piled up vast heaps of faggots, ran a trench[8] up to the fosse, using the faggots as a screen from the darts and quarrels discharged at his men from the walls. He divided the work into so many yards for each archer and man-of-arms, who pushed up their shelters foot by foot as the task proceeded, until they were able to seize the eastern portion of the moat, though even this success was not obtained without suspicion of treachery on the part

Turner, v. 406. For the Quartier des Mines demolished by shot at 300 mètres (and never rebuilt), see Revue de Rouen (1845), p. 7.

[1] St Denys, v. 538; Vita, 44. Cf. atrovado là (i.e. at Harfleur) le Franzeschy eser molto posenty a resysten, Morosini, ii. 60; furono mal trattati da' Franzesi, Sanuto, 898; I Franzeschy malmenase molto Ingelexi e trovandoly molto potenty per mucho i non pote daniziarly, Morosini, ii. 54.

[2] Cf. Frois. ii. 80, of the siege of Audenarde in 1386, Bonaparte, ii. 67.

[3] Hostes portabant dolia, ligna, petras, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 110; lignis petrisque fimo, ibid. 111. For pictures of a breached wall, see Larchey, Planches, 87; Villeneuve-Bargemont, ii. 390.

[4] Cil dedens despiecent les maisons et facent l'autre mur par dedens, Meun, 154; Clarke, 186.

[5] Cf. poys clere, Meun, 142; Priorat, 280; pois roisine, Meun, 149; poi, Godefroy, i. 141. Look thou have plente of betyn, talwe, grece and oyl, Gesta, 24. For betyn, i.e. bitumen, cf. bethumine, Godefroy, i. 641; bitume, Cotgrave, s.v. *Beton*; Webster, 140; Murray, i. 831. For feu de meschef, see La Fons-Mélicocq, Noyon, 211; at St Flour in 1380, see Boudet, 86, 138, 141. For ingredients of Greek fire, such as oil, pitch, sulphur (sulfre viev, i.e. vif, cf. La Fons-Mélicocq, Artillerie, 9; Wylie, ii. 269), guarapot (or galipot, i.e. resin), cf. Murray, s.v., where it is derived from garipot ("a species of pine"). Cf. Wylie, iii. 83, note 4.

[6] Aegid. 60, 67; with smolder and stynche they drowe ham out, Lydg. 309. Called "combustible powders of sulphur and quick lime" in Nicolas, Agin. 198; "vessels of scorching earth and oils and hot combustibles," Towle, 299; "pots of gunpowder," Yonge, 270; vasa furentium pulverum, Gesta, 24; Chron. Giles, 22; translated "pots charged with burning earth," Nicolas, 56; de la poix enflammée, Belleval, 46. For arrows charged with phialas plenas calce, cf. Matt. Paris, quoted in Scott, ii. 147; cf. pierres et chaulx pour deffendre l'entree, Christine, Charles V, 269; "ciment," Meun, 142, 149; or "cimant," Priorat, 280.

[7] For picture of scaling ladders in position, see Villeneuve-Bargemont, ii. 390.

[8] Not "an extremely deep ditch and a rampart above it to protect his camp," as Yonge, 271.

of those who were set to defend the towers on this long and exposed section of the walls.

On the 3rd of September[1] the king wrote to the Jurade at Bordeaux that he and his company were in the best of health, but asked that guns might be forwarded to him as well as 500 or 600 casks of wine, assurances being given that he meant to make it impossible for Harfleur pirates to injure the wine trade for the time to come. All were then in high hopes, the town was completely cut off on every side and totally ruined within[2]. Eight days more would probably finish it and then the victorious army would move on to Montivilliers, Dieppe, Rouen and Paris, and the king would ultimately make a triumphal progress through to Bordeaux.

But already we have evidence that this rosy view was not without its shadowy side. When the army sailed from England, victuals in abundance had been shipped across with it[3], and orders were issued to the Cinque Ports to send over nets, boats and men to fish the Normandy coasts and supply the needful fresh fish for the army[4], while eels, pike (*dentrices*), sturgeon and salted fish were regularly forwarded from England for the king's special service[5]. Though thousands of quarters of wheat[6] had been commandeered by the royal purveyors to be paid for "at the king's price," and money was still being borrowed from the collectors of customs and the Florentine merchants[7] to purchase and forward across other necessaries[8], yet supplies were already becoming insufficient as the army was increasing in numbers every day[9]. Moreover, when the king's letter was received in Bordeaux its sanguine estimates

[1] Jurade, 256.
[2] Tota rota et tota destruita dedeinz, ibid. 257.
[3] Gaguin, Mer des Chron. 140.
[4] Devon, 341.
[5] For £200 paid on this account, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Pasch., Sept. 2, 1415, where the fish is bought from Richard Buckland and sent over with William Godeman, master of the king's barge. The entry also contains payments for deals, mast, sailyards, cables, and anchors for the barge, as well as wages for carpenters and others for making them.
[6] Rym. ix. 312.
[7] Ibid. ix. 310–312; e.g. 700 marks from Whitington; £220 from J. Butiller; £200 each from J. Norton and Richard Buckland, collectors of tonnage and poundage; £50 each from Robert Cotton and Thomas Denton, collectors of small customs; 1000 marks from Lawrence and Philip de Albertis, Gerard Dameus and Stephen Tourneton, merchants of Florence.
[8] Outre qu'il en vendit tous les jours d'Angleterre par mer très largement, Bouvier, 428.
[9] See letter of John deu Bordiu, written Sept. 3, 1415, sur los camps prop. d'Ayreflor, Jurade, 257. For order dated Sept. 1, 1415, to secure sailors for shipping victuals, arms, etc., see Pat. 3 H. V, 34 d.

were prudently discounted, and at their meeting on Oct. 30, 1415[1], the Jurade decided to put off sending the guns for the present, assuming that active operations would be suspended during the winter and that it would be sufficient if they were despatched in time for the resumption of the siege in the following spring.

But it was well that no such suspension was in fact required. For the salt-marshes of the Lézarde were pestilential death-traps[2]; provisions as they arrived were spoiled by the infected air[3]; and the men drank inordinately after working in the sweltering heat[4]. Failing their usual rations[5] they ate too freely of the unripe grapes and other abundant fruit[6]; on fish-days[7] they greedily devoured the cockles and mussels that swarmed that year in the muddy creeks[8], and when the chilly nights succeeded to the hot autumn days they lay down where the offal of the slaughtered beasts lay rotting in the surrounding swamps[9]. Hence fever, flux and dysentery[10] struck down high and

[1] Durant loquan no es bersemblant que lo Rey tenga seti, Jurade, 279.

[2] For the marais salants before the 15th century, see Janin, Voyage, 99. For the salines de Leure, see A. Martin, i. 111. For the déplorables conditions hygiéniques at Leure, see Morlent, Le Havre, ii. 57, do. Arrondiss. Ingouville, 55. For Gonfreville and Ondane (?Oudalle), see Fréville, i. 79, 80. Called "that district of overflowing marshes," in Historians' Hist. xviii. 531.

[3] L'air de la mer, Monstr. 367; Waurin, ii. 183; Le Fèvre, i. 226. Not "damaged in the passage across the channel," as Church, 67, 69. Cf. la plage malsaine, cette cote humide, Monstr. vi. 17, 18; "the deleterious effects of a place so enveloped in waters," Turner, v. 406.

[4] Guthrie (ii. 461) attributes the sickness to the new wine; H. Martin (vi. 11) to the immoderate use of cider. Cf. avoient vécu dans la débauche, Sismondi, xii. 475.

[5] Ex inediis intollerabilibus, St Denys, v. 544, 548; eurent assez de disettes de vivres, Monstr. 367; grant necessité de vitailles, Waurin, ii. 183; grans deffaulte de vivres, Le Fèvre, i. 226.

[6] Uvas crudas et varios fructus indiscreté cunedendo, Strecche, 267; Henry, v. 35.

[7] Cf. "fyssday," Two Cookery Books, 9. For weekly *menu* in the Maison-Dieu at Gonesse, i.e. fresh meat on Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday, bacon and beans on Monday, and eggs on Wednesday, Friday and Saturday, see Delisle, Gonesse, 18; L. Legrand, xxiv. 242; do. Maison-Dieu, 123.

[8] Non prius ibidem solito, Vita, 44: ostreas et concas in cavernis fluvii Secane latitantes, St Denys, vi. 304. For mussels, whelks and shrimps as food, see Wylie, iv. 177.

[9] Wals. ii. 309; Hypodig. 461; Vita, 44.

But mikell folke at that siege yet died
Of frute and flixe and colde were mortified. Hard. 375.

Cf. coldd in nytes and frute etyng, eke of stynke of careynes, Capgr. 311.

[10] Ex fluxu sanguinis, Gesta, 26, 36; Chron. Giles, 24; fluxus ventris ac sanguis, Kirkstall Chron. 285; Tit. Liv. 11; Capgr. De Illustr. 115; morbo dissenterico, Otterbourne, 276; fluxu ventris vel dysenteria, Wals. ii. 309; Hypodig. 462; hic dysenturiae nece trivit passio plures, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 114; cours de ventre, Monstr. 367; Le Fèvre, i. 226; flux de ventre, Waurin, ii. 183; laxatione ventris, Tit. Liv. 21; letargiâ horribiliter invadente, Niem, Vita, 36; Raynaldi, viii. 438; cf. "the fflyx," Hard. 375; Brut, ii. 604, temp. Ed. IV, where it is said that it "never was seen in Engelond before"; a bowel complaint that became epidemical, Turner, v. 409. Cf. "the dyarye that is only

low alike, and though wine, beef and flour were served out from the royal stores[1] freely to the sufferers, yet these comforts could not save their lives, and more than 2000[2] of them died on those melancholy flats, the churchmen, as was natural, attributing the visitation to the anger of God who was punishing us for our sins, and even striking down many of the victims in order that they might not share the glory of Agincourt with Henry as His minister[3].

Bishop Courtenay[4] fell ill on Sept. 10 and died on the following Sunday[5], to the great grief of the king, who with his own hands bathed his feet and closed his dying eyes[6]. He was the eldest son of Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham, and as a young man had been remarkable for his good looks and handsome figure[7]. On Oct. 3, 1399, when only 18 years of age he had been appointed to a canonry in Exeter Cathedral, being at the time precentor in the cathedral at Chichester[8]. He was then only in subdeacon's orders, but on Dec. 14, 1399, Pope Boniface IX granted him a dispensation to be ordained deacon and priest as soon as he should be 20 years of age. He was fully ordained accordingly in St Michael's Chapel at Chudleigh on Dec. 18, 1400[9], and constantly mounted

the flux of the wombe with blood," Arderne MS. (Emm. Coll. Camb.), f. clviii b. For the dyssenterye in *menysone* (Halliwell, s.v. *Menson*), see ibid. f. clix.

[1] Hunter, 10, 36; e.g. Sir James Harington's bowmen received 107 quarterns of flour, 23 cwt. of beef, 18 tuns (i.e. casks) 15 galls. 2 pitchers of wine, Beamont, i. 239.

[2] Cf. Whitaker, Whalley, ii. 345, quoting Harl. MS. 2069, f. 83 b; Sloane MS. 1776, f. 56; Monstr. i. ch. 142, p. 224; not 5000, as Nicolas, 74; Beamont, i. 238; albeit that it consumed gretlie his peple, Noblesse, 16. For a list of over 100 sick, called "the roll of the sick," see Hunter, 10, 21, 30.

[3] Absentes esse voluit, Anjou Lett. 4.

[4] Not Courtenoy, as Kohler, ii. 747.

[5] i.e. Sept. 15, Gesta, 26; Chron. Giles, 24; Blomefield, iii. 527; Stubbs, Reg. 85; Boase, I. lxviii; II. 74; Eubel, i. 389. Not Aug. 15, as Angl. Sacr. i. 416; nor Nov. 15, as Mirot, 146; nor Sept. 13, as R. H. Mason, 216, who nevertheless thinks that he "was at Agincourt," ibid.; nor Sept. 18, as Cleaveland, 275, though the correct date is given in the Inquisition, ibid. 276. The date appears to have been entered as Sept. 14 in Chichele's Register and the obit was kept on Sept. 16, Angl. Sacr. i. 416 note; Monastr. iv. 2. Prince (163) gives Sept. 14 or 16; also Neal, ii. 116. Wade (81) seems to make him die on the march to Agincourt.

[6] Pedes ejus tergente *post* extremam unctionem, Gesta, 27. Not "covered his feet *with* extreme unction," as Nicolas, 202, who thinks that he "received the last offices of religion from the king's own hands" (ibid. 60). In Tyler, ii. 147, the king "joins in the offices of the Church." In Towle, 300, he "kneels by his couch and prays with him," expanding in the Protestant direction.

[7] Wylie, iii. 113.

[8] Also April 24, 1398, Nov. 1, 1399, Papal Letters, v. 140, 150, 229. On July 19, 1400, he has permission to study civil law at a university on the ground of nobilitas generis, both his parents being of noble descent, ibid. v. 271.

[9] Oliver, Bishops, 98, where he is ex utroque parente de nobili gente procreatus.

higher up the ladder of promotion. But he was always a delicate man and he was seriously ill in Paris during both of his embassies in August 1414 and March 1415[1], at which time he was getting very stout and constantly complained of lightheadedness, especially on getting out of bed[2]. Fusoris, the French astrologer, advised him to consult the best doctors when he got back to England, prescribing in the meantime a sippet of toast in hippocras in the early morning[3]. When the Frenchman saw him next at Winchester in July 1415, he found him very nesh and delicate[4] and advised him not to cross with the expedition[5] as he could scarcely expect to escape the contagion to which all could be liable both on the voyage and in the camp, especially in the autumn months. During the siege of Harfleur he had occupied a tent adjoining the king's[6] and at times had actually shared the royal tent itself. Men called him the king's bishop[7], and by his death there is no doubt that Henry lost a real comrade of like tastes and an intimate personal friend[8]. He died at the age of 35, leaving large estates[9] to his nephew Philip, son of his brother John Courtenay, who was at the time under age[10]. His body was sent across to England and buried near the Confessor's shrine behind the high altar in the Abbey at Westminster[11], though there is now no memorial to mark the exact spot where it was laid[12].

[1] Mirot, Fusoris, 149, 195, 196.

[2] Plurimum ponderosus et debilis sic quod in exitu lecti vix poterat sustinere de quâdam inaniâ et debilitate persone, ibid. 236.

[3] Modicum panem assatum cum ypocrate, ibid. 154, 236.

[4] Multum delicatum hominem et tenerum, ibid. 248. Cf. lyk women neshe and feynte, Secreta, 139; Wylie, ii. 329.

[5] Mirot, 177. He was in nave regis at Southampton on June 8, 1415, Rec. Roll 3 H. V, Pasch.

[6] Page 26.

[7] Mirot, Fusoris, 261.

[8] Vol. i. p. 313, note 5. Du Pin, iii. 59; Wharton, Hist. Litt. p. 86, from the MS. in Trin. Coll. Camb. which contains a tract by Richard Ullerston, written in 1408.

[9] Including land in Powderham, Plympton, Moreton, Honiton, Alphington and Dunster, Inq. p. Mort. iv. 19; Cleaveland, 276. On Sept. 23, 1415, Stephen Payne (the king's almoner), John Thorlethorpe and others were appointed to take over all his goods, etc., Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 361. For commission, Oct. 1, 1415, to Thomas Barneby, John Thorlethorpe and others, to hold an enquiry as to his possessions in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, see Mem. Rolls K.R. 3–4 H. V, m. 3. For receipts from Stephen Payne et soc. from custody of his property, see Rec. Roll 6 H. V, Mich., Feb. 14, 1419.

[10] Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 369, 383, Nov. 17, 25, 1415.

[11] Angl. Sacr. i. 416; Lel. Coll. iii. 353; in sepulturâ regiâ, Gesta, 26; Chron. Giles, 24; Blomefield, iii. 527; Stanley, Mem. 179; Dict. Nat. Biogr. xi. 341. Not that he was buried in St Paul's, as Strecche, 267.

[12] Prince, 163; Neal, ii. 116.

Three days after Bishop Courtenay's death, viz. on Wednesday, Sept. 18, 1415[1], the Earl of Suffolk[2], Michael de la Pole[3], died in camp at the age of 54[4]. All his life long he had been a devoted adherent of the house of Lancaster; he had travelled with the king's father when he was Earl of Derby[5], and had served him faithfully throughout his troubled reign. Before leaving England he had made his will on July 1, 1415[6], in his great brick house near St Mary's Church at Hull[7], declaring his wish to be buried either in the Carthusian Priory that he had founded in that town[8], where his family had originally made their wealth as traders[9], or in the collegiate church at Wingfield near Eye in Suffolk, which had recently come to them by his father's marriage with Catherine, eldest daughter of Sir John Wingfield[10], who owned land in Suffolk[11]. Hither the

[1] i.e. Wednesday after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, For. Accts. 4 H. V, 14; called Sept. 17 on his retinue roll, Exch. Accts. 46/24; Hunter, 27; Beamont, i. 240; Doyle, iii. 435; Gesta, 31; Knight, ii. 58. Not Sept. 14, as Dugd. ii. 186; Comp. Peer. vii. 305.

[2] Not Surrey, as Mon. Francisc. ii. 165; nor Stafford, as Monstr. ii. 183; Doyle, Chron. 365; Stanford, Le Fevre, i. 226; Estamfort, Waur. ii. 183; Suffort, Pays-Bas, 353. Goodwin (69) gives both the Earls of Stafford and Suffolk; called the Earls of Stafford and Warwick in Mazas, Vies, v. 581. For his indenture of jewels, June 6, 1415, see Exch. Accts. 45/20 (83); for his retinue (40+120), see Nicolas, 374; Belleval, 355. In L.T.R. Enrolled Accts. 6/2, his wife, Catherine, claims as his executrix for the service of 36+80 present at Agincourt, as well as 11+21 who remained in garrison at Harfleur.

[3] Tit. Liv. 8. Called "Atte Poole," Wals. ii. 309; Hypodig. 462; or "At the Pool," Capgr. 311. For pedigree of his family, see Gough, iii. 321.

[4] He was born circ. 1361 (Comp. Peer. vii. 304), and married Catherine, daughter of Hugh, Earl of Stafford (Doyle, iii. 435). Cf. "dyed of the flixe contynually," Hardyng, 375. For his possessions, see Inq. p. Mort. iv. 15.

[5] In all the viages in his daies both by see and lande that were made out of the lande, Rot. Parl. v. 176, dated 1450 (not 1459, as Nicolas, 159); Doyle, iii. 434.

[6] Dugd. ii. 186, quoting Chichele's Register, i. 283; proved at Lambeth, Geneal. vi. 134; Test. Vet. 189; Napier, 315.

[7] Dugd. ii. 185. [8] Tickell, 161, 197; Monast. vi. 781.

[9] They had removed into Hull from Ravenser in the reign of Edward I (not Edward III, as T. Thompson, 163), Tickell, 20, where it is called Ravenstrod (i.e. Ravenser Odd, Wylie, iv. 145, note 5). For the town of "Odd juxt' Ravenser," see T. Thompson, 131, quoting Cotton MS. Vitellius C. vi. f. 11. For the warden, commonalty and burgesses of Ravenserodd, temp. Ed. III, see Ancient Corrdce, 155, 176. Called Ravenserot in 1251, T. Thompson, 130; Ravensroad in 1285, ibid. 134; Ravenesrode in 1344, Rym. v. 406 (where it has its own bailiffs, distinct from those of Ravenser); Cat. Close Rolls 15 Ed. III, p. 302; Ravensrod, T. Thompson, 175; Fox-Bourne, 47; Barnard, 275. For Ravenspurne, Ravenscrossbourne, with the hermit Matthew Druthorpe at the landing of Henry IV in 1399, see T. Thompson, 152, 182, 188; Cal. Rot. Pat. 238, where "Quinti" is a misprint for "Quarti"; called "Ravenspore," Kingsford, Chron. 19; not "Ravensport," as Brut, ii. 593; Coville (Lavisse), 34; nor "Ravenspurg," as Tyler, ii. 231; nor "Ravensee," as Bree, 344, where it supplies 1 ship with 27 sailors in 1347; not that there was a "battle of Ravenspur" at Henry IV's landing, as Holmes, p. xxiv.

[10] Doyle, iii. 434.

[11] Not that he married a daughter of Gilbert Granville, Earl of Suffolk, as Tickell, 27; meaning apparently Sir Ralph Glanville, Comp. Peer. vii. 304.

body of the dead earl was now conveyed for burial under the escort of two of his squires and four archers selected from his retinue[1], and his monument remains in the church at Wingfield to this day[2]. The title passed to his eldest son Michael[3], who was likewise with the army and had established a reputation among his comrades for dash and courage[4], which was soon to be cut short by his death on the field of Agincourt.

Among many other victims[5] of the flux at Harfleur, the names of eight knights are known, viz. William Beaumond[6] from Devonshire, Roger Trumpington[7] from Cambridgeshire, Edward Burnell[8] from Norfolk, John Marland[9] from

[1] Exch. Accts. 46/24; Hunter, 27; Beamont, i. 240; T. Thompson, 163.

[2] For his effigy in plate armour and that of his wife Catherine, daughter of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, see Stothard, 84; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 241; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 686; Kingsford, 130; Doyle, iii. 434. For estate of his wife Catherine, who died in 1419, see Inq. p. Mort. iv. 42, which includes a long list of her estates in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Lincs., Notts. and Yorkshire. For Catherine, widow of William Wyngfield, kt. *defunctus*, see Claus. 8 H. V, 1, Feb. 27, 1421.

[3] Not John, as Yeatman, ii. 139. His other children were John, Thomas, William, Richard, Ann and Margaret, Tickell, 198. Of these, John became a priest and held the prebend of Wistow (York), but died in 1415. For his will, dated July 16, 1414 (proved Feb. 1415), see Test. Ebor. i. 372, in which he leaves his primer to this brother Michael, the 2nd earl, Test. Vet. 190. On Oct. 13, 1415, the custody of the dead earl's lands is granted to his son Michael, in spite of his absence from England, Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 32. For reference to William, brother to Michael de la Pole, late Earl of Suffolk, who died while under age, see Claus. 6 H. V, 20, May 9, 1418; Dugdale, ii. 186; qui obiit dum infra etatem et in custodiâ nostrâ fuit, Exch. Accts. 215/3, Dec. 8, 1415; Claus. 3 H. V, 2, Feb. 1, 1416, where his goods are still in the king's hands. For Elizabeth, widow of Thomas de la Pole, deceased, see Claus. 6 H. V, 16, June 10, 1418. For Walter de la Pole, sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Hunts. from Nov. 10, 1417, to Nov. 4, 1418, see Sheriffs' Lists, 13; Rec. Roll 6 H. V, Pasch. and Mich., April 25, Oct. 22, 1418. For Edmund De la Pole, kt. of Cambridgeshire, as debtor for 100 marks to Master Richard Holme, clerk, see Claus. 6 H. V, 3 d, Feb. 16, 1419. For possessions of Edmund Pole, kt. in Oxon., Beds. and London, see Inq. p. Mort. iv. 43 (1419).

[4] Juvenem fortem audacem et agilem inter omnes curiales, Gesta, 31; juvenem strenuum, ibid. 58.

[5] e.g. William Bradshaw, esquire, L.T.R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 6/9, where his executors are his widow Joan and his daughter Elizabeth and her husband Richard Harington.

[6] Inq. p. Mort. iv. 21; Stow, 348; called Beaumont in Monstr. 367; Waurin, ii. 183; Le Fèvre, i. 226; not *Lord* Beaumont, as Goodwin, 69.

[7] Inq. p. Mort. iv. 12. Not Trumplanton, as Belleval, 49. For his retinue (3+9), see Exch. Accts. 45/5 (4); Nicolas, 358, 384. For his indenture of jewels (4+9), dated June 17, 1415, see Exch. Accts. 45/21 (74). For his journey to Cologne for the marriage of the Princess Blanche in 1402, when he left London on April 17 and was back there by July 26, see For. Accts. 3 H. V. For his wife Margaret, see Claus. 4 H. V, 21 d; Pat. 4 H. V, 21, June 2, 8, 1416; Inq. p. Mort. iv. 258 (1453/4). In Exch. Accts. 407/11, she is one of Queen Joan's four ladies.

[8] Inq. p. Mort. iv. 21; Blomefield, viii. 193; ix. 337. Called Morissa Brunel in Monstr. (earliest printed edition, 1500); Marice Brune (or Brome), Nicolas, 87; Belleval, 357; Molyns Burnell, Holinsh. iii. 546; called Lords Molyns and Burnell in Halle, 62; Grafton, i. 513; Holinsh. iii. 550; Martyn, 181; Biondi, 116; Lord Brunell, Goodwin, 69; Burnet, Baker, 170; Lords Morris and Brunel, Beamont, 238.

[9] Inq. p. Mort. iv. 12; or Merlaund, Collinson, ii. 222. This is possibly the explanation of Morissa, Marice, etc. in the above note.

Somerset, three Lancashire men, viz. John Southworth[1], Hugh Standish[2] and William Butler[3], and John Phelip of Kidderminster, of which the two latter may claim some separate mention here.

William Butler, lord of the manor of Warrington, had been made a knight of the Bath at the coronation of Henry IV[4]. He had come out in charge of a group of 50 Lancashire archers[5] besides his own personal retinue[6]. When the surrender of Harfleur took place he was mortally sick of dysentery, and he died on Sept. 26, 1415[7]. His body was sent across to England in the same ship with that of the Earl of Suffolk and was buried in the church of the Austin Friars near the bridge at Warrington[8]. Within a year his widow Elizabeth[9] married William Ferrers of Groby[10]. William Butler was succeeded by his son John, who was at the time only 13 years of age[11]. His son again, John Butler[12], whose name survives in a local legend[13], lies buried beneath a splendid tomb[14] in the Butler chantry in the parish church of St Elfin at Warrington.

[1] Kirkstall Chron. 285; Baines, ii. 210; L.T.R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 6/4, showing that he died at Harfleur, Sept. 27, 1415, his heir being his son Thomas, and his retinue 2+6, of whom 1+6 were at the battle. He is called Gybon de Southeworke in Broke's List, p. 51; Nicolas, 334; Whittaker, Whalley, ii. 345.

[2] Beamont, i. 238, who adds "a Cheshire Brereton," whom I cannot identify in Ormerod. Hugh Standish's inquisition is given under 9 H. V (i.e. 1421) in Inq. p. Mort. iv. 56.

[3] Inq. p. Mort. iv. 12; Nicolas, Agincourt, 353, 357, 377; Belleval, 349, 351; Baines, ii. 21; Thoroton, i. 193, where he owns the manor of Cropwell Butler near Nottingham.

[4] Kingsford, Chron. 48, where he is called "Botaller"; Beamont, i. 226, who gives a full account of him.

[5] Exch. Accts. 46/35, where he is called William Botiller. For his receipt for wages for 50 archers for 1 year, dated at Winwick, June 27, 1415, see Vict. Co. Hist. Lancs. i. 346.

[6] i.e. of 4+12, Exch. Accts. 46/35, though he indentured (on April 3, 1415) for 10+30, Wylie, Notes, 130; Beamont, i. 231.

[7] Vict. Co. Hist. Lancs. i. 346; Beamont, i. 240, from Inq. p. Mort., though called Sept. 20 on his epitaph, ibid. i. 239.

[8] Monast. vi. 1592; Baines, ii. 224.

[9] She died in 1440, Beamont, i. 248.

[10] In L.T.R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 6/3 they both appear as executors of William Butler's will.

[11] He was born at Bewsey near Warrington in 1401–2, Baines, ii. 221. For account of him, see Beamont, 296.

[12] He was born March 12, 1430, and died Oct. 22, 1463, Baines, ii. 222, 230; Beamont, ii. 263, 294; do. Warrington Church Notes, 39.

[13] For the legend of his murder at "Busye Hall" in 1463, see Child, iii. 327; Baines, ii. 222.

[14] Beamont, i. 255; ii. 263, 297, 300; Baines, ii. 230, together with his wife Margaret Gerrard who died circ. 1452. Her effigy shows a high head-dress and his a close-cropped head.

John Phelip[1], who came of a Suffolk family[2], was now 31 years of age[3] and had greatly distinguished himself in helping the Burgundians to recapture the bridge at St Cloud four years before[4]. He had landed at Harfleur with a retinue of 30 men-of-arms and 90 archers[5], had shown great dash and daring at the siege and was reckoned among the king's intimate personal friends[6]. He died on Oct. 2, 1415[7], and his body was taken to England for burial beneath a noble slab in the middle of the choir of the parish church of St Mary and All Saints at Kidderminster[8] by the side of his second wife Maud[9], widow of Walter Cooksey[10] of Caldwell castle on the Stour. But our chief interest in him centres round the fact that after his second wife's death he had married Alice[11], the only child and heiress of the Speaker, Thomas Chaucer, and granddaughter of Geoffrey Chaucer the poet. At the time of John Phelip's death she was only 11 years of age[12], but they are always spoken of in official documents as man and wife[13], and it was probably through this marriage that she became possessed of the

[1] So spelt in For. Accts. 3 H. V; or "Phelype," Exch. Accts. 45/1; otherwise "Phillyp," Chron. Lond. 100; not "Phylpot," as Grey Friars' Chron. 13; or "Philips," as Beamont, i. 238, where he is called a Cheshire man; or "Phelipp." See App. U[2].

[2] i.e. from Dennington near Framlingham, Stapleton, clv; not Donyngton, as Weever, 782; Gough, ii. 44; nor "Penyncton," as Nash, ii. 49. For their arms, see Copinger, iv. 33.

[3] Stapleton, clvi, clxvii. [4] Wylie, iv. 62.

[5] Nicolas, 93; Stapleton, clvi; Exch. Accts. 45/22 (11), which contains his indenture of jewels dated June 6, 1415, in which he is Monsieur John Phelipp. For another indenture of jewels dated June 8, 1415, in which he is "John Philipp," see Exch. Accts. 45/20 (83), with his seal attached showing a cross potent.

[6] Henricus quintus dilexerat hunc ut amicus;
Audax et fortis apud Harffleu John bene gessit,
from his epitaph, Gough, ii. 44; Nash, ii. 49; Macklin, 164, where he is "John Phelip baro"; Murray, Handbook of Worcester and Hereford, p. 29.

[7] i.e. Wednesday before St Faith's Day, Stapleton, clvi; Napier, 32; not Sept. 2, as Stapleton, clv; nor 1418, as Comp. Peer. vii. 36; MC quater V (*sic*), in Gough, ii. 44.

[8] Where he is represented in plate armour with his initials IP repeated on the belt, Macklin, 152, 157, 164; called "PYPYPIF" in Gough, ii. 44; Nash, ii. 49; Napier, 33.

[9] Stapleton, clvi. His first wife was a Bottetourt. For a picture of him in plate armour with his first and second wives, see Napier, 32, from a window formerly in the church at Kidderminster.

[10] He died in 1405, Nash, ii. 47; Inq. p. Mort. iii. 302; not 1410, as Nash, ii. 50, for on Nov. 14, 1408, Maud is described as *widow* of Walter Cooksey, Cal. Pat. H. IV, iv. 30.

[11] i.e. before Nov. 2, 1414, Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 259; ii. 29.

[12] She was born in 1404, Napier, 30.

[13] e.g. quae fuit uxor Johannis Phillyp, or Phelip, Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., March 18, 1416; do. 4 H. V, Pasch., Mich., July 13, Nov. 4, 1416; do. 5 H. V, Pasch., June 5, 1417 (where she receives £100 per annum and the manor of Michelhampton in Gloucestershire, Inq. p. Mort. iv. 13); Iss. Roll 7 H. V, Pasch., Mich., May 1, 22, Dec. 4, 1419; For. Accts. 6 H. V, 20; nuper viro suo, Rot. Parl. v. 77; Napier, 46.

castle of Donnington[1] near Newbury, with which her name is so intimately associated. After Phelip's death she married Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury, who died at the siege of Orleans, Nov. 3, 1428[2], and two years later[3] she became the wife of William de la Pole, Earl (afterward Duke) of Suffolk, who was murdered on May 2, 1450.

On Sept. 16[4] the besieged in Harfleur made a desperate sally and burnt some of the English stores, but were driven back with much slaughter. Not to be again caught napping Sir John Holland together with Sir John Cornwall, Gilbert Umfraville[5] and others led a furious assault on the bulwark. The ditch was filled with long faggots[6] and under a shower of flaming darts[7] the work was set on fire and a distinct step forward was taken in the progress of the siege. Still the besieged held on with all their might[8]. As fast as a breach was made, it was closed again with logs, stones and earth, and submission was as far off again as ever[9]. Finding his own army to be dwindling under the stress of disease, King Henry at length decided for a final strong effort, and an assault was ordered for the morning of Sept. 18[10]. All night long the besieged were kept alert at their posts by a constant cannonade. They had sent

[1] Inq. p. Mort. iv. 13; Napier, 46. It was a manor house which was crenellated by its owner Richard Atterbury in 1392, T. H. Turner, iii. 419; Inq. p. Mort. iii. 255; Lysons, Magn. Brit. i. 356; Nicolas, Chaucer, 89. King (100) seems to think that it remained in the hands of Thomas Chaucer till his death which happened on Nov. 18, 1434, Lel. Itin. ii. 6; Grainger, i. 64, but it was given to John Phelip and his wife Alice, Napier, 46, though certainly not by *Geoffrey* Chaucer, as supposed by Turner, ii. 270, iii. 419.

[2] Comp. Peer. vii. 36; Doyle, iii. 242; Napier, 35. For his arms, see Sarrazin, Jeanne d'Arc, 46; for his seals and stall-plate as K.G., see Hope, Plate L. For picture of him with John Lydgate, see Vol. i. p. 318; Wylie, iii. 287, note 3; S. E. Harding.

[3] i.e. in 1430, Dict. Nat. Biogr. xlvi. 55; Inq. p. Mort. iv. 122; or 1431, Napier, 51. For her effigy at Ewelme (d. 1475) see Hope, Heraldry, 284.

[4] Hard. 390.

[5] Reading "Kyme" for "Kent" in Hard. 374. Not Reginald, Earl of Kent, as Hardyng, Index, s.v.; cf. Waurin, ii. 181; Monstr. 366; Drayton, 39; Bullen, 133. Hard. (374) names also Gray, Stewart and Porter; cf. Redman, 421; Holinsh. iii. 549, 550. For Gilbert Umfraville's retinue of 30+90, see Sloane MS. 4600, f. 272 (not 20+90, as Nicolas, 385; Wylie, Notes, 136). For the king's legacy to him, viz. a gold cup and a horse, see Rym. ix. 292.

[6] Vita, 46; with fagottes that were there, Hard. 374.

[7] With his gunes castyng,
Thei made the toure to fall,
And their bulwerke brent with shot of wild fyre. Hard. 374.

Cf. page 38, notes 2, 4. For a fancy picture of the scene at night, see Michelet, vi. 18.

[8] Viriliter resisterat, Capgr. De Illustr. 115; Juv. 506.

[9] Niente anchora averly posudo par, Morosini, ii. 60.

[10] Letter Book I, 131; Riley, Mem. 619; Halliwell, Lett. i. 84.

message after message to Rouen for help[1] but no sign of help had come. Their food was fast failing[2]; their walls were breached[3]; and their outlook was nothing but wholesale butchery and bottomless despair[4]; and so before the sun was up[5] a message came out to the Duke of Clarence[6] on the eastern side offering to submit if no succour[7] should reach the town by noon on the following Sunday, Sept. 22[8].

At first the king would hear of no such terms[9], demanding that the surrender should be made without conditions on the very next day, but on reflection he appointed the Earl of Dorset with Lord Fitzhugh[10] and Sir Thomas Erpingham[11] to ascertain officially the real intentions of the besieged. The negotiators were escorted to the walls with a solemn procession in which the Host was carried by Bennet Nicole, the Bishop of Bangor[12], preceded by the king's chaplains clad in surplice, amice[13] and copes of bright silk or cloth of gold[14], the chief narrator of the incidents of the siege being

[1] Gesta, 30, quoting Claud. A. VIII. 1. Cf. unto Roon for to ride, Lydg. 312. For Johan Lescot lequel M. de Gaucourt avoit bouté hors secrètement pour faire par icellui savoir à mondit seigneur le connestable l'estat de lui et de la ville, see Hellot, 98, from Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 26,040, no. 4974, Sept. 13, 1415.

[2] Nicolas, App. 25; Juv. 506; magnâ ciborum maceratis inediâ, Croyl. 500.

[3] For breach made at a place still called La Brèque, i.e. at the entrance to Harfleur from Havre, see Revue de Rouen (1845), p. 7. The present Café de la Brèque is about a ¼ mile to the west of Harfleur on the main road from Havre.

[4] Juv. 507; inaudita tormenta, Blondel, i. 260.

[5] Not on Sept. 28, as Kingsford, Chron. 117, 118. The message was brought by William Boucher and John Graunt and 12 other burgesses, Caxton, Polychron. 145; Brut, ii. 376.

[6] Wals. ii. 308; do. Hypo. 460; Capgr. 310; Greg. Chron. 109; Julius B. I. f. 37, in Nicolas, Agin. 209. St Denys, v. 242, on the authority of those who were present, says that they stood an attack on the south side (*circa meridiem*) for 3 hours, but that those on the other side opened the gates to the English.

[7] "If eny maner rescouse myght come," Brut, ii. 553.

[8] Riley, Mem. 619; Gesta, 30. Unto it be Sounday atte non, Harflet, 312, App. B; a l'heure de midy, Juv. 507; "at twayne after none," Cleop. C. IV. f. 22, in Nicolas, 206; not "until nine of the clock," as Holinsh. iii. 550; nor "within 6 days," as Tit. Liv. 10; Vita, 47; nor "by Sept. 18," as Hume (1854), ii. 355.

[9] For similar condition at Rouen in Jan. 1419, see Archaeologia, xxii. 357; also at Cocklaw, Wylie, i. 339. For statement that Harfleur surrendered on condition that Henry won his way safely through to Calais, see Gaguin, 202, upon which Fabyan (579) remarks that Gaguin "boroweth of his conscience for sparynge the trouth in report of many thynges."

[10] Not "Fitzhen," as Bréquigny, 6.

[11] Wals. ii. 308; Hypo. 460; Julius B. I. f. 37 (i.e. the same as Greg. Chron. continued) cf. Chron. Lond. 157, where the conference with Gaucourt takes place on Sept 17; called "another contemporary chronicler" in Nicolas, 209; "*peut-être* un témoin oculaire," Bréquigny, 6.

[12] Not Norwich, as Juv. 507; nor Norfolk, as Barante, iii. 150. In Guthrie (ii. 460) he is said to have been the first to enter the town with 500 gentlemen.

[13] See Du Cange, s.v. *Almucium*; G. F. Lee, s.v. *Amice*.

[14] Greg. Chron. 110; "with 24 copes of a sute," Julius B. I. f. 37, in Nicolas, 210; Chron. Lond. 158; "xxiii copes of o sainct (i.e. suite) before goddes bodye," Bréquigny, 6.

amongst the number, and when they came within ear-shot the bishop cried out: "Fear not, the King of England has not come to waste your lands; we are good Christians and Harfleur is not Soissons[1]!" Then the Lord of Gaucourt and other leaders came out to meet them and as a result of the parley 24 hostages[2] were given up as a guarantee of good faith and declarations were made on oath in front of the king's tent, which was distinguished by a crown among the crowds of others, embroidered with arms and gay with fluttering pennons[3]. After the surrender a rumour was widely circulated that the town had been betrayed and the eastern gate opened to the English by traitors within[4], but the evidence all shows that Harfleur yielded "by composition[5]," though the story served its purpose for the moment in soothing the wounded *amour propre* of the capital and was even reported as far as Venice[6] before a month was out. Modern French opinion has inclined to regard it as "altogether imaginary[7]," though it is certain that one of the towers was afterwards known as the Treason Tower[8].

[1] Juv. 507; see Vol. i. p. 395.

[2] Or 22, according to Wals. ii. 308; Hypo. 460; Capgr. 310; Julius B. I. f. 37, in Nicolas, Agin. 210; or 12, according to Tit. Liv. 11; Vita, 47; or 30, according to Pol. Verg. 443; Halle, 62; Grafton, i. 513. For their names, see Brut, ii. 554. For names of 8 of them with 30 leading townsmen, see Cleop. C. IV. f. 22, in Nicolas, 206, 208; Kingsford, Chron. 117, 118, 304; cf. Tit. Liv. 10.

[3]
With baners bryght and many penoun,
And there they pyght there tentys adown,
That were embroudyd with armys gay,
First the king's tent with the crown,
And all othere lordys in good aray.
Harflet, 307; App. 71.

[4] St Denys, v. 542; cf. laquelle par aucunes mauvaises gens fut ouverte, Juv. 506; Ruisseauville, 137, who accuses Gaucourt and Pierre de Brébant. Zantfliet, 406, thinks that the captain of Harfleur was pecuniâ corruptus; Wright, i. 470.

[5] Par composition, Raoulet, 154. Not that it was "taken by storm after tremendous slaughter on both sides," as Strickland, ii. 119.

[6] Per uno tratado (complot) iera ly dentro quelo dito chapetanio (probably Gaucourt) s'aveva fato Ingelese (s'était fait Anglais), Morosini, ii. 62, as reported in Venice on Oct. 16, 1415.

[7] Borély, i. 105, 113, who supposes that "cette flétrissure" was given by the English (p. 111).

[8] See page 39. For the Tour de la Trahison on the eastern side, so named in the accounts of Louis Raoulin, receveur des deniers communaux (1484–1491), see Viau in Revue de Rouen, 1845, p. 9, who supposes that the story arose from the name of the tower. Traces of it still remain, ibid. p. 12. It is no. 9 on the plan in Dumont, 71.

CHAPTER XXX

FALL OF HARFLEUR

WHEN the composition had been drawn up by the negotiators before the walls of Harfleur, the siege operations were suspended until the French king's decision should be known. Five weeks[1] had now run out since the English had landed, but the French still hugged their laggard policy of devil-may-care and lethargy[2]. The landing had been long expected[3], but no one had been able to forecast the actual spot. Some thought that Flanders might be threatened, and activity was accordingly shown in protecting the towns thereabout[4]. At Boulogne the actual departure of the fleet from Southampton was reported by the fishing-boats, and warnings were at once despatched to Le Crotoy, St Valery and Étaples to be prepared for a possible attempt at the mouths of the Canche and the Somme[5]. As far back as April 26, 1415[6], the Dauphin had been appointed Captain-General of the French forces to resist the coming invasion, and the Constable[7] Charles d'Albret had been subsequently entrusted with all arrangements for the defence of the country[8]. But his authority was weak and after the enemy had

[1] Not "bien trois semaines," as Verneuil, 217. Masson (240) thinks that the siege "lasted a whole month"; also Radford, 48; Trévédy, 13; "bethyn xl days," Noblesse, 29; infra duos menses, Kingsford, Lit. 277.

[2] Segnitiâ, veccordiâ, seu saltem incautelâ, Gesta, 15; see Wylie, iv. 59, note 4. Borély (i. 110) thinks that any attempt to relieve Harfleur could but have had disastrous results and that the interests of France imposaient cette reserve et cette temporisation.

[3] For letter of Charles VI received at Noyon, July 14, 1415, saying that "les Englés sont prests pour venir descendre au royaume," see La Fons-Melicocq, 24.

[4] A cause que les Englés estoient supz mer a grand force waucrans (=roaming), Pays-Bas, 353.

[5] Deseilles, 415; A. Martin, Fécamp, i. 121.

[6] Thres. des Chartres J. 369, in Transcripts, P.R.O.; Vol. i. p. 447.

[7] For duties of the constable, see Boutaric, 269.

[8] Juv. 505.

actually crossed he was freely accused[1] of having entered into an understanding at his recent visit to England that their landing should not be opposed[2]. At any rate he did little more than post himself with 1500 men at Honfleur[3] in the belief that the English might attempt to land on the south bank of the Seine[4], while the Marshal Boucicaut, who had been appointed Lieutenant and Captain-General for the king on July 28, 1415[5], waited for them with a similar small force on the north bank near Caudebec[6]. Money was certainly procured by means of loans[7], but whether it was laid out to the most effective purpose may well be doubted. Out of it some small payments appear to have gone to maintain eight cross-bowmen at Caen under the love-lorn poet Jean de Garencières[8] to help to defend that city against the English. As to Harfleur itself such preparations as there were appear to have been limited to lifting the rounded stones from the Montivilliers road[9] and storing them in the town to be used as missiles if required[10]. It was not, however, till the whole English force had safely landed and Harfleur was completely cut off that the powers of France began to shake off their torpor. On Aug. 19, 1415[11], letters were despatched to various places announcing

[1] i.e. by the Bastard of Bourbon, Juv. 508; Le Fèvre, i. 225; Pol. Verg. 443. In Ruisseauville (137) it is said that Charles d'Albrech allait bien souvent boire et mangier avec le roi en lost des Englés; though Guthrie (ii. 461) thinks that "the animosities that had of late torn their government were now sunk into revenge and fury against the English," etc. Nicolas (85) thinks that "with proper devotion to their country they forgot their mutual jealousies and supported the common cause," etc.; also Crowe, i. 125.

[2] St Denys, v. 334; Fenin, 558.

[3] Not Harfleur, as Speed, 778; Nicolas, 84. At the end of August 1415, messengers from Boulogne were sent to him at Abbeville, Dieppe and Honfleur, Deseilles, 415; Mém. Soc. Antiq. de Boulogne, v. 101.

[4] Juv. 505; Holinsh. iii. 549.

[5] Morosini, ii. 26, quoting Vaissète, ix. 1028.

[6] Bouvier, 428; Gaguin, 202; Mer des Chroniques, 140; Pol. Verg. 443; Halle, 62; Grafton, i. 513. Called "Caudebuc," in Speed, 778; "they with their powers to Cawdebek retire," Drayton, 36; Mazas, Vies, v. 573, who has nothing but praise for Boucicaut, blames the Constable for stationing the forces on opposite sides of the Seine. For account of Caudebec, see Dearmer, 313, 318.

[7] e.g. on Feb. 16, 1415, the Duke of Alençon lent 23,000 francs, receiving jewels and a gold boat as pledges for repayment, Moranville, 421. For £70 lent by Gérard Montaigu, Bishop of Paris, on May 25, 1415 (repaid April 27, 1416), to pay men-of-arms on the frontiers of Picardy, Normandy and Guienne, see ibid. 425. For measures of defence taken in Normandy, see remissions granted in Sept. 1415 to Guillaume de Lescaut in Archives Nat. J. J. 168, fol. 246, quoted in Bourgeois, 62.

[8] For his receipt for wages for them dated Sept. 15, 1415, see Romania, xxii. 432, quoting Clairambault, Titres scellés.

[9] Monstr. 366; Waurin, ii. 181. See page 34

[10] Not "throwing them into the Seine" (*sic*), as Belleval, 42. Yonge (269) thinks that they took up the pavements to make the roads worse.

[11] For letter to Verdun, see Clouet, iii. 554.

that the English had landed, and on Aug. 28[1] orders were sent out summoning forces to assemble at Rouen. In this way, after much vacillation[2] and many appeals and promises, an army of 14,000 men-of-arms[3] was being at last got together, when on Sept. 1[4] the Dauphin set out from Paris with sound of trumpet to head the great force that was beginning to muster at Rouen[5]. So leisurely however were his movements that on Sept. 3 he was still at St Denis, where he was confronted by a man who had dropped from the walls at Harfleur and made his way through the English lines by night bearing a desperate message as to the true condition of things within the besieged town[6]. But the message roused no fire in Paris, except that some very striking processions were marshalled to the churches, orders were put out forbidding the use of swear-words[7] and a new coinage of gold crowns was issued from the mint[8]; or if a force did try to move and check the wholesale ravage that was being carried on by the English forayers[9], they only quarrelled among themselves, retiring before they got within sight of the town and effecting little beyond the slaughter of some prisoners whom they captured in the woods[10].

The Duke of Burgundy had already been apprised[11] of the landing of the English and the siege of Harfleur, and on Sept. 1 messengers were despatched from Paris summoning him as well as the Duke of Orleans and the Count of Nevers to come to the rescue, each with 500 picked men-of-arms, but not a step could be taken without fresh outbursts of jealousy and bitterness[12]. The Armagnac

[1] Plancher, iii. 420. For a letter dated Sept. 6, 1415, to Tournai to send as many men-of-arms, archers and cross-bowmen as possible to go to Harfleur which is being besieged, see Vandenbroeck, 123. In response to this 50 cross-bowmen left Tournai on Sept. 17, returning home on Nov. 18, 1417, not having been actually in the battle at Agincourt.

[2] Cf. à Rouen *ou ailleurs quelque part* que sera vostre adversaire, Juv. 509, 516, written to Duke of Burgundy, Aug. 23, 1415.

[3] Loricati, St Denys, v. 540.

[4] Juv. 505; Bourgeois, 61.

[5] Le haut appareil qui est *commencé* à l'encontre, Juv. 517, written at Argilly on Sept. 24, 1415.

[6] Page 49, note 1.

[7] Ordonnances, x. 243, Sept. 7, 1415. For similar order by the Dauphin at Mehun-sur-Yèvre, Oct. 8, 1420, see ibid. xi. 105; quoted in Vallet de Viriville, i. 257.

[8] Escuz à la couronne, Ordonnances, x. 248, Oct. 11, 1415.

[9] Fourriers, Le Fevre, i. 225; Monstr. 367; Normandie, 168; Cousinot, 133.

[10] Juv. 517.

[11] See note 2 *supra*.

[12] Juv. 505.

was not going to play into the hands of the Burgundian, for the nettles had choked the lily-garden[1] before and so they would again if they got the chance. The Duke of Orleans agreed to send his quota of men but gave no undertaking that he would come himself, while the Duke of Burgundy protested that he would come to serve his king with his whole force, but as this was considered an inconvenient offer it was judged better to ask him not to come in person[2] but to send his son instead, with the result that neither father nor son ever came at all[3]. An Armagnac, Pierre de Brébant[4], was appointed captain of Picardy[5], but the Duke of Burgundy refused to recognise him and when the lords of that province were summoned to put themselves with all speed at the disposal of the Dauphin, they hung back till they should receive definite orders from their own Duke[6].

At length the Dauphin made a start for Rouen though his total force was altogether inadequate for effective warfare[7]. He reached Vernon on Sept. 3[8], where many of the younger nobles were awaiting him[9], and on Sept. 10[10] the King of France, though still periodically insane[11], took the oriflamme[12] with all the solemnities at St Denis, handing it to the keeping of Guillaume Martel, Lord of Bacqueville[13], and marched through Mantes[14] to add splendour to

[1] Vol. i. p. 129. [2] Plancher, iii. 422. [3] Monstr. 370.

[4] Coville, 395; Wylie, iii. 82, note 7. Cf.

> Clugnet de Brebant,
> Qui fut de sy tres grant beubant,
> Et si plains de pompe et d'orgoel,
> Que son pareil ne vit nuls d'oel. Pastoralet, 845.

He was Lord of Landreville (near Buzancy, Ardennes), Boule, 3. For account of him, see Montandre, 22. He is called Clingarto de Borbonio, Impens, 356; Claunet or Clougnet de Braibant, Ruisseauville, 137, where he is accused of having sold Harfleur to the English. See Vol. i. p. 401.

[5] Monstr. 367; Waurin, ii. 183.

[6] Monstr. 369; Waurin, ii. 186; Le Fèvre, i. 228.

[7] Ilz estoient trop petit nombre, Pays-Bas, 354.

[8] St Denys, v. 540; Monstr. 367; Waur. ii. 184; Le Fèvre, i. 227; E. Mayer, i. 173. For letters of his dated at Vernon, Sept. 18, 22, 1415, see Vaissète, iv. 439; Bec Chron. 82 note.

[9] Bourgeois, 62; Juv. 505. [10] Félibien, St Denys, 335.

[11] Monstr. 362; Waurin, ii. 169; si incolumis perstitisset, St Denys, v. 542; comme tout malade et sans pou de sens, Normandie, 11; the king of Fraunce that is so old, Harflet, 302.

[12] See Vol. i. p. 393.

[13] He was with the king from Sept. 7, 1415 (Hellot, 98), and could not therefore have been amongst the defenders of Harfleur. On Oct. 7, 1415, he was made captain of Château-Gaillard, Hellot, 99.

[14] Pays-Bas, 354. Towle (308) thinks that it had been displayed from the tower of Notre Dame.

the muster that was slowly assembling at Rouen. But though crowds of French lords were ready and chafing for action, yet when the despairing message arrived from Harfleur[1] the army at Rouen still stuck motionless as if bound under a spell[2], and so callous was the council as to the fate of the defenders of Harfleur that in an official proclamation dated at Meulan on Sept. 20[3], the town is spoken of as having already fallen, though fully two days yet remained within which relief might have been attempted. So when the noon of Sept. 22[4] arrived and no effective help had come[5], 500 English troops presented themselves at the gates demanding the stipulated surrender.

The final scene was staged with impressive solemnity. A gay silken tent[6] was pitched at the foot of the western hill[7] and within it King Henry took his seat on a throne draped with linen[8] and cloth of gold. On his right Sir

[1] For the Lord of Hacqueville's visit to the Dauphin at Vernon, see Monstr. iii. 85; First Life, 39.

[2] Quasi cantato carmine fascinati, St Denys, v. 542; quibus nullus tulit auxilium, Blondel, i. 260; "for the Dolfyn wolde not abyde," Brut, ii. 376.

[3] Monstr. iii. 90.

[4] Gesta, 31; Wals. ii. 307; Hypodig. 459; Chron. Lond. 100; Worcester, 453; Julius B. 1. f. 37, in Nicolas, Agin. 209; Kingsford, Chron. 70; do. Lit. 317, 351; Greg. Chron. 109;

In Mauric festo rex Henricus memor esto
Obsiderat quintus Harfew sibi plebis (*sic*) subintus. Stone, 19.

Harflu fert [or fest] Mauric, Usk, 129; Strecche, 267 b; Twysden, 2290; Elmham, Aug. 73; Lib. Metr. 124; Lambeth MS. 84, f. 195; Bermondsey, 484; Brut, ii. 598; or "Maoric," MS. Bodl. 496 (2246). In L.T.R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 6/7, John Radcliffe with his retinue enters Hareflieu with Thomas, late Duke of Exeter, on Sept. 22, 1415, as certified by the Duke's executors William Phelipp, kt., Thomas Walberr and others. Called circa festum beati Michaelis, Kirkstall Chron. 205; Sundy befor Myhilmesse, Capgr. 310. Not "Sunday *after* Michaelmas Day," as Guthrie, ii. 459; nor "towards the middle of October," as ibid. 461; nor "in the beginning of October," as Strickland, ii. 119; nor Sept. 30, as Mazas, Vies, v. 579, though he gives Sept. 24 on p. 578; also Heron, 77; Duchesne, 823; Deseilles, 418; A. Martin, Fécamp, i. 122; nor Sept. 28, as Kingsford, Chron. 117, 118; Saint Foix, iii. 187; nor Sept. 27, as Beaucourt, i. 260; Valois, iv. 354; nor Sept. 21, as Ruisseauville, 137; G. Du Pont, ii. 511; nor Sept. 20, as Short Chron. 55; Cochon, 338; Blanchard, ii. 205, note; nor Sept. 18, as Sharpe, i. 259; Bess, Perpignan, 699; do. Bündniss, 640; nor Sept. 17, as A. Martin, Patriote, 14; nor Sept. 16, as Lavisse-Rambaud, iii. 137; nor Sept. 14, as Bourgeois, 67; Godstow, 211; Cosneau, Connétable, 40.

[5] Perficitur nihil hinc et nihil inde venit, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 112; withoute any help of Kyng or of Daufyn, Capgr. 311; do. De Illustr. 115; mais ils n'eurent aucun secours, Juv. 506.

[6] A "great pretory of silk," First Life, 40. For picture of a rich tent with blue pattern on a white ground, see Humphreys, Frois. i. Plate XXVI; also Willemin, i. 134. Cf.

Statly tentes anon they pyght,
Large and long and gret of syzth. Pol. Songs, ii. 152.

[7] In cardine montis, Gesta, 31; in plano, Tit. Liv. 11; in ruris planicie, Vita, 48; not "on the summit of a hill," as Lingard, iii. 490; Tyler, ii. 149; Cassell, i. 527; Towle, 303; Church, 69.

[8] Vestibus aureis carpasitis, Hard. 389. Called "under a cloth of estate," Speed,

Gilbert Umfraville[1] held the royal tilting-helm[2] aloft on a pike[3], and round the throne were ranged a throng of knights and nobles, while all the space between the tent and the town was lined with English soldiery. Between these files the captain of the garrison (Lionnet de Bracquemont[4]), with the Lord of Gaucourt and others, passed out in the shirts of penitence with ropes about their necks[5] to deliver up the keys[6] and throw themselves wholly on the royal mercy. For a time King Henry would not look at them[7], but kept them waiting on their knees in three or four adjoining tents, but this humiliation being over he gave them a promise that their lives should be spared and after having well supped[8] they were distributed amongst the various captains for safe custody for the present[9]. Then the red-cross banner of St George[10] was hoisted over each of the gates of Harfleur and the Earl of Dorset[11], who as

778; not "clad in gold and caparsites," as Nicolas, Agin. 209; cf. "as it is saide there was never Chrystyn Kyng so Ryall, nother so lordly sat in his see as dide he," Cleop. C. IV. f. 24, in Nicolas, 211; Tyler, ii. 149 (who fancies that the writer was "probably an eye-witness"). Belleval, 53, calls it "pompe théatrale et affecté."

[1] Not Robert, as Lingard, iii. 242; Church, 69.

[2] Coronatâ galeâ triumphali, Gesta, 32; "the coroneted helm," Kingsford, 132; not "his crown," as Airy, i. 143; called a casket (cf. Capgr., s.v. *Casquet*), whereupon was an imperial crown set with stones of great prices, in Speed, 778, though not in Hard. 389. For Henry's "tilting casque" or "tournament helmet" in Westminster Abbey, see Meyrick, in Nicolas, App. 48; Murray-Smith, 62; Bradley, Guide. For the tilting-helm worn over the coiffe de maille, see Brett, 68. In Harl. MS. 4380, f. 186; Johnes, Frois. iv. 671; Humphreys, Frois. ii. Pl. XXIV; Roujoux-Mainguet, i. 428; W. H. S. Aubrey, ii. 8; Wright and Smith, 178, one of the 3 attendants at the coronation of Henry IV holds the helmet surmounted by a crown. For heaulme surmonté du tymbre portant les armes ou couleur du chevalier, see Prost, Frontispiece. For timber (tumbre) of John, Duke of Burgundy, with 2 pennar (i.e. labels, lambrequins) minivered with lettice (erminez de letice), painted by Colart de Laon in 1409, see Archives hist. artist. et litt. i. 76.

[3] Cf. the captain bare byfore him hys helmet on a tronchon of a spere, Melusine, 151.

[4] Page 35. Called "Sir Jakes de Harecourt" in Brut, ii. 553, 554.

[5] Nudis in colla funatis et cordulatis, Usk, 125.

[6] Here y have brought yowe the keyes alle
Of Herflew that faire town. Harflet, 313.

[7] Wolde note rewarde them with non eye, Cleop. C. IV. 24, in Nicolas, 211; Kingsford, Chron. 119; Cassell, i. 527, who regards this as "opposed to his usual humanity."

[8] Turner, v. 410, who makes the king "soothe them with a supper of that magnificence which lessened their mortified feelings and satisfied their sensual tastes."

[9] Cagny (95) represents that Henry broke his word in detaining them as prisoners.

[10] The Watch Tower with Saint George's banner graced, Drayton, 41; Bullen, 135. For representation of St George's banner in the Bedford Missal, see Gough, Missal, 10; Dibdin, I. p. cxxxvi. For Thomas Strickland, bannerer of the banner of St George at Agincourt, see Nicolas, 375.

[11] Myn uncle Dorset withoute lettyng Capteyn of Harflewe schall ye be, Harflet, 313; App. 74. He is still captain on April 2, 1416, Rym. ix. 337. Called "Thomâ Bewfo" (i.e. Beaufort) in Vita, 49; "Beaufort his unkill," Brut, ii. 554; "his Em," Chron. Lond. 100; Normandie, 169; Lel. Coll. ii. 487. Not "the Duke," as D. Turner,

constable of the host had been foremost in every operation of the siege and was known as the "little king[1]," was appointed captain of the place with Henry Verney[2] as his lieutenant.

Before the capture it had been understood that the king would not enter the town[3], but for some reason he changed his mind and made a solemn entry on the day after the surrender. Dismounting from his horse at the gate[4], he unlaced[5] his shoes and walked barefoot[6] through the streets to the parish church of St Martin[7], whose steeple and bells were all wrecked by the stone-shot[8]. Here he offered thanks to God for his success[9] and then took up his quarters in the town[10] to make arrangements for its future

Caister, 27; nor "Herzog d'Orset," as Köhler, ii. 750; nor "Duke of Bedford," as Cordeliers, 220; nor "Conte de Helsortd," as Pays-Bas, 352; nor "his unckle Excester," as Drayton, 42; H. V, iii. 3, 52; Duchesne, 823; also Lay, 46, 57, 130. For his retinue (100+300), see Nicolas, Agincourt, 83; Wylie, Notes, 136. L.T.R. Misc. Books, no. 79, shows that on Nov. 30, 1416, Philip Caxton, clerk (or Caxston, Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Jan. 23, 1416), was attorney for him in England; see also Iss. Roll 6 H. V, Pasch., Apr. 8, June 1, 1418; Rec. Roll do. do., June 1, 1418; Devon, 359 (July 24, 1419); Iss. Roll 8 H. V, Pasch., May 23, 1420. See Vol. i. p. 121.

[1] Conestable de l'ost es le petit rey, Jurade, 257, where the writer reports that the king da grand fey à lui.

[2] T.R. Misc. Books, no. 79, shows that he was lieutenant of the Earl of Dorset before Sir John Fastolf; cf. Dumont, 20; Goodwin, 72.

[3] Jurade, 257. [4] Not at the church door, as Pauli, v. 109.

[5] Cf. Mark i. 7 (Wycliffe). Cf. his shon laced or bokelid, Mann. and Meals, i. 178.

[6] Barefooted and barelegged, First Life, 93; without hosen or shooes, Stow, 348; and on his bare feet to the church he came, Drayton, 41; the church was Harrie's object not the towne, G. Daniel, iv. 137. Trébuchet (72) calls it cet excès de piété. For the Archbishop of Rouen walking barefoot from the church of St Ouen to the cathedral at Rouen in 1415, see Fallue, ii. 316.

[7] Solum unicâ parochiali eclesiâ decoratur, Gesta, 18; parochiali d'icelle ville, Monstr. 370; metropolitaine of the town, Stow, 348. Not the present church with its great tower and spire and porch which was built subsequently, though not by the English as has been supposed, see Cochet, Eglises, i. 140, 142, 150–167, 201; Joanne, Normandie, 88; Letellier, 393, 395; Dumont, 87; Morlent, Arrond. ii. 37; Macquoid, 161; Grande Encycl. xix. 854; Le Flaguais, iv. 171. For picture, see Bordeaux, i. i. 47; Normandie Monumentale, 393; Knight, ii. 92; D. Turner, i. 75. For altars consecrated in the old church in 1411 by the Bishop of Bangor (possibly Griffin Yonge, Vol. i. pp. 112, 445), on one of his visits to France as a negotiator for Owen Glendower, see Moranvillé, 420. For William Edsale made parson of St Martin's, Harfleur, see Rym. ix. 598, June 18, 1418. In 1421, Edsale was made governor of the hospital at Harfleur, Carte, Rolles, i. 359. On March 24, 1421, Jean de Suillot is chaplain capellanie beatae Mariae, founded in ecclesiâ sancti Martini de Harefloto, Rym. x. 89; Ewald, xlii. 413; Carte, Rolles, i. 359, where there is a reference to vicus vocatus de Jumeaux.

That the stepyll of Harflete and bellys also,
With his breth he (i.e. "London," the great gun) dide down blowe,
His ball foull fayre he gan throwe
Agayne the stepyll of stone roue (i.e. rough),
The bellys they rowng up a rawe. Harflet, 310.

[9] St Denys, v. 542; Monstr. 370; Waurin, ii. 186; Le Fèvre, i. 228.

[10] Oure kyng unto the castell yede,
And rested hym there as hys will was. Harflet, 314.

Aulcune espace avec sa gentilesse, Pays-Bas, 354.

government. One of his brothers[1] went round from house to house threatening to hang[2] all inhabitants who failed to make a true declaration of what they were worth. Schedules were drawn up under each man's name[3] and all who were willing to take an oath of allegiance to King Henry were allowed to retain their goods and possessions[4], though numbers of horses that were found in the town[5] together with large quantities of other plunder were distributed amongst the victors[6]. Such of the well-to-do burghers as would not accept the king's conditions were shipped across to England till they could find ransoms[7], and it was afterwards believed that they were all poisoned at Calais[8]. All priests and churchmen were allowed to go free, while some 2000 of the poorer residents[9], together with the women and children[10] of every rank, were sent away to find new homes in other towns[11] where they would be safe from

[1] Not the king himself, as Belleval, 54.

[2] Sur peine de la hart (i.e. halter), Juv. 507; Cotgr., s.v.

[3] Monstr. 370.

[4] Cousinot, 133; though Brougham (111) thinks that Harfleur was "given up to indiscriminate sack and plunder"; also Duval-Pineu, ii. 188; Lavallée, i. 377. Barante (iii. 151) thinks that "la ville fut cruellement traitée."

[5] Tit. Liv. 11; Vita, 49. For 3 coursers, 5 trotters, 1 jenett and 1 hackney de inventione de Hareflewe tempore lucrationis ejusdem, see For. Accts. 6 H. V, 19. For their names, e.g. Gryssell Harflewe, Sorell Gaukworth, Bayard Blowente, see Exch. Accts. 106/24 (1).

[6] Monstr. 370; Waurin, ii. 187; Le Fèvre, i. 229. *Cf.* pro piraticis rapinis in praedam vice versâ, Basin, i. 19, who quotes Isaiah xxxiii. 1: "Woe to thee that robbest whether and thyself shalt not be robbed."

[7] St Denys, v. 544; Juv. 506, 507. For names of 221 *expropriés* from Harfleur, collected from Carte, Rolles, see Puiseux, Emigration, 105, 111. Fallue (ii. 318) thinks that they were almost all sent to Calais; also Ardouin-Dumazet, vi. 404.

Et qui ne voult lors son party,
Tenir du parc (i.e. Harfleur) se departy,
Mais qui le tint y demoura,
Dont l'un rist et l'aultre ploura. Pastoralet, 764.

Cives *pene omnes* bonis ademptis vitâ solummodo relictâ alio abire dimissi sunt, Basin, i. 19.

[8] La Motte, 36; Viau, in Revue de Rouen (1845), p. 8. Borély, i. 112, rejects the story for want of evidence, though it occurs in the charter of 1493, La Motte, 111.

[9] Les manans, Waurin, ii. 187. Called 1600 families in La Motte, 34, 91; Mazas, Vies, v. 580; Bordeaux, 1. i. 47. One and 20 M. men myght see, Harflet, App. 74; VIII.C. (i.e. 800) men and litell schyldren, ibid. 314.

[10] Blondel, i. 260, 442; four hundred women and children might see, Harflet, 314.

Wyf no child lett not abide,
But have them ought both grete and small. Ibid.

[11] Non sine plurium gentium depopulatione, Otterbourne, 276; expulsis habitatoribus, Bec, Chroniques, 81; omnes olim indigenas expellit, 126; to put out al the Frensshe pepill that were within, man, woman and child, Brut, ii. 377, 554.

They left no Ffrenssh blod withinne the wall,
But had all oute the communelté. Harflet, 314.

V. Freville, 92; Roujoux-Mainguet, i. 457; qui omnes capti ad Angliam captivi perducti fuerunt, Niem, Vita, 36, giving the account that reached Constance in November 1415, Raynaldi, viii. 438; les envoyans tous en Angleterre, Argentré, 729; cf. vous avez emmenné les enffants filz et filles de ce royaume, Débat, 49; Pym, 86, 120.

the unhallowed touch of the English soldiery, who dealt less in piety than in plunder and heeded not the tears of the innocent if only they could get their fingers on the loot[1]. In all this the king appears to have directly defied the current maxim that all captured towns should be given up to plunder if the chief would win his soldiers' hearts[2]. It is certain that this lenient treatment came as a welcome surprise to the French[3] who had expected that the conqueror would exact the "punishment of Deuteronomy[4]" and smite every male with the edge of the sword in return for the town's black record as a nest of pirates and robbery[5], and it is interesting to note the praise bestowed on him for his clemency by some contemporaries[6] who apparently expected that the English would not be bound by the ordinary rules of warfare, for such punishment was only meted out when the besieged resisted obstinately to the last. The next generation however took no such favourable view, but cursed him roundly for carrying off the good French folk away out of their nation[7].

Each one of the refugees was provided with a small sum of money variously stated at 5*s*. or 10*s*., but they were robbed of this by French plunderers on the road[8], so that

[1] Gesta, 33; Puiseux, 14.

[2]
Such as castels mowe colche or eny clos tounes,
Geve hem as gladly, than shalt thou get hertes.
Crowned King, 528.

Honge and brenne and faste bynde,
And sell hem all. Laud Troy Book, 40.

[3] Micius quam sperabatur, St Denys, v. 544; fort humainement, Montfaucon, iii. 163; Goldwin-Smith, i. 255, notes Henry's "comparative humanity"; Belloc (231) has a cryptic reference to his "mystic cruelty"; Vickers (26) thinks that Harfleur was "treated with justice if not with leniency."

[4] Deut. xx. 13; Gesta, 21, 30; Chron. Giles, 27; "according to the custom of the country," Wylie, iv. 63. In Melusine, after the capture of Arval, all the prisoners are hung from the gates and windows, Lecesne, 110. For the "law of arms," see Froude, v. 492.

[5] J. Meyer, 245; see page 9, note 15.

[6] Absque habitatorum spoliatione et violentiâ mulierum, Roye, 168.

Mais pour se monstrer pitoiable,
Mains dommageux et anoiable,
A ceux du parc rien ne mesprist,
Fors sans plus que lor houles prist. Pastoralet, 764.

i.e. their scalps or pots, see Godefroy, s.v. *Ole*.

[7]
Il a voullu hors du pays mener,
Les bons Francoys hors de leur nation.
Gasté, Chansons, 122; Basselin, 105.

[8] Le Fèvre, i. 229; Ruisseauville, 137, who adds that the French violated many of the women; Biondi, 115; Nicolas, 69; Lingard, iii. 490; Borély, i. 112, who thinks that the money was given to the women only; not 5 pennies, as Cassell, i. 527. Called "a miserable pittance" in Church, 70; "an insulting mockery," Brougham, 111.

when the sad long line of carts[1] in which the women alone numbered at least 1500[2] halted at St Aubin[3], they had nothing with them but the clothes they stood in[4]. Here they were fed with bread and cheese and wine and thence passed on to Lillebonne[5], which was then a veritable island as its name implies[6], surrounded by swamps and marshes, though now some four or five miles from the Seine[7]. Here they were met by Marshal Boucicaut who sent them on in boatloads to Rouen[8] amidst cries of weeping and lamentation[9].

This wholesale deportation was a necessary part of Henry's fixed intention to stuff Harfleur with Englishmen[10]

Quadrigis et equis mulieres hinc generosas
Salvo conductu mandat abire simul.
Elmham, Lib. Metr. 112.

[2] Le Fèvre, i. 229.

[3] i.e. St Aubin Routot near St Romain de Colbosc; not St Aubin de Crétot, as Puiseux, 15; Roncière, ii. 216. Not St Aubon, as Tyler, ii. 151.

[4] St Denys, v. 544; sans fardeler, Juv. 507; leur corps tant seullement, une partie de leur vêtements, Monstr. 370; Normandie, 168; Nagerel, 166; nullis asportatis bonis, Tit. Liv. 10 (not "with their goods," as Vickers, 26); aulcuns de leurs moindres vestements, Waurin, ii. 187; vêtus de leurs simples pourpoints, Villaret, xiii. 347; "with their doublets," Ling. iii. 490. Tyler (ii. 151) thinks that they carried "each a moderate bundle with them"; Roncière (ii. 216) regards them as "rich burgesses"; Echard, i. 184, as "ladies in their best habits," adding: "strictly forbidding all immodest and licentious behaviour to them." Cf. maestus, inarmatus, vacuus, miser, aeger inopsque, Ocland, H. IV; cum binis vestibus (i.e. at Antequera in 1410), Valla, 1012; cum camisiis solum, St Denys, iv. 378; Wylie, ii. 227, note 4. Haggard (113) thinks that they were "stripped to the waist and left only a petticoat apiece."

[5] Not "Lilesbon," as Guthrie, ii. 461; nor "Lislebone," as Tyler, ii. 151; nor "Lillebourne," as Adams, i. 215. For the castle at Lillebonne, see Cotman-Turner, ii. 75; Normandie Monumentale, 413; C. Beaurepaire, Notes, i. 283, 285, where the great hall was set on fire by the English in 1415. In 1391 the castle was roofed with splints of wood aosende, C. Beaurepaire, Mélanges, 399. For the Roman amphitheatre at Lillebonne, see Dearmer, 319; Dibdin, Tour, i. 217; Bordeaux, I. i. 51; H. Gally Knight, 181.

[6] Insula bona, Carte, Rolles, i. 331; Blondel, ii. 153; Insula de Caux, Brétigny, 33.

[7] Roncière, ii. 216.

[8] Juv. 507; Gesta, 33. Cf. passer Saine a Lislebonne (1411), a l'endroit de la ville de Lislebonne, Soc. de l'Hist. de Normandie, Mélanges (1893), ii. 298, 302, 305, 309, 312. For batel passager between Lillebonne and Quillebeuf by the river (or channel) of Le Mesnil and the marshes (*alluvions*), see C. Beaurepaire, Notes, i. 317, 319.

[9] When they went out sore gon they wepe, Hairlet, 314.

[10] And let stuffe the town overall,
With Englysshmen thereinne to be. Ibid.
MS. Cott. Claudius A. VIII. f. 23, in Nicolas, 214; Chron. R. II to H. VI, 40; Caxton, Chron. 145; Brut, ii. 377, 554. Il mist un grande stuffe de ses gentz en mesme la ville pur la savegarde d'icell, Rot. Parl. iv. 62; cf. stuffe youre castels on eche coost, Kail, 59; I-stuffyd wel with sowdyours, Pol. Songs, ii. 254; stuffyng the castel with meine strong, ibid. 326; homme d'armes de estoffle, Boutaric, 303; estuf de gentz, Delpit, 217; not "sufficient *staff* of people," as Halliwell, Letters, i. 84; Riley, Mem. 620; cf. Godefroy, iii. 646, s.v. *Estoffe*, *Estuffe*. Cf. pour estoffer la forteresse, Champollion-Figeac, Poésies, 78; to stuffe with the fortres, G. W. Taylor, 46.
That had stuffed wel the town,
With the good and vitayle. Pol. Songs, ii. 154.
Her schippis stoffid with al maner thinges, Lydg. Troy Book, 129, 201, 255, 350 (=stuf and charge), 360 (=stuf and lade), 361.

and make of it a second Calais[1], from which he would be able to command the entrance and control the traffic of the Seine. On the very day of the surrender he wrote a letter[2] to the Mayor of London announcing his success, and on Oct. 5[3] a proclamation was issued at Westminster to the merchants, victuallers and craftsmen[4] of the capital and other large towns in England[5], offering free houses[6] and special privileges to all who would cross to Harfleur and settle there[7].

The Lords of Estouteville, Gaucourt and Clères, together with the other leading defenders of the town, amounting in all to 60 knights and over 200 gentlemen of the best families of Normandy[8], were allowed their parole on condition that they would deliver themselves up at Calais[9] by Martinmas, if general terms of submission had not been previously arranged. Immediately on his release Gaucourt was specially commissioned to carry a formal

[1] Un havre purement Anglais, Argentré, 729; sorte de Calais Normand, Rapin, iii. 442; do. Tindal, i. 511; Valois, iv. 361; Niethe, 13.

[2] Dated Sept. 22, 1415, Letter Book I, 131; Delpit, cxlvi. 217; Riley, Mem. 620; Halliwell, Lett. i. 83.

[3] Letter Book I, 159; Delpit, 217; Sharpe, London, i. 259; Gesta, 35. For an undated proclamation by the Mayor of London inviting merchants and others "for comune passage toward Hareflieu," to be ready with all manner of victual, clothing, armour and artillery "between this and today sevenyght to speed to the king beyng atte Harflewe," and that the Mayor would assign them shipping and passage, see Letter Book I, 161; Riley, Mem. 628, who supposes it to refer to the events of May 1416.

[4] "Merchauntez and craftimen," Brut, ii. 377; Caxton, Chron. 145; do. Polychron. 226; "Craftymen, Artificers and Artisans," Speed, 778.

[5] Did crie in every good town of England, Cotton MS. Claud. A. VIII. f. 23, in Nicolas, Agincourt, 214.

[6] Rastell, 249; Holinsh. iii. 550; "free inhabitation," Lel. Coll. ii. 487; an house of habitation, Biondi, 116. For an order (July 26, 1419) to allot domos et hospicia to merchants and others settled at Harfleur, see Bréquigny, 103. For a house in Harfleur ubi cornu habetur signum, granted to James Cambridge, and another to Philip Maidstone, see Carte, Rolles, i. 262 (1418). For many similar instances in the Norman Rolls, see Ewald, xli, xlii, and Bréquigny, *passim*, of which the following are examples on Dec. 15, 1419, Bréquigny, 115; Ewald, xli. 808; xlii. 347, 348; Carte, Rolles, i. 321, viz. John Edwards of Barnstaple (marinarius), John Ward, William Baudewin, John Otterbourne (marinarius, of London), Thomas Fekenham, Vincent Clark, John Olivier, John Asshe (mercer), Geoffrey Aghton (or Acton), William Colwell, John Holand, Thomas Harpifeld, John Russel, William Soper, John Botiller, Robert Barbot, John Wonderwale, John Barbier (of London, mercer), John Boure, Hugh Spenser, William Breton, John Underwood, Simon Flete, John Weston, John Limburg, Henry Leddebeter, Walter Churchman, William Grey, William Fynbarowe, John Stevens, William Kempe, John Gore, Simon Holcroft, John Billing; also William London (1421), Ewald, xlii. 400; Carte, Rolles, i. 354, 355, William Crane and John Plant. For other lists, see Ewald, xlii. 404; Carte, Rolles, i. 356, Feb. 24, 1421; also Carte, Rolles, i. 359; Bréquigny, 31 (1418); do. 122 (1420), naming William Bernam, John Hopingdon, Thomas Wodeman, and a long list of other Englishmen mostly carpenters and masons.

[7] Colonis ex exercitu regis lectis...relictos colonos, Tit. Liv. 11; assignatos Anglicos in novos incolas recipit, Vita, 48.

[8] Gesta, 34.

[9] Capgr. De Illustr. 115; St Denys, v. 544; Monstr. 370; Waurin, ii. 186; Le Fèvre, i. 229; Chastellain, 168; Nicolas, App. 25; Masseville, iv. 46.

challenge[1] to the Dauphin calling upon him to meet King Henry in single combat in order to avoid further bloodshed. Whichever of the two should win should finally wear the crown of France, but inasmuch as it had pleased God to visit the reigning king his cousin with infirmity[2], no change of tenure need actually take place until his death, provided that the future outlook could be now definitely settled one way or the other. It was expressly said that in formulating this challenge King Henry had not consulted his council or indeed anybody but himself and it is not surprising that nothing whatever came of the expedient[3], which was indeed rapidly passing into the category of obsolete old-world formalities[4]. The king however had undertaken to wait at least eight days[5] for a reply, and in that interval he reduced two towers on the sea[6] which still kept up a show of resistance after the town itself had fallen. He then arranged to leave 300 men-of-arms[7] and 900 archers to garrison the town[8].

[1] It is dated "à notre ville de Harflieu," whence it has been inferred by Nicolas (72) that the date should be Sept. xxvi, not xvi, as in Rym. ix. 313; Dumont, II. ii. 48; Tyler, ii. 155. The original document (Calig. D. v) has been injured by the fire. For an English translation of the challenge, see Nicolas, App. 29; Halliwell, Letters, i. 80; Towle, 306, who dates it Sept. 26; also Ramsay, i. 205; Knight, ii. 59; Dict. Nat. Biogr. xxvi. 47. George (82) thinks that the date is not quite certain. Niethe (13) prefers Sept. 16.

[2] Quia solitâ invalitudine mente captum, Gesta, 34.

[3] Villaret (xiii. 350) thinks that "ces sortes de démarches produisent toujours quelque impression sur l'esprit du vulgaire." Nicolas (73) finds "little of true bravery in wishing to meet a mere youth in the field, of whose prowess or bodily strength there is not the slightest evidence"; also George, 81, 82, who calls the Dauphin "a dissolute reckless *boy*," "a weak and debauched *lad*." Tyler (ii. 153) calls it "a frivolous attack." Cf. "a bombastic and wholly superfluous challenge," Vickers, 26.

[4] For instances, see Wylie, i. 138. Cf.

> Let all our men upon a parti stand,
> And do the battle of thee and me. Chevy Chase (Bell), 84.

[5] Octo diebus ibi quod daret ipse moram, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 113.

[6] Monstr. 370; Waurin, ii. 187; Le Fèvre, i. 229; La Motte, 35. Called les tours de la côte, in Michelet, vi. 19; see page 15, note 10; Stow, 348; Goodwin, 72; Nicolas, 70; Larrey, 811; Belleval, 55. Possibly at the entrance to the fosse at Leure, i.e. at Little Leure, A. Martin, i. 139.

[7] Not 400, as Dumont, 20, who considers this "pas très nombreuse."

[8] Including 22 kts.; not 2 kts. as Excerpt. Hist. 26; Gesta, 72; see also L.T.R. Miscell. Books, no. 79, p. 31, showing that the numbers kept up to this till Sept. 1, 1416, when they fell to 193+815 (p. 32); Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 184; Exch. Accts. 48/7, fol. 11, where their wages are given from Dec. 31, 1415, to April 1, 1416; Bréquigny, 7, Jan. 11, 1416, from Rym. H. V, i. no. 99; MS. Calig. D. v. f. 111. (9), for Easter, 1416; called Bréquigny, tome 41, in Belleval, 57; also Add. MS. 4601/99 (126); dated Jan. 11, anno 3 H. V, i.e. 1416, in margin, but 4 H. V (i.e. 1417), at top. The payments are made from the 2nd tenth and fifteenth granted 2 H. V; S. D. Scott, ii. 417; Oman, Hundred Years, 108. For their names, see Exch. Accts. 47/39; Wylie, Notes, III, 112. Called "grant nombre de gens d'armes," in Chron. Brioc. 891; or 1000 men, in Kirkstall Chron. 285; not 2000 in all, as Tit. Liv. 11, 12; Vita, 49; Stow, 348; Henry, v. 35; Schmidt, ii. 249; Roncière, ii. 216; nor 1600, as Sat. Rev. (1883), lvi. 527; nor "3000 of the

Orders were also issued at Westminster to provision the place with supplies from England[1]. John Colchester[2] was required to send across tilemakers[3], tilers[4], and stone-cutters to mend the houses and other buildings[5]. Many of the great guns that had been brought over for the siege were left behind in the town[6], the rest being sent back in ships which coasted round to Calais under the charge of the Duke of Clarence[7], who was invalided home to England[8].

best troops," as Guthrie, ii. 462; nor 500+1000, as Monstr. 371; Waur. ii. 188; Sismondi, xii. 478; La Motte, 35; Viollet-le-Duc, Mobilier, vi. 381; Church, 72; Borély, i. 113; Henty, 338; nor 500+1500, as Le Fevre, i. 231; nor 2000+1300 et quibusdam aliis, as Harpsfeld, 587; *nor* 3000 nobles+1000 archers, as Mazas, Vies, v. 585; nor 1500 with 35 good knights, as Halle, 62; Grafton, i. 513. In addition to the fighting force there were 18 gunners, 42 carpenters and 20 masons, Add. MS. 4601/99 (126). For 14+160 under the Earl of Salisbury and John Pelham the younger, added to the garrison in the spring of 1416, see Gesta, 35, quoting Indentures of War, State Paper Office, 4 H. V. For John Lewis left to keep Harfleur, see Hunter, 45; Nicolas, 381, where his retinue is 2+6; also J. Montgomery (1+3); Nicolas, 382. He was invalided before the end of the second quarter, leaving as his substitute John Pleasaunce, whose name occurs on the muster roll of Harfleur (Exch. Accts. 47/39), as also Janico Dartoys (*sic*). For the house occupied by the latter, see ibid. 48/7; also L.T.R. Misc. Books, no. 79. For Thomas Carew, kt. at Harfleur from Oct. 6, 1415, to Jan. 6, 1416, see For. Accts. 1 H. VI, E.

[1] For order dated at Westminster, Oct. 6, 1415, to John Fisher of Henley (not "Genle," as Belleval, 58), to supply wheat for the garrison, see Rym. ix. 314; Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 344, 354, 365; also order (Oct. 12, 1415) to John Laweney, grocer, of London, for provisions, arms and necessary stuff, see Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 32; Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 364; Bréquigny, 7; Belleval, 58, though in Juv. 517, most of the surplus stores are said to have been shipped back to England.

[2] For order to him dated Dec. 16, 1415, to take lathamos, tegulatores, etc., to repair houses, etc. at Harfleur, see Rym. ix. 327; Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 412. For a house at Harfleur granted to John Colchester, Jan. 30, 1421, see Ewald, xlii. 400.

[3] For tylemakers at Colchester, see Benham, 49: thuilliers, Lhomel, Edits, 111, where they make carreaux à four et pavement, and vannels or vanneaux (i.e. 3 cornered tiles); called also pottiers de terre, who make thuiles, festissures and arrestiers (corner-tiles), ibid. 108, and are forbidden to make tiles between Oct. 15 and mid-March, or pots and pails between Christmas and Candlemas (p. 110). For list of tuileries in Normandy, see C. Beaurepaire, Mélanges, 407–418; for different kinds of tiles, see ibid. 402. For les tuyaux qui gitent l'eau dehors at Saumur, 1370, see Darne, 79.

[4] For tegheler, see Boys, 557; couvreur de maisons, Brièle, Doc. iii. 27; couvreur de tuile, C. Beaurepaire, Invent. Rouen, 14; couvreur de pierre, Marest, 162.

[5] i.e. account of Simon Flete, controller to Thomas Barneby, *late* Treasurer of Harfleur, from Dec. 31, 1415, to Jan. 21, 1420, Exch. Accts. 48/7, ff. 18, 19, 20; Add. MS. 24,512, f. 124. His account under writ dated Jan. 22, 1416, when John Gray, knight, took over the government of Harfleur, is also in T.R. Misc. Books, 79. For tenements in Harfleur granted to Simon Flete and Thomas Barneby on Jan. 29, 1420, see Bréquigny, 122.

[6]
The grete gonnes engynes trewlyche,
They were brought into Harflete. Harflet, 314.

[7] Not that he was present at Agincourt, as Gruel, 18; Argentré, 730; Goodwin, 87; Echard, i. 185; Brougham, 118, 120; Lingard, iii. 499; Belleval, 103, 114; Low, 41. On Oct. 12, 1415, it was believed that he had landed at Calais à tout grand nombre de gens, Deseilles, 423, but this was probably only a panic rumour of which an echo is also found in Waurin, ii. 187; Le Fevre, ii. 36; Vickers, 26. For names of his retinue (246+798) at Southampton (called 240+720 in Nicolas, 373), see K.R. Exch. Accts. 45/4, among the lances being Daubriggecourt, Burnel, Colvyle, Heron, Bowet and Chimwelle (?).

[8] Monstr. 371; Church, 72. Not that all the guns were left at Harfleur, as Argentré, 729.

Several of the ships and balingers were stationed to guard the entrance to the Seine[1], while others crossed to Sandwich and elsewhere to lie up for the winter in the charge of greatly reduced crews known as shipkeepers[2]. Two of the king's ships, viz. the Catherine and the Holy Ghost, crossed from Winchelsea and Rye[3] bringing 79 pipes of English beer[4], together with corn, hay, oats and other provender, and the victualler's account shows stores of ropes, winches, arblast-strings, glue and coal[5], while abundance of other stuff, whether arms or provisions, passed over free of duty from the ports of Chichester, Dartmouth, Melcombe, Plymouth and Southampton[6].

Thus the first steps were taken to secure a lasting foothold in the new Calais and thereby to grip strongly our second key to France[7], and to this end nothing must be done by halves. The deportation of the disaffected was complete and every office high or low was filled by Englishmen. Thomas Barneby[8] was made treasurer of Harfleur,

[1] For £140 paid to William Soper of Southampton for 36 seamen going in a king's balinger called the "Lytyll John" for 1 quarter de salvâ custodiâ Aque de Seine, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Jan. 23, 1416; also Rec. Roll (Auditors) of same date; Exch. Accts. 49/29. Her crew from Jan. 27 to Apr. 28, 1416, consisted of 160 seamen and 37 boys, together with a constable, a carpenter and the master. For a ship, Holigost (Jordan Browning, master) and two balingers, viz. "Lytyll Jon" (John Dole) and "Jamys" (John Cossard), see Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 19 d (Jan. 9, 1416). The same roll (m. 16 d) has a reference to a vessel called "le Lethonard" (i.e. Leonard) of Newcastle-on-Tyne, which was wrecked at Fisherdeep on returning from a voyage to Bordeaux, Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 412.

[2] For payment of their wages, see For. Accts. 8 H. V, Dec. 5, 16, 1415.

[3] Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 11 d, Jan. 29, 1416; Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 413.

[4] For cost of freight and pilotage at 6*s.* 8*d.* per pipe, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Nov. 25, 1415.

[5] Rec. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Oct. 25, 1415; Exch. Accts. 328/6, where payment is made to Reginald Curteys for freight carbonum maretem', etc. provided for Harfleur. For payments for wineches (3 doz.), cords for balistas, nerf, glewe and other estuffamentum, made to Baldwin Arblastmaker and other mercatores pro stuffurâ et municione of Harfleur, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Feb. 29, 1416; probably Baldwin Jacobson (Wylie, ii. 269, note 3), who is a balistar in the Tower in Iss. Roll 7 H. V, Mich., Nov. 27, 1419, Feb. 17, 1420, where he receives payment for quarrells, thread, and other necessaries.

[6] Claus. 3 H. V, Feb. 9, 1416.

[7] Qu'est la principall claex de France, Rot. Parl. iv. 94; la clef du pays de Normandie, Juv. 509; Godefroy, Charles VI (anno 1417); St Denys, v. 532; Riley, Mem. 620; Monstr. 366; Waurin, ii. 181; Plancher, iii. 423; la clef de la mer, La Motte, 24; le plus prouffitable port pour leur guerre menor en ce quartier, Waurin, ii. 185; Michelet, vi. 15, who regards it as the key to Paris, la poste qui couvrait la Seine et tout le royaume (p. 21); Martin, vi. 11.

[8] See Vol. i. p. 108. For £4892. 2*s.* 0*d.* paid to him for wages of the garrison gunners, cementers, smiths, carpenters and stonecutters, see Devon, 345, Feb. 29, 1416; Exch. Accts. 48/8, which contains his account from Jan. 22, 1416, to Jan. 21, 1420, among the master gunners being Gerard Sprong (or Spronk, Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Dec. 23, 1415, where he had £40 per annum granted to him, March 23, 1415, see

and Reginald Curteys[1] victualler[2], and Englishmen were appointed water-bailiffs and searchers[3] to control the fishery[4] and the mills and patrol the creeks and channels of the river and the marshes.

In this connection it is usually said[5] that the king had all the town archives publicly burnt in the market square and granted the Hotel de Ville to an Englishman named William Ludlow. This latter touch is demonstrably wrong, for Ludlow merely received a grant of a house in the town of Harfleur in 1421[6] like many another Englishman[7]. The statement as to the archives first occurs in the text of the charter which was granted to Harfleur by Charles VIII[8] two generations later, which contains an *ex-parte* recital of the woes of the town during the English occupation, and certainly

Pat. 3 H. V, i. 27; Wylie, iii. 64, note 2). The cementers are J. Colchester, Claus Johnson, J. Cliff and 18 others, who receive 2*s.* per day from Jan. 1, 1416 (T. R. Misc. Books, no. 79, p. 42; Scargill-Bird, 171), with 12 at 1*s.* and 24 others at 6*d.* per day. The master carpenter is Thomas Mathewe, and the sawyers and labourers get 6*d.* a day each, see ibid. pp. 43–59. For £2500 paid to Thomas Barneby as wages for gunners, balisters, cementers, carpenters, smiths, artisans and others, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., July 24, 1416. For £400 paid to him for wages of 200 + 700, see ibid. July 6, 1416; also for 40 + 120 additional, ibid. July 23, 1416.

[1] For £10 per annum paid to him from the revenues of Pontefract in 1415, see Duc. Lanc. Accts. Various, 27/6. For Reginald Curteys esquire and others paying £20 per annum as farmers of half of the church of Rotherham in Yorkshire, which belonged to the Abbey of Clairvaux on the Aube, from Michaelmas, 1414, see Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 30, Oct. 23, 1415; Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 366. He appears on the London Subsidy Roll, 1412, see Archaeol. Journ. xliv. 79. For "Curteis," on the Roll of Battle Abbey, see Brut, ii. 536, 605; called "Corateis" in Worcester, ii. 524.

[2] He appears as victualler of Harfleur in Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Nov. 25, 1415; Gesta, 35; Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 10d, Feb. 3, 1416; Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Feb. 29, 1416, which shows payment to him for wages of sailors of ships loaded with wine and beer from the Thames to Harfleur; also for 3 doz. winches and cords for balistas, nerf', glue and other stores.

[3] Scrutator aquae, T. R. Misc. Books, no. 79, p. 17. For duties of a scrutator at Ipswich ad explorand' omnes naves et batellos in regard to persons de quibus sinistra suspicio haberi potuit, also for uncoketted wool and other taxable articles, see For. Accts. 3 H. V. For Richard Trenode and William Markes, scrutatores in the port of Bristol, see Rec. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Feb. 27, 1416. For scrutatores confiscating goods which have not paid duty at London, Colchester, Dartmouth, Exeter, Fowey, Melcombe and Plymouth, see For. Accts. 6 H. V, 20, 21. For an account by the scrutatores of the Thames, see For. Accts. 4 H. V, where the confiscated goods include 1 piece of russet needle (? midle), 11 nightcappes, 2 "Hamondays," 2 gross of points, pynnes, 1 piece of Frece (? frieze), 2 barrels stanni schotyn (i.e. molten tin, shottentin, shotentyn, estayn founduz, Rot. Parl. iv. 53, 251; Stat. ii. 190 (56); Goodwin, 49), and some goshawks.

[4] Scrutator piscar' river' et marisci, T. R. Misc. Books, no. 79, p. 17. For custos aquae of the Foss at York, see Pat. 3 H. V, i. 20, May 2, 1415, where 2 pair of bream and 4 pike (*dentrices*) are received from the custos by Nicholas Gascoigne, nephew to the Earl of Surrey.

[5] La Motte, 37; Puiseux, 67 (quoting Bréquigny, no. 901); Borély, i. 112; Vian, in Rev. de Rouen (1845), p. 8; Dumont, 19. For records of Boulogne burnt by the English in 1544, see Deseille, Inventaire, p. i.

[6] Carte, Rolles, i. 370; Ewald, xlii. 386 (Jan. 1, 1421); Bréquigny, p. 152.

[7] See page 61, note 6.

[8] La Motte, 111, 116, i.e. in Feb. 1492. For the text, see La Motte, 110–138.

at my visit some 12 years ago I was unable to find any records bearing dates prior to the siege[1]. But it is also certain that Harfleur did not really lose her ancient rights, for when the Earl of Dorset was authorised to receive the oath of fealty from the English king's new subjects on Jan. 27, 1416[2], he was himself expressly ordered to swear that he would maintain the rights and privileges of the commonalties and towns of Normandy. It was by preserving the municipal rights of the communes in the south of France while the French were everywhere destroying them that the English kings had retained the loyalty of Aquitaine, and it is clear that in English hands Harfleur was henceforward to be a Bordeaux as well as a Calais, and that the new possession was to be inhabited by citizens who were to enjoy their communal rights as freely as if they had been in London.

When Harfleur fell the greater part of the army that had sailed from Southampton six weeks before had practically melted away[3]. The actual casualties of the siege were relatively few, but thousands were put out of action by the flux, and apart from the large number of deaths from that cause amounting to over 2000[4], one-fourth of whom were knights and squires, 5000 more had to be sent home invalided[5]. Among these were the Earl

[1] The existing records are tied in bundles and kept in a cupboard at the Mairie, and I made a cursory examination of them in Sept. 1902. I was informed that the existing documents had been examined two years previously by someone from the École des Chartes in Paris, who pronounced them to be without interest, but that it was believed that earlier ones existed in the Tower of London. For removal of the records of Bordeaux by the English when they evacuated Guienne in 1451, see Gras, Inventaire Sommaire (Gironde), p. 1.

[2] Bréquigny, 7.

[3] La greindre partie de son hoste fuit departie de luy dont pluseurs p. une certaine infirmité de la visitation Dieu furent mortz illoeqs et pluseurs furent retournez en Engleterre de la license du Roy pur lour santé recoverer, Rot. Parl. iv. 62. Oman (Pol. Hist. 249) thinks that the army had been reduced by three-tenths.

[4] Monstr. 367; Waurin, ii. 183, 187; Le Fèvre, i. 226, 230; Carte, ii. 679; Morley, vi. 153; called nearly 5000 in Kirkstall Chron. 528; Mazas, Vies, v. 584; multa millia, Strecche, 267; not 17,000 (all told), as Mazas, Cours. ii. 173; nor 22,500, as Lediard, i. 65.

There dyed by yonde vii score upon a daye,
Alyve there was lefte but thousandes x. Harflet, App. 74.

Starbent sere in ir come here, Windecke, 87; pluseurs de ses genz sont malasdes et beaucope d'eux sont mortz, Add. MS. 17,716, f. 102. Michelet (vi. 20) put the deaths from all causes during the siege at 10,000; called 15,000 in Masson, 240. For William Ellewick who died in the king's service at Harfleur, see Early Chanc. Proc. i. 35, where his widow Joan sues for his lands at Elwick near Belford in Northumberland.

[5] Millia quinque viri se remeare parant, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 114. Hunter (55) refers to the "roll of the sick" but does not give the totals, and with the exception of Beamont (244), few, if any, appear to have been aware of his discovery. The

Marshal[1], the Earls of March[2] and Arundel[3], and very many more[4]. The Earl of Arundel had brought out a retinue of 100 men-of-arms and 300 archers[5], of whose fate some interesting details still remain. Of the men-of-arms 2 died at Harfleur[6], 12 were invalided home and 5 returned as attendants on their sick master[7]. Of the archers, many of whom were Welshmen, 13 died[8] and 69 were invalided home, besides 3 of his minstrels. The gaps however were made good by substitutes and almost the full complement went forward with the army to Calais, the numbers re-embarking for Dover being subsequently certified as 94 + 300[9], all of whom were present at the battle. The Earl himself, who was

document is Exchequer K. R. 44/30 (1), in the Public Record Office, a clean legible roll written on paper and preserved in a pouch, having at the end a list of ships belonging to Boston, Colchester, Dartmouth, Hartlepool, Plymouth and Seaton, with the names of their masters. These ships appear to have been employed in bringing back the sick to England. One of them is called the "Goddeyer" (?"good year"), and the rest are the usual Christophers, Ellens, Georges, Marys, etc. The roll contains 1116 names of the sick, but it is evidently not complete, for other portions occur, ibid. 44/30 (6), and there are 577 more names on the undamaged portions of ibid. 45/1.

[1] Called the Earl of Nottingham in Oman, Pol. Hist. 249, 250; not that he died during the siege, as Biondi, 116. For his retinue (50+150, falling to 33+80 in Brook's list), including Robert Leventhorpe and John Swynborne, see Nicolas, 337; Belleval, 340; Stonehouse, 139. In Fr. Roll 8 H. V, 2, Feb. 18, 1421; Carte, Rolles, ii. 242, he is abroad.

[2] Not Warwick, as Monstr. 371; Guthrie, ii. 462; Nicolas, 243; Belleval, 56; Dict. Nat. Biogr. iv. 29. For names of his retinue (60+160, which falls to 19+102 in Brook's list), including Richard Maydeston, see Exch. Accts. 45/5, m. 4; Nicolas, 336, 373; Belleval, 339. For "Marechal de Varvie et Comte de Vindsor" at Harfleur, see Masseville, iv. 43. From Rot. Select. 43, it would seem that the Earl of March appeared (i.e. by his representative) before the Barons of the Exchequer in Dublin on Oct. 13, 1415, to arrange for a remission of forfeitures under the Statute of Absentees, H. F. Berry, 500; Wylie, i. 224. For similar pardons occasione absencie sue, see Rot. Select. 44. For his seal (1400) see Hope, Heraldry, 201.

[3] Wals. ii. 309; Hypodig. 462. For his seal, see De Witt, 660; Cagny, 65; Demay, i. 35, from MS. Clairambault in Bibl. Nat. vol. vi. p. 273; i.e. his receipt for wages for 200 men given at Arras, Oct. 7, 1411, see Wylie, iv. 57; Kingsford, Biogr. 80.

[4] Including Thomas Gifford, knight, of Twyford (Inq. p. Mort. iv. 127), and Nicholas Bromford, esquire, ibid. iv. 213; Nicolas, 362; Belleval, 353.

[5] See vol. i. p. 113, note 10; L.T.R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 6/1; Nicolas, 373; Belleval, 355. For their names on July 1, 1415, see Exch. Accts. 47/1; W. D. Cooper, 128–132; Cheshire Sheaf, i. 291. They include Reginald, Lord Cobham of Starborough (called "Storresburgh," Ad Quod Damn. 370), whose mother was Eleanor, widow of John Arundel, Manning and Bray, ii. 340; Comp. Peer. i. 247; also 3 knights (viz. J. Mortimer, Robert Moton and Robert Morle) (see vol. i. p. 261, note 2), and 99 squires, including 4 ultra retinentiam.

[6] i.e. on Sept. 28, Oct. 1, 1415.

[7] L.T.R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 6/2; Hunter, 24. The names of four of them are given in Exch. Accts. 47/1, viz. J. Fitzpiers, T. Salmon, J. Someray and Richard Pary. In Exch. Accts. K.R. 44/30 (1), the numbers of the sick appear as 18 squires, 69 varlets (i.e. archers), and 3 of his minstrels.

[8] viz. on Sept. 24, 25, 26, Oct. 1, 3, 1415.

[9] L.T.R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 6/2, showing that before his death the Earl had received £2412. 16*s.* 0*d.* out of the fine paid by the Earl of March for his marriage, see vol. i. p. 526, note 1.

reported to have been poisoned[1], returned to England a dying man on Sept. 28. He made his will at Arundel Castle on Oct. 10, 1415[2], in which he arranged for the expenses of his funeral and for masses for his soul, and he died on his birthday[3], three days afterwards[4], at the age of 34[5]. He was buried in the collegiate church at Arundel, where a splendid monument[6] still marks his resting-place and that of his Portuguese wife Beatrice[7], who was buried by his side a generation later[8].

A modern estimate of the character of the Earl of Arundel describes him as "savage, revengeful and self-seeking[9]," but of the truth of this I have not been able to find any evidence. At the time of his death he was Treasurer of England[10] and Warden of the Cinque Ports. In the latter office he was succeeded by Duke Humphrey,

[1] Wals. ii. 309. Pays-Bas, 355, represents that he died at Harfleur.

[2] Test. Vet. 186; Wylie, ii. 327, note 6. In Exch. Accts. 47/1, his executors are his wife Beatrice, John Wiltshire and John Bartlot (or Bertlot, L.T.R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 6/2; W. D. Cooper, 127), who is probably the enigmatic "Vabelate" or Bablake (Wylie, ii. 335). The others were Bishop Langley, Robert Pobelowe, Thomas Herbyng, William Boerle and William Ryman, Memoranda Roll K.R. 3–4 H. V, where Archbishop Chichele (in hospicio nostro London, June 30, 1416) certifies that the widow Beatrice and John Wiltshire have received the testator's gifts. For John Wilteschire, kt. sued for a debt in the Court of King's Bench in London, 1416–17, see Pat. 4 H. V, 29; see also Wylie, ii. 335.

[3] Eodem die quo natus est in mundo, Tierney, 286.

[4] See vol. i. p. 14; i.e. Oct. 13, 1415; Cal. Pat. H. V, ii. 34; Tit. Liv. 12; Vita, 50; Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 337; W. D. Cooper, 127; or Oct. 14, For. Accts. 6 H. V, 20; Priv. Seal Writs, 1423/1214; qui darrein morust, Rot. Parl. iv. 78; en sa lite morient, ibid. 82; not 1416, as Stothard, 83; Weiss, i. 139. For his anniversary celebrated in St Stephen's Chapel at Westminster, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Dec. 9, 1415, where 6*s.* 8*d.* is paid to the Dean and Chapter for this purpose, and a similar sum to John Prentot (or Prentour, Wylie, iv. 222), wax-chandler of London. For a Book of Hours (circ. 1420) with his arms and those of his mother Elizabeth de Bohun and his sister Elizabeth, wife of William Montagu, see Quaritch, Supplement, v. 1893.

[5] He was born on Oct. 13, 1381, Dict. Nat. Biogr. xix. 100.

[6] Gough, i. 45; Roujoux, ii. 251; Roujoux-Mainguet, i. 453; Viollet-le-Duc, Mobilier, iii. 230; Rock, iv. Frontispiece; Hope, Heraldry, 277; Denis, Portugal, 55, who thinks that sa destinée fut obscure; see also Wylie, ii. 338, note 2; iv. 116, note 7; iv. 118, note 1.

[7] For his marriage with her "non pas par son propre mouvement mes eins par vostre comandement en partie," see letter of Queen Philippa to Henry IV, dated Lisbon, Nov. 4 [s. a. probably 1406; not 1405, as Roy. Lett. ii. pp. xxviii, xxx]; see Wylie, ii. 337, note 2; Roy. Lett. ii. pp. xxxi, 101; Major, Discoveries, 21; Shillington-Chapman, 17. She is called "Donna Beatriz minha filha," "filha da Rey," in Roy. Lett. ii. 84, 97. For description of the marriage which took place on Nov. 26, 1405, by a public notary, Peter Cherche (alias Mundham, a clerk of the diocese of Norwich), see ibid. ii. pp. xxxi–xxxvii, from Sousa, i. 391; Riddell, 20; Wylie, ii. 336. For 3 letters from her father João I, King of Portugal (dated Lisbon, Oct. 29, 31, 1405), written to Henry IV in regard to the marriage, see Roy. Lett. ii. 89–95, from Cotton MS. Nero B. 1, f. 32; also Figanière, 54–70. For Beatrice's arms formerly in the cloister at Fotheringhay, see Bonney, 44. For her seal in 1417, see Cotton MS. Julius C. VII. 193; Wylie, ii. 338, note 2.

[8] i.e. on Oct. 23, 1439. Tierney, 284; Wylie, ii. 338; called Nov. 14, 1439, in Doyle, ii. 230.

[9] Comp. Peer. (new edition), i. 246.

[10] Vol. i. p. 14.

who was appointed Warden on Nov. 27, 1415[1]. For the Treasurership, Sir John Rothenale[2] had been appointed to act as the Earl's deputy[3] when he started for Harfleur, until other arrangements should be made. On Arundel's return Bishop Beaufort[4] seems to have temporarily acted as Treasurer, but Rothenale continued to be keeper of the office[5] till Jan. 10, 1416[6], on which day Sir Hugh Mortimer[7] was appointed Treasurer of England[8]. Mortimer held the office till April 13, 1416[9], and was succeeded on April 16 by Sir Roger Leche[10], who had been Keeper of the Wardrobe

[1] Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 374; Pat. 3 H. V, m. 22; Pat. 4 H. V, June 24, 1416; Priv. Seal Writs, 1423/1214; Kirkstall Chron. 284, where his appointment is dated April 9, 1413; Doyle, ii. 22; Vickers, 34. In Rot. Parl. iv. 91, March 1416, Humphrey is Gardein dez Cink Portz; also Pat. 6 H. V, 9 d, Feb. 21, 1419. For £100 presented to him by the Cinque Ports at the Shepway, see Hist. MSS. Comm. 5th Rept. 539 (3–4 H. V); Vickers, 36.

[2] Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Jan. 23, 1416; do. 4 H. V, Pasch., Mich., May 27, Nov. 9, 17, 1416; also Oct. 1419, Cal. Doc. Scot. iv. 180. On Jan. 1, 1416, he succeeded Roger Leche as Keeper of the Great Wardrobe; see also Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., May 14, 1416; do. 6 H. V, Pasch., Apr. 4, 1418; Pat. 6 H. V, Sept. 27, 1418.

[3] i.e. on Aug. 5, 1415, Memoranda Roll K.R. 3–4 H. V, m. 11; or Aug. 9 donec rex aliter duxerit ordinandum, Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 42; Chron. Ser. 58, where he is called Radenale.

[4] Letter Book I, 159, Oct. 5, 1415; Sharpe, i. 259; Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 182, Oct. 20, 31, 1415.

[5] In the heading to Rec. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Rothenale is Custos Officii Thes. Angl.; also in Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Oct. 25, 29, 30, 1415. On Dec. 19, 1415, he is called Treasurer of England, Kal. and Inv. ii. 101, 218.

[6] Quo die exoneratus fuit, Iss. Roll 3 H. V., Mich., Jan. 10, 1416, where he receives at the rate of 100 marks per annum for the feudum antiquum, with £300 per annum as ultra; also Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 384, where he is called Treasurer of the Exchequer, but Treasurer of England, ibid. i. 398 (Feb. 26, 1416). For the Treasurer's hostels at St James', Westminster and in the College of St Martin-le-Grand, see Iss. Roll 7 H. V, Mich., Nov. 3, 1419.

[7] He was on a commission of the peace for the marches of Wales bordering on Herefordshire and Gloucestershire on June 16, 1415, see Pat. 3 H. V, i. 3 d. For grants to Hugh and Constantine Mortimer of the alien priories of Carisbrooke, Wareham and Hinckley, all connected with the Abbey of Lyre, see Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 23, May 17, 1415; Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 378. For Hugh Mortimer as Chamberlain of the Duchy of Lancaster, see Wylie, iv. 498. In Cal. Pat. H. V, ii. 118, July 23, 1417, he is *defunctus*; also Claus. 4 H. V, 3, Feb. 27, 1417; Pat. 5 H. V, 11, July 24, 1417; Cal. Pat. H. V, ii. 125; Priv. Seal 5 H. V (846), where his widow Isabel is allowed to retain Fordington near Dorchester and Little Weldon in Northamptonshire; also Iss. Roll 9 H. V, Mich., Feb. 22, 1420, where silver vessels are bought from his executors.

[8] Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 17; not m. 6, as Cal. Rot. Pat. 365; see Chron. Ser. 58.

[9] Quo die exoneratus fuit, Iss. Roll 3 H. V, March 18, 1416; also heading to Rec. Roll 3 H. V, Part II. He is Treasurer in Exch. Accts. 48/10, April 9, 1416, but *late* Treasurer of England in Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., July 24, 1416.

[10] Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Mich., Nov. 23, 1416; Chron. Ser. 58; Pat. 4 H. V, 35; Cal. Pat. H. V, ii. 9, Apr. 17, 1416, where he is called Treasurer of our Exchequer, but "Thes. Anglie" in Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch. and Mich. (heading). He is Treasurer of England in June 27, July 18, Aug. 1, 1416, Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch.; Add. MS. 4601; Nicolas, Navy, ii. 419, from Bundle no. 9; also on Nov. 24, 1416, Exch. Accts. 48/1; also on Aug. 19, Nov. 24, 1416, Exch. Accts. 45/5, 48/1; Rec. Roll 4 H. V, Mich., Nov. 4, 1416 (cancelled); see also Wylie, Notes, 114. For a palfrey, Lyard Leche, given by him to Henry V, see Exch. Accts. 406/24 (1).

and Treasurer of the Royal Household[1]. Leche remained Treasurer for less than six months[2], and died early in 1417[3]. After his retirement the king kept the office of Treasurer in his own hands for a while[4], the business being transacted by Simon Gaunstede[5], until the definite appointment of Henry, Lord Fitzhugh, as Treasurer of England on Dec. 8, 1416.

On the death of the Earl of Arundel the whole of his property was taken into the king's hands in the usual way[6]

[1] He was appointed Keeper of the Wardrobe on Oct. 1, 1413, Exch. Accts. 406/21 (33 d); see also Iss. Roll 1 H. V, Mich., Oct. 10, 25, Dec. 9, 1413, Jan. 25, 1414; Cal. Doc. Scot. iv. 171. For indenture dated Nov. 1, 1413, between Thomas More, clerk (see Wylie, iv. 497; also vol. i. p. 50), *late* custos hospicii, and Roger Leche, kt. *now* custos, see Q.R. Accts. 406/18. For Roger Leche, as Treasurer of the Royal Household, see Iss. Roll 1 H. V, Mich., Feb. 22, 1414; also on Good Friday, April 6, 1414, when he was with the king at Tewkesbury; also Exch. Accts. 46/14, June 13, 1415, which contains his signet (a pelican sitting on a nest); Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Nov. 4, Dec. 20, 1415; Memoranda Roll K.R. 3, 4 H. V, 19 (June 12, 1415), where he is Tresurer de nostre hostiel. In Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Pasch., April 26, May 18, 1415, he is Keeper of the King's Wardrobe; also Oct. 20, Nov. 9, 1414, Cal. Doc. Scot. iv. 172; also Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Nov. 4, Dec. 20, 23, 1415. In Rec. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Dec. 23, 1415, he receives payment as Treasurer of the Royal Hostel. For a reference to his book of accounts as Keeper of the Wardrobe, from Oct. 1, 1414, to Dec. 31, 1415, see Exch. Accts. 46/38; L.T.R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 6 (where this book is certified on Nov. 14, 1416); Wylie, Notes, 114; Exch. Accts. 406/29, which shows that during this period Wm. Kynwolmersh was his deputy as Treasurer of the Royal Household. For indentures (dated at Lambeth, Jan. 1, 1416), showing delivery of vessellamenta by Roger Leche, *late* custos of the household, to John Rothenale, present custos, see Exch. Accts. 406/23, 27, with Leche's signet (a man ploughing), the effects including towels, cups and dishes for the larder, as well as 25 casks, 18 sesters and 3 pints of Gascon and Rhenish wine penes Thomas Chaucer. In Pat. 4 H. V, 17; Rym. ix. 357; Cal. Pat. H. V, ii. 41, June 1, 1416, Leche is *late* Treasurer of the Household; also For. Accts. 6 H. V, 19.

[2] Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Mich., Nov. 23, 1416, where he is exoneratus on Sept. 23, 1416.

[3] He is *defunctus* in Exch. Accts. 45/3, i.e. after Hilary, 1417; also Claus. 4 H. V, 3, Feb. 27, 1417; see Wylie, ii. 229, note 8; 481, note 2; qui mort est, Exch. Accts. 406/29, April 28, 1417. For account of him, see Wylie, ii. 229. He married Dame Catherine Bromwich, Pat. 2 H. V, ii. 6, Oct. 21, 1414; do. 3 H. V, i. 14 (Aug. 6, 1415); Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 257, where she pays £93. 6*s*. 8*d*. per annum for custody of the manor of Minchinhampton near Stroud, belonging to the Trinity Abbey at Caen. In 1415 he is steward of the honor of Tutbury, constable of the castle of the High Peak (Altum Peccum, i.e. Castleton in Derbyshire), and master forester (or berghmaister) of the Peak Forest. For lands of Griffith Lloyt ap David ap Jevan in the bailywick of Cilcen (or Kilken) near Mold, granted to him by Henry when Prince of Wales, see Ancient Deeds, iii. 208 (=A. 5666), where he appears to have been at Flint Castle on Sept. 11, 1414, of which he had been constable since Oct. 17, 1407, Wylie, iii. 291. For reference to Roger Leche of West Derby going to Wales with Henry IV and the Prince of Wales, see Claus. 8 H. IV, 10 d, June 3, 1407.

[4] Rec. Roll 4 H. V, Mich., Nov. 24, 1416.

[5] He had been acting treasurer from Sept. 4 to Oct. 12, 1416, Chron. Ser. 58.

[6] Per cursum communis legis, Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 32. For keepers of his manors in Sussex, see Rec. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Dec. 12, 1415. For his lands in Bromfield, Yale and Oswestry "now in the king's hands," see Pat. 3 H. V, i. 22, Feb. 24, 1416. For his warrens in the Rape of Lewes, see Rot. Parl. iv. 78, where the Sussex men complain in April 1416 that their crops are ruined and that offenders against the forest laws are tortured by his foresters (*ministres de Forest appellez Forsters*) with gyves, stocks, burning of feet, maiming of limbs and imprisonment (*emparkez deinz chastelx, forcelettes, et parkes*).

until it had been regularly sued for by his heir. An inventory of his belongings still exists which was drawn up on April 10, 1416[1], and includes a gold girdle[2], a gold *catheria* (?) given to him by the Duke of Burgundy[3], gowns, chimers, heukes, doublets of damask and fustian, shirts, breeches (*braccas*), trappings with rings (*trappura cum bagis*), coat-arms, pennons, getons and a sparver[4] of red tartarin. He left no son, but among his heirs were his three sisters, viz. Elizabeth[5], who after having been three times previously married[6] was now the wife of Gerard Usflete[7], Joan, widow of William Beauchamp, Lord of Abergavenny[8], and Margaret, wife of Sir Roland Lenthall[9]. The title to the earldom of Arundel was claimed by his second

[1] Claus. 4 H. V, 23, including circulum unius sarpe (i.e. girdle, Halliwell, 705) de auro, catheriam de auro (the word is not in Du Cange).

[2] See vol. i. p. 469. For a girdle of gold with buckle and pendants of silver, see Malden, xliii; a girdle of silver, Letter Book I, 16; harnessed with tin or latten "tynglasse," ibid. 184, 187;

> Gerdeles of riche barres
> With bokeles of gold and fair pendaunt,
> Wel anamayled with the mordaunt.
>
> Laud Troy Book, 243, 425.

For an "ersgirdell" of gold and silver, see Baildon, Inv. 175.

[3] Probably in 1411, Wylie, iv. 62. For 12,000 fr. paid by the Duke of Burgundy to silversmiths for plates of gold, silver-gilt and white silver, and jewels given to the Earl of Arundel and several knights and squires in his company, see Add. Ch. 52, dated at Étampes, Dec. 8, 1411. For 2300 fr. paid on Jan. 18, 1412, by Charles VI to his argentiers for buckles (fermaulx), rings and other jewels of gold garnies de pierreries et perles, presented in the presence of the Duke of Burgundy to English lords, knights and captains who were in the company of the Dauphin at the capture of the castles of Étampes and Dourdan, see Cagny, 65; Pannier, 164, 318. The captains include Jean de Grey, Esq. with 21 squires and 100 archers, Dec. 21, 1411, MS. Bibl. Nat. Coll. Clairambault, vol. 55, no. 75.

[4] Or sperver, i.e. a canopy and curtains for a bed, Cent. Dict., s.v.; Godefroy, s.v. *Espervier, Esprevier.*

[5] Wylie, ii. 30. For her portion of the issues of the castles of Dynas Bran and Castell Lleon (i.e. Holt, Wylie, ii. 336) and lands in Bromfield and Yale and Wrightesham (i.e. Wrexham), see Rec. Roll 8 H. V, Pasch., July 12, 1420, Inq. p. Mort. iv. 83. She was born in 1372, Comp. Peer. v. 41, and died July 8, 1425, Doyle, ii. 582.

[6] She had married (1) William Montagu, son of William, Earl of Salisbury; (2) Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk (d. Sept. 27, 1400), see Wylie ii. 30; (3) Robert Goushill, knight, of Hoveringham, Notts.

[7] See vol. i. p. 21, note 1.

[8] Comp. Peer. i. 26. She is called Domina de Bergaveny in Rec. Roll 8 H. V, Pasch., July 12, 1420; Pat. 8 H. V, 11, Oct. 30, 1420; Cal. Pat. H. V, ii. 306.

[9] Wylie, iv. 124; Cal. Pat. H. V, ii. 331, April 20, 1418; Claus. 6 H. V, 18, July 18, 1418; Rec. Roll 6 H. V, Mich., Nov. 28, 1418; ibid. 8 H. V, Pasch., July 12, 1420; Cotton MS. Claudius C. x. p. 285, in Bree, 67. For licence to him and his wife Lucy to crenellate Hampton Court (mansum de Hampton Richard) in Herefordshire, see Cal. Pat. H. VI, ii. 440, Nov. 6, 1434; T. H. Turner, iii. 377, 422, where the work is done in 1435. For his wife Lucy, daughter of Richard, Lord de Grey, who left her 500 marks in his will, see Early Chanc. Proc. i. 31, where Lenthall sues Lord Grey's feoffee, Roger Wyngreworth. For Lenthall's muster (12+36), see Wylie, Notes, 132. Lord Grey of Codnor died Aug. 1, 1418, Comp. Peer. iv. 97. For his seal and stall-plate with palimpsest, see Hope, Plates XXI, XXII, where he is "le Sr de Grey Richard" do. Heraldry, 153; with his seal and badge, ibid. 183.

cousin, John Arundel[1], of Lytchett-Matravers[2] near Poole in Dorsetshire, who was now 30 years of age[3], though his claim was disputed and the question long remained unsettled.

The surplus stores in London, such as bow-staves, spades, shovels and brimstone that were still in the dead Earl's possession at Pounteney's Inn or on the Stelewharf, were removed for a time to a hostel in Mincing Lane and subsequently placed in the Tower; the mayor and bailiffs of Sandwich[4] were ordered to take over anything that stood in his name at that port; the escheators were to hold inquiries as to his possessions in their respective counties[5], and on Jan. 31, 1416, his wife Beatrice gave up all his charters, muniments and title-deeds at Arundel, which were transferred to Westminster where they were deposited in the Exchequer[6]. Within a short time she did homage[7] and received her dower[8], though difficulties were raised as to

[1] He is called "Johannes Arundell de Lichet Mautravers chivaler" in Rym. ix. 614, Aug. 7, 1418; "John de Arundell, Lord of Mautravers, knight," French Roll 6 H. V, 9, Oct. 26, 1418; "John de Arundell, kt.," Priv. Seal, 1423/100; For. Accts. 6 H. V, 20. For his seal at Rouen, Nov. 12, 1433, see Demay, Invent. i. 35, where he is John "arun... dui de Mautravers"; see also Bodl. MS. 2159. Not that he was Captain of Marck in 1405, as Doyle, i. 75, which is probably a confusion with John Arundel of Lanherne (Wylie, ii. 87), who is called "Johannes Arundel miles" in French Roll 3 H. V, 14.

[2] This property came to him through his grandfather's marriage with Eleanor Maltravers, Hutchins, iii. 324; Tierney, 290. For Melbury Bubb near Evershot and Cerne Abbey belonging to him, see Hutchins, iv. 433. For pedigree of Mautravers of Litchet, Cowell (near Thame in Oxfordshire) and Hook (near Beaminster in Dorset), see Nichols, Collectanea, vi. 335.

[3] He was born Aug. 1, 1385, and died April 21, 1421, Gough, ii. 359; Comp. Peer. i. 247. He married Eleanor, daughter of John Beverley, kt. of Beverstone Castle near Tetbury in Gloucestershire, Atkinson, 14; Tierney, 291. For his tomb in Arundel church, see Gough, i. 45. He was summoned as Earl of Arundel to the Parliament that met at Westminster on Oct. 19, 1416, by writ dated Sept. 3, 1416, Cotton, Abridg. 549; Doyle, i. 75; Comp. Peer. i. 247, where it is called "this mysterious summons," though he is not included in Dugd. Summons, 399. He obtained livery of his possessions in the spring of 1416, Tierney, 291.

[4] For order to them, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Oct. 28, 1415. For John Gilling, mayor of Sandwich, see Pat. 3 H. V, i. 2 d, July 13, 1415. For Robert Cheldesworth, bailiff of Sandwich, see ibid. i. 4, May 20, 1415.

[5] For writs to them to hold inquisitions, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Feb. 29, 1416.

[6] For. Accts. 3 H. V; Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 13 d, Jan. 18, 30, 1416. For expenses of William Babington for his journey to Arundel, see For. Accts. P.R.O. p. 80.

[7] In Claus. 3 H. V, 1, Feb. 26, 1416, she is referred to as having done homage, being a native of Portugal. For payment to the Clerk of the Hanaper for charter of indigenation taken out in 1416 by *Elizabeth* in regno Portugaliae oriunda, see Exch. Accts. 215/2.

[8] In Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 5, Feb. 24, 1416; Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 400, she has licence to sue for her dower. In Claus. 5 H. V, 8, Dec. 8, 1417; 6 H. V, 18, July 18, 1418, she is to have her dowry out of her husband's lands as soon as the inquiry has been completed, i.e. when the heir had sued and paid his relief or succession dues for renewal of the fee, see Blackstone, Bk II. Chap. iv; Du Cange, s.v. *Relevare Feudum*. For indenture between her and John de Arundel, kt. see Claus. 4 H. V, 4 d, 17, Feb. 8, April 28, 1417. In Claus. 6 H. V, 4d, Feb. 26, 1419, she admits a debt of £1000 due to Thomas Camoys, kt., John Bohun, kt., John Wiltshire, kt. and others. For 1145. 6*d*. received from her *de fine*, see Rec. Roll 8 H. V, Mich., Oct. 24, 1420; also £20, in Rec. Roll

this point on account of her foreign origin[1], and on receiving her dower she took the customary oath[2] that she would not marry again without first obtaining a licence[3].

After deducting the dead and the invalided and the 1200 who were to form the garrison at Harfleur[4], the ranks of the army had been still further thinned by wholesale desertions, much to the king's disgust[5]; and so it came about that there remained but 900 men-of-arms and 5000 archers who could in any sense be called efficient. This is the statement of Elmham[6] the chaplain, who was with the army from start to finish and had access to official information, and there seems no valid reason for believing that his figures are seriously wrong.

It is certain that the immense preparations of the last two years were expected to eventuate in something more permanent than the capture of one coast fortress, however

7 H. V, Mich., Jan. 17, 1420, where she is farmer of the alien priory of Leominster (i.e. Lyminster) near Arundel. For her dispute with Robert, Lord Poynings (Wylie, ii. 412; or Ponynges, Early Chanc. Proc. i. 35), as to lands in Sussex, which ended in his finding security not to injure or molest her further, see Cal. Pat. H. V, ii. 139, Dec. 9, 1417; Claus. 5 H. V, 6 d, Dec. 18, 1417, where she is called Countess of Arundel. In Pat. 8 H. V, i. m. 2, Feb. 19, 1421, Robert de Ponyngs, kt. and two others are commissioned to inquire as to a dispute in Sussex in reference to a ship that had been driven ashore within the jurisdiction of Beatrice, Countess of Arundel, at Bristamton (i.e. Brighton), see Noyes, p. 4; Inq. p. Mort. iv. 198, where it is called Brigatelmeston, other variations of spelling being Brightelston, Erredge, 12 (1554), or Bristelmstun, Bridhamston, Brighthamstun, Brighthelmsted, see Horsfield, i. 104; Briscamton, Claus. 8 H. V, 2 d; or Brissenden, Iss. Roll 8 H. V, Pasch., May 23, 1420. In 1425 the manor passed to John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, on the death of his mother Elizabeth (see page 71, note 6), Horsfield, i. 111.

[1] Rot. Parl. iv. 130, where she is née et engendrée en la Terre de Portyngale. For a letter Sept. 1416 (not 1415, as Collins, viii. 103) from King João I to John Pelham (possibly as ex-Treasurer of England himself, see Wylie, iv. 51), asking him to show favour to his daughter Beatrice now that she is a widow, see Collins, iii. 8; Lower, Pelham, 17.

[2] i.e. April 28, 1416. Claus. 5 H. V, 8, Dec. 8, 1417.

[3] For her subsequent marriage with John, Earl of Huntingdon, in 1433, see Beltz, ccxxiii; Roujoux, ii. 251; Wylie, ii. 338. Not that she was married to Gilbert Talbot of Irchenfield, who died Oct. 19, 1418 (Inq. p. Mort. iv. 43), as Dugdale, i. 328; Lysons, Magna Britannia (Berks.), 360; Collins, iii. 8; Beltz, ccxxiii; see Comp. Peer. i. 246, quoting Archaeol. Journ. June 30, 1860. In Claus. 6 H. V, 18, July 18, 1418, she is called widow of the Earl of Arundel. She died Nov. 13, 1439, Anstis, i. 125, from the Register of Lewes Priory; not Oct. 23, as Wylie, ii. 338. For another Portuguese lady named Beatrice, who married Thomas Fettiplace and died Dec. 25, 1447, see Inq. p. Mort. iv. 234; Tierney, 284.

[4] Page 62.

[5] Nam regem plures clam dantes terga relinquunt, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 114; quidam ignominiosè quia desertores milicie et cum regis indignacione, Usk, 126.

[6] Millia vix quinque remanent simul arcitenentes,
Hinc vix nonginta pila fuere sibi. Elmham, Lib. Metr. 114.

Capgr. De Illustr. 115; educentes gladium seu ad pugnam apti, Chron. Giles, 31; Gesta, 36; septem tunc millia vix sunt, Lib. Metr. 120 (i.e. all told); Otterbourne, 277; Kingsford, Lit. 277; Capgr. De Illustr. 116; Croyl. 500; Fabyan, 579; Brut, ii. 379, 597; Garter Black Book (temp. Henry VIII), in Anstis, ii. 61; Lel. Coll. ii. 472; Rastell, 249; Halle, 65; Holinsh. iii. 552; Martyn, 182.

important it might be, and as late as Sept. 3, 1415[1], those who were near the person of the king reported that after the fall of Harfleur he meant to go on to Montivilliers, Dieppe and Rouen[2], and ultimately to Paris itself[3]; but with winter approaching[4] and his army such a wreck, for many of those who still survived were already blighted with the seeds of disease[5] and the numbers were still shrinking daily[6], all hope of further campaigning was for the present at an end and the wonder is that all but the necessary garrison did not straightway take ship and sail homewards[7] by the shortest route.

But Henry had already made up his mind[8] to march through Upper Normandy and re-embark at Calais[9]. In view of the approaching winter several of his ships had been dismissed weeks ago[10]. Others with true English instincts had taken up cargoes of cloth and other local produce and started trading[11]. Besides, for a victorious king[12] to skulk[13] out of his ancestral dominions by the way he had come

[1] Jurade, 257.

[2] On Sept. 23, 1415, a rumour reached Narbonne quod Anglici cepissent Herfloer et essent in Normanniâ quodque obsidionem posuerant apud Rothomagum, Dynter, iii. 292. Emilio (323) makes Henry actually attempt an attack on Rouen and fail. See also Belleforest, Hist. 277; Rosières, 430; Leyden (343) dates the fall of Rouen before the battle of Agincourt.

[3] Borély (i. 111, 113) thinks that this plan was only upset by the unexpected resistance of Harfleur.

[4] Impeditus byeme, Pol. Verg. 443.

[5] Wals. ii. 310; Tit. Liv. 11. Not that they were "une armée leste et robuste," as Michelet, vi. 21.

[6] Gesta, 36.

[7] "Hamwardys," Petegrue, 594; Weaver, 474.

[8] Quod prius disposuerat, Gesta, 35.

[9] Not that he intended to take up winter quarters in Calais, as Jervis, 200; Sismondi, xii. 476; Niethe, 14; nor that he was marching "nach Flandern," as Delbrück, iii. 477.

[10] Tit. Liv. 10; Basin, i. 19. Möchten nit wieder uber daz wasser warme es doch dem winter zu nohe was, Windecke, 87. The ships had evidently returned at different times, e.g. in Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 24, 25; Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 374, 377, wages are claimed for the Trinity of Hull (Wm. Chamberlain, master) and the balinger George of London (J. Mody), for 6 weeks from Aug. 1 to Sept. 12, 1415, by which date the vessels had probably reached their respective homes again; car li navoye de Hollandes et de Zelandes s'en estoit ralié en leur pays et ossi li navoye d'Engleterre, Ruisseauville, 138, adding: si estoit toute ou en partie effondrée en la mer par grant habondance de yauve (i.e. eau). Saint Foix, iii. 188, gives the date of the storm as Oct. 5; see also Choisy, 319; Boulé, i. 407; Guthrie (ii. 461) admits that "English histories are silent on this fact, the truth of which seems to come from the French"; e.g. Mazas, Vies, v. 582, who fancies (p. 588) that Henry was so frightened by the wreck of his ships that he had to return by land to Calais as the nobles of central France had crossed the Loire and blocked his retreat to Guienne (!). Cf. Villaret, xiii. 349; Labitte, 134; Danvin, 118; Tilleul, 57; N. Lambert, 414; Béraut, ii. 60; Bertholet, vii. 233; Duval-Pineu, ii. 189; E. Hardy, 157; Hennebert, iii. 321; Hauteclocque, 283; Champion, Vie, 143.

[11] e.g. John Fisher in the Christopher of Bristol who was captured by Bretons on his way to Bordeaux and kept a prisoner from Oct. 14, 1415, till Feb. 7, 1416, Rot. Parl. iv. 89.

[12] Prout regem decuit et victorem, Wals. iii. 310.

[13] Cf. The glosers skulked away, Englische Studien, xxiii. 439; Kail, 69.

would be too much like running away[1]; his heart was set on seeing for himself the country that he claimed as his own[2] and he meant to go through it like a man[3] in spite of dirt and shortening days[4]. Many of his advisers foresaw the danger he would run by moving away from his base and marching into the heart of dense forests[5] beset with traps[6], in any one of which an active enemy might head them off like sheep in a fold[7], and the Earl of Arundel, when he felt that his end was near, had claimed the insight of a dying man and foretold[8] that if he went on he would cast the whole power of the Duke of Burgundy into the scale against him. The distance to Calais by the shortest computation would stretch to about 150 miles[9], and every yard of the way lay through a country which might be held by swarming hosts of unconquered enemies[10]. Surely there would be no shame in a direct return to England from Harfleur, seeing that so strong a place, which many had expected would hold out for a year[11], had been mastered in five short weeks[12].

But the king's mind was fixed and he meant to have his way at any cost. He had pledged himself to be at Calais to receive the surrender of the Harfleur captains,

[1] Ne profectio fugae similis videretur, Pol. Verg. 443; Halle, 63; Grafton, i. 514; Holinsh. iii. 550; Tyrrell, 289 [169], thinks that he "feared the contempt of his people"; Gardiner (309), that "if he went back with baffled hopes his throne would hardly stand the shock."

[2] Tit. Liv. 12; Vita, 50. [3] Hard. 375; Larrey, 811. [4] G. Daniel, iv. 139.

[5] Speed (778) says that the French plashed or pleached (see Halliwell, s.v. *Plash*; Cotgr., s.v. *Plisser*) the woods, which is an absurd touch of his own.

[6] Per tam spaciosas inimicorumque refertas provincias, Anjou Lett. 3.

[7] Velut oves in caulis concluderent, Gesta, 36; Chron. Giles, 32; Tit. Liv. 11; Vita, 50; as wolves don shep that ben in folde, Laud Troy Book, 187.

[8] Se entremetant de prénostiguèar de choses à venir, Pays-Bas, 355, 356.

[9] Kingsford, 135; Strang, 80. Called "an hundred mile," Hard. 375; Durham, 46; H. Morley, vi. 156; plus quam centum miliaria Anglicana, Hard. 390; also Musgrave, 275. Not 35 miles, as Jähns, 858.

[10] Per omnes Gallias delectus maximos haberi virorumque jam multitudinem infinitam ab adversariis collectam, Tit. Liv. 12; adversarios suos Franciae numerosâ multitudine per exploratores congregari senciens, Vita, 47.

[11] Morosini, ii. 60. On June 8, 1415, it was reported from London that it was intended that the army should winter in France; es lor ententa de demorar estin et hibern, Jurade, 193.

[12] Called 38 days in Tit. Liv. 9, 11; Vita, 50; Pol. Verg. 443; Holinsh. iii. 550; i.e. reckoning from the day of sailing, Aug. 11; or 37 days, J. Meyer, 245; or 30 days, Normandie, 168; Nagerel, 166; Crowe, i. 125; H. Martin, vi. 9; en brieve temps, Rot. Parl. iv. 62, 94; en peu de jours. Paradin, 593; paucos dies, Emilio, 323; assez peu de temps, Rapin, iii. 442; Tindal, i. 511. Called "some days" in Sandford, 279; not 15 days, as Sveyro, ii. 124; nor 25 days, as Borély, i. 111; nor 2 months, as Choisy, 318; nor 8 months, as Thaumas, ii. 520; Anselme, viii. 367; nor "an unexpectedly long time," as George, 81; nor that he had "*wasted* many weeks," as Oman, in Traill, ii. 322; or "*dragged on* for 6 weeks," as Pulling, 552.

believing perhaps that the French would actually give way in the meantime. As to the scanty numbers you cannot uncouple[1] your hounds and raches without losing some of them[2], and God could shut up the many in the hand of the few and give the victory to whom he would[3]. Before such reasoning all opposition vanished and when no answer to the challenge came from the Dauphin this dwindling wreck of a stricken army, carrying with them nothing but provisions for an eight days' march[4], set out from Harfleur on Oct. 6, 1415, upon the most foolhardy[5] and reckless adventure that ever an unreasoning pietist devised[6].

[1] York, 58, 59, 61; Halliwell, ii. 900.

[2] Hard. 374; Nicolas, Agin. 214; Stratmann, s.v. *Racche*; a scenting hound, same as brach or brachet, bersslet, bercelet, Halliwell, i. 203; ii. 661; York, xlvii, 125.

[3] Ut inclitus dictat Machabæus, Vita, 51; Scotichron. iv. 1199.

[4] Vix sumptibus octo dierum, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 115. Not that they were compelled to move out from Harfleur penuriâ victualium, as St Denys, v. 548; Devienne, Artois, iii. 41. It is of course a mistake to suppose that after the fall of Harfleur Henry se trouva dans une position périlleuse et se vit contraint de battre en retraite sur Calais, as Louandre, 276. In Lansdowne MS. 1054 (Salisbury Corporation Records) they move out causâ pestilentiae ingentis apud Harflet regnantis.

[5] Fol-hardi and over-bold, Laud Troy Book, 465.

[6] Cf. "enthusiasm which bids defiance to danger and commands that success which wisdom despairs to attain," Guthrie, ii. 461; "enthusiastic (i.e. mad) ambition and obstinate temerity," Gifford, ii. 428. Andrews (ii. 18) regards it as "wholly unaccountable"; cf. "an unaccountable decision," Courtenay, i. 186; "the spirit of daring valour defying probabilities," Turner, v. 412, who thinks (p. 413) that "a more desperate enterprise had seldom been attempted since the darings of Alexander the Great"; that "no fabled hero of romance ever tempted destruction more wilfully" (p. 459); and that it is "too much like ostentatious confidence to be safely commended" (p. 460). Church (88) calls it a "chivalrous even rash undertaking"; cf. "bold to the verge of rashness," Kingsford, 135; "with more spirit than reason," Sat. Rev. (1883), lvi. 527; "worthy of romantic surprise rather than of praise and admiration," Aubrey, Rise, ii. 14; "foolhardy to a degree of madness," Aubrey, ii. 46; "very rash," Vickers, 26; c'était folie, Ayroles, ii. 25; la chose était hardie, elle n'était pas téméraire, Michelet, vi. 20, 21, 23, who thinks that he relied on the connivance and support of the officers of the Duke of Burgundy as soon as he should enter Picardy and Artois, though he somewhat contradicts himself in saying (p. 26) that after Henry had crossed the Somme he was vraiment en pays ennemi; cf. H. Martin, vi. 12; "hardihood as astonishing as condemnable," Musgrave, 275, 277, 279; "probably a leap in the dark," B. E. Warner, 152; "might be termed fool-hardy," Cassell, i. 528; "looked like a mad adventure, the inspiration of a reckless knight-errant, Oman, in Traill, ii. 322, though in Pol. Hist. 249, while regarding it as a "rash step" and a "most perilous undertaking" (258), he yet treats Henry as "a professional soldier rather than a knight-errant," and thinks that "if he could tempt the French to battle he hoped to beat them"; that he had "probably taken the measure of his enemies and gauged their imbecility" before starting, and that the march was "a defiance to the Dauphin rather than a serious military movement"; do. Hundred Years' War, 108. Haggard (115) calls it a "march of bravado"; cf. "a rash, wanton and aimless march," which he would not have attempted "had he been in full possession of his reasoning powers," Gent. Mag. (1859), ii. 344.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE "CHAPLAIN"

ACCORDING to the English estimate the numbers that started with King Henry from Harfleur amounted, as we have seen, to only about 6000 fighting men[1], and in any case it is certain that they were contemptibly small[2] when matched against those they had to face, and for the sake of picturesqueness we may imagine that history is sufficiently repeating itself, if we compare them with the famous retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks after their splendid victory at Kunaxa[3].

As we start on this new Anabasis[4], we have with us a guide of quite exceptional reliability, who travelled with the army every foot of the way, recorded faithfully the details of the road and wrote down his account while the facts were recent[5], and if we have not all the familiar stades and parasangs of our boyhood, we have at least the advantage that the route lies over ground which an average pedestrian may easily cover for himself in the course of a short summer holiday. Hitherto the identity of our chronicler has been supposed to be completely concealed, all that we know of him being that he was one of the

[1] Page 73.

[2] Parvâ manu...pusillum gregem, Wals. ii. 310; cum tam paucâ familiâ et diminuto exercitu, Gesta, 38; paucissimos, ibid.

[3] Grote, Hist. of Greece, vi. 221; Pauli, v. 111. Not that it was "a victorious march through France," as Bearne, 271.

[4] For maps of the route, see Nicolas, 24; Belleval, 1; Gairdner, 97; Köhler, ii. 768; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 559; Ramsay, i. 207; Hassell, 225; Kingsford, 138; Fortescue, i. 62; Tout, 264; Historians' Hist. xi. 171. Cf. "only wanted a Xenophon," London Magazine, New Ser. ix. 299 (1827), where the reviewer gives very full extracts from Nicolas, adding, "we do not recommend so arduous a task as a consultation of the original authorities."

[5] i.e. before December 1417, as is proved by the phrase "et latitat" in reference to Oldcastle, Gesta, 5; Chron. Giles, 7. Cf. *sine dubio* compilator aut realiter interfuit illa videns aut fide digno relatu tam verbis quam scriptis ab hiis qui interfuerunt didicit, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 81.

chaplains who sailed with the fleet from Southampton and remained throughout the campaign very near to the person of the king, for whose piety and devotion to religion he expresses the most whole-hearted admiration.

Some years ago the editor of his work[1], which passes under the title of *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, argued that the writer was a Frenchman[2] and proceeded to identify him with Master Jean de Bordili or Bordiu[3] (i.e. John of Bordeaux), Archdeacon of Médoc[4] and Chancellor of Aquitaine[5]. Archdeacon John was a native of Bordeaux[6] and a member of the Council of Thirty[7] and had recently been one of the envoys who were sent to Fuenterrabia[8] to negotiate with representatives of the King of Castile. On his return he went on to London[9] and he was present in the Exchequer at Westminster on June 22, 1415[10], to receive tallies for payment of the balance

[1] i.e. B. Williams in 1850; though in 1853 it was still supposed to be unpublished, Macfarlane, Battles, 30; also Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 30 (in 1856), and Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 558 (in 1878).

[2] For a somewhat far-fetched argument based on his use of the word "hospitium" for a hostel, see Gesta, 94; "probably a Frenchman," Gardiner-Mullinger, 290.

[3] Wylie, iii. 274, note 5; 285, note 7. He signs himself "Johan deu Bordiu doctor en leys et archidiacre de Medoc," Jurade, 257; or Burdiu, Burdyu, Claus. 3 H. V, 17; cf. "Johan de Bordeu," Jurade, 17; "Mossen Johan deu Bordiu," ibid. 115, though usually supposed to be Bordin. Sloane MS. 4600 (270); Kingsford, Lit. 45; Dict. Nat. Biogr. xxvi. 55; not "Bardin," as Ec. des Chartes, xlvii. 76. For a document dated at Bordeaux, May 1, 1414, with his autograph "J de Bordili p̄ria manu," and his seal, a bird with spreading wings, see Exch. Accts. 186/2. His seal also appears on the same file with documents dated Dec. 20, 1413, Apr. 6, 1414 (with his autograph "Cancel. J. B." i.e. as Chancellor of Aquitaine, Feb. 16, 1415, with "Bordili" on the seal. In Gilliodts van Severen, 205, he calls himself "Johannes de Bordili," and says that he had attained the degree of Doctor, but had no ecclesiastical benefice. No date is given in the document but it was written on the death of his father who had hitherto maintained him, but now he had no refuge but God. As a native of Bordeaux he looks to his native city as a mother, where he hopes to serve his king in his high council for the rest of his life. For "Bordeu" or "Bordiu" as another form of Bordeaux, see Jurade, *passim*, of which "Bordili" may be a variant, just as "Captal" is the local equivalent of "lo Captan," Jurade, 217. Cf. "Pey de Burdiu" (i.e. Pierre de Bordeaux), in Exch. Accts. 186/1.

[4] Gesta, vii, followed by Beamont, i. 239; Köhler, ii. 749; Dict. Nat. Biogr. xxvi. 55; see Wylie, iii. 274.

[5] i.e. July 5, 10, 1414, Rym. ix. 148, 152, where he is judex alti consilii nostri and Keeper of the Seal of the High Court.

[6] Burdegaliae filius, Gilliodts van Severen, 205.

[7] Jurade, 17, May 17, 1414. On June 26, 1414, John Hovingham and Master Thomas Feld, Dean of Hereford were commissioned to examine Edward, Duke of York, Master John Bordili, LL.D. and other witnesses, as to suits in the Chancery between Archbishop Bowet and John Bowet, Esq. and William Farynton, kt. (see vol. i. p. 122), in a dispute over the non-fulfilment of contracts by the latter at Bordeaux, Rym. ix. 145; Wylie, iii. 274.

[8] Vol. i. p. 93; Rym. ix. 146, 152, July 2, 1414.

[9] On Feb. 9, 1415, the Jurade discussed what instructions should be given to Mossen Johan deu Bordiu que s'en ba en Anglaterra, Jurade, 115.

[10] Claus. 3 H. V, 17, July 12, 1415, where his account is referred to as enrolled in the Exchequer anno secundo roll G, i.e. For. Accts. 2 H. V, D; see For. Accts. P.R.O. p. 80.

of his account for expenses in connection with the embassy to Spain, which had already been examined and passed, and on the same day he advanced £171. 10*s.* 8*d.* as a loan towards the expenses of the coming campaign[1]. He afterwards crossed with the army to Harfleur[2], where he described himself as "one of the king's doctors (i.e. lawyers), ordered to be with him in his hostel and his retinue[3]," and when the siege was over he received the living of St Martin in the captured town[4], which he held till his death in the summer of 1418[5]. That he was a person of consideration is shown by the fact that he brought two archers to the siege and that he had two clerks[6] to assist him. Moreover, like everybody else who came into personal contact with King Henry, he highly praises his goodness[7], which aided by the prayers of his people will, as he believes, help him to make good his rights. But he nowhere calls himself the king's chaplain, and that he was not identical with the author of the *Gesta* is proved by the fact that that writer (whoever he was) was present at Oldcastle's rising in Fickett's Field[8] in Jan. 1414, at which time the Archdeacon was certainly not in London but attending to his duties in Bordeaux[9]. This theory, in fact, has never been largely accepted and in the uncertainty as to the identity of the chronicler it has become the established custom of most modern writers to refer to him as "the chaplain[10]," without further attempting to solve the

[1] Rec. Roll 3 H. V, Pasch., June 22, 1415, where he is called "Master John Burdeux." The money was repaid to him June 20, 1418. See vol. i. p. 472.

[2] For his letter to the Jurade written before Harfleur on Sept. 3, 1415, in which he prays that his benefices in Guienne may be protected during his absence, see Jurade, 257.

[3] Jo suy de sons doctors ordenat de anar am luy ontque angora et de son hostau et de son tinue, ibid.

[4] i.e. on Jan. 3, 1416, Bréquigny, 265, where he is called Jean de Bourdin docteur as loix; Carte, Rolles, ii. 226; Dumont, 87.

[5] Ewald, xli. 691 (June 18, 1418); Carte, Rolles, i. 263; Rym. ix. 598, where he is called Jean de *Rondili*; see page 57, note 7.

[6] Sloane MS. 4600 (270), June 18 (s.a.) [=1415], where he has 12*d.* per day and his clerks 6*d.* each. Called 1 clerk in Exch. Accts. 45/5 (9), where he is Master John de Bordyu legum doctor.

[7] La sua grant bontat, Jurade, 257.

[8] Vol. i. p. 265. [9] Rym. viii. 113, Feb. 8, 1414.

[10] e.g. Memorials, xlii; Knight, ii. 61; "a chaplain of the army," Macfarlane, 30; Cassell, i. 530; E. M. Lloyd, 539; Vickers, 460; Durham, 129; Beaucourt, i. 127, though he supposes that he wrote the *Vita*; Low and Pullinger, 107, who, writing in 1890, seem to think that the account has "never been printed in full"; J. E. Morris, Archers, 434, 436; apparemment un homme de guerre, Puiseux, Rouen, p. vi. Cf. "the military chaplain," Scott, ii. 552; Niethe[illegible]7, 18, 21, 24, 25, 28, 32, 33, 34, 35, 44, 47, 51, 55, 56; "a priest," Musgrave, 277; Adams, i. 219; Historians' Hist. xi. 173; xviii. 532, 533, 534, 535, 537; "an anonymous priest," London Magazine, N.S. ix. 299 (1827);

problem as to who he really was. But it is known that there were at least 28 of the king's chaplains present with the army at Harfleur, the names of several of whom remain recorded[1]. One of them was Thomas Rudbourne or Rodbourne[2], and he has been recently suggested[3] as possibly the writer of the *Gesta* on the ground that he wrote a chronicle of English history[4]. But there is no evidence at all that he wrote the *Gesta*, and it seems probable that this modern attribute of historian results from a confusion between him and a later namesake who was Prior of Winchester and wrote a history of the diocese of Winchester[5] twelve years after our chaplain's death.

But if we can approach the problem of the authorship with an open mind we shall find the solution so obviously on the surface that it is surprising that it has not long ago been universally accepted. For over and above the chaplain's prose account, we have a condensed version of it written in Latin elegiacs[6], a perusal of which should satisfy anyone that not only the spirit but the letter of both productions is essentially the same[7]. Now the writer of the metrical

"a French priest," R. F. Williams, i. 196; "a chaplain in the royal service," Kingsford, p. v; King Henry's "chaplain who was probably present, etc.," Church, 72; "a soldier priest," Radford, 50; "a chaplain in Henry's army," Vickers, 31, 460; "Henry's chaplain," Dict. Nat. Biogr. xlii. 90; "der Kaplan," Baeske, 21; "one of his chaplains," Hodgson, Thames-side, 327; Champion, Vie, 145.

[1] Page 30. Called 30, in Hunter, 51; or 32 in Godefroy, Charles VI, 295. For capellani, custos capellae et reliquiarum as members of the royal household, see Lib. Nigr. Scac. ii. 342; Red Book of Exch. iii. 807.

[2] Probably from Redburn near St Albans, Clutterbuck, i. 179, though called Rodbourne in Wilts. in Dict. Nat. Biogr. xlix. 377. He was Bursar at Merton Coll. Oxford, 1399–1405; a Proctor of the University, 1399 to 1401, Mun. Acad. i. 637; Vicar of Deeping (Lincs.) in 1411; Archdeacon of Sudbury, 1413; Dean of Tamworth, 1413; Warden of Merton College, Oxford, in 1416, where he built the tower over the gateway in 1416, Brodrick, Merton, 6, 159, 311; Chancellor of the University of Oxford, 1420, and Bishop of St David's in 1433 till his death in 1442; Bale, Script. 524; H. Morley, vi. 142, who calls him "Rocleve," supposes that he was an astronomer.

[3] Kingsford, vi.

[4] Called Chronicon de Rebus Anglicanis, Angl. Sacr. i. xxvi; Oudin, iii. 2235, 2723. This chronicle, if it ever existed, is not to be confounded with a chronicle ending in 1234 (Hardy, Catalogue of Materials, iii. 78), written by Thomas Rodbourne, a monk of Winchester. For his Historia major and Historia minor, relating to Winchester and carried down to 1277, see Bale, Script. 577; Angl. Sacr. i. 179–314; Oudin, iii. 2235, 2723; Kingsford, Lit. 50; Dict. Nat. Biogr. xlix. 378.

[5] i.e. in 1454, Angl. Sacr. i. 179–314. Called Thomas Rudbourne, junr., Oudin, iii. 2723–5.

[6] For an account of the Liber Metricus, see Kingsford, Lit. 49.

[7] This appears to have certainly been the belief in the middle of the sixteenth century, for Nicholas Harpsfeld, writing in 1559, distinctly attributes the metrical version to Elmham; Conscripsit et Thomas Lentonii Prior *versibus*, Harpsfeld, Hist. 586. Not that this is a summary of the *Vita*, as H. Morley, vi. 160. J. E. Morris, 436, supposes it to be "clearly based upon the chaplain."

version has fortunately prefaced it with an introduction, in which he tells us that it is only a summary of another book that he had written in prose and that it merely contains a few of the many details that were to be found in that "other book," for the king would not have popular opinion suppose that he alone was puffed with praise for a victory that God had given to others besides himself. So in his perplexity the writer had prepared this summarised poetic version for a more highly educated group of readers, thinly veiling his admiration for the time being from the plainer class of minds[1].

On the face of it, therefore, it should require very strong evidence indeed to resist the obvious inference that the chaplain who wrote the prose account was also the writer of the metrical summary and that, if we knew the name of the one, we should certainly know the name of the other. Now the metrical version begins with an acrostic which spells out "Thomas Elmham," and ends with another which yields "Thomas Elmham Monachus[2]," and includes four lines which are only slightly altered from four other lines that occur in Elmham's own *Memorials of St Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury*[3]. I have therefore no hesitation in affirming that the writer to whom we owe our first-hand and most sober information as to the events of the first five years of the reign of Henry V, including the rising in Fickett's Field, the siege of Harfleur, the march to Calais, the details of Agincourt, the entry into London, and the visit of Sigismund, is no other than Thomas Elmham[4], the Cluniac

[1] Non tamen omnia quae sunt facta per ordinem in his versibus continentur quae *in alio libro* prosaicè studui explanare sed pauca de multis substantialia sub compendio volui annotare. Hoc tamen rex noster realiter renuit faciendum ne forte opinio popularis regium animum ex hiis quae Deus ipse sibi et suis in victoriâ contulit aestimaret inflari extollentiâ singularis fortunae. Tremulus ergo et perplexus hujus opusculi qualitatem metricè potius quam prosaicè tenui et exili duxi obnubilatione velandam ut a sapientibus et prudentibus necnon mediocriter literatis per quasdam interim transumptiones lucidè reveletur, a parvulis vero et quâlibet rusticitate caecâ et simplici abscondatur, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 79, 80; Harl. Cat. iii. 202; Lenz, 13, 14; Kingsford, Biogr. 60; do. Lit. 46.

[2] Elmham, Lib. Metr. 166; do. Aug. xxiii. 93; Dict. Nat. Biogr. xvii. 309. In the prologue to his *Annales Britannorum* (in Cotton MS. Claudius E. iv), he works in the acrostic "Thoma Elmham Prior Lentonie," Vita, 377–381; Kingsford, Biogr. 62; do. Lit. 46, 50.

[3] Cf. Elmham, Lib. Metr. 89, with Memorials, xliv.

[4] His authorship has been recently recognised by Bess, Bündniss, 654, 656; Emmerig, 5; Kingsford, Biogr. 60; do. Lit. 45, who gives an account of its contents, ibid. pp. 47–49; Kabel, 8, who substitutes the title "pseudo-Elmham" (pp. 14, etc.) as the author of the *Vita*; Niethe, 10, who gives the conclusion as "unsere Vermutung" (p. 32). In Lib. Metr. 80, Elmham says that he was either present at the events that he relates or had his information fidedigno relatu ab hiis qui interfuerunt.

monk, who had been Treasurer of St Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury and Prior of the Cluniacs at Lenton.

The chief reason that has so far blinded our eyes to this inevitable conclusion is certainly to be found in the widespread assumption[1] that the "other book" to which Elmham refers as his prose work is the well-known "Life and Deeds of Henry V," which has passed as his for the last 200 years[2], but which I have already shown to have been written by an entirely different hand at least 25 years after Henry was dead[3]. The belief that Elmham was "the chaplain" was distinctly stated nearly 40 years ago by a German writer who dealt exhaustively with the original authorities for the events of the year 1416[4], though a more recent English writer declined at first to be convinced, on the ground that Elmham was not a chaplain to the king[5]; but as a letter still exists in which King Henry calls him "*capellanus noster*[6]," it is to be hoped that the last vestige of the old error has now at last been permanently swept away[7].

As to Elmham's[8] personal history we know but little. He was probably a native of Norfolk or Suffolk, and when we first hear of him he is Treasurer of the Benedictine Abbey of St Augustine at Canterbury, in which capacity he distrained for 22*s.* 6*d.* and 1 lb. of pepper as rent due for four shops[9] in the parish of St Mildred on the

[1] Dict. Nat. Biogr. xxvi. 55; cf. "to which *most indubitably* distinct allusion is made," Memorials, xlii, where the metrical version is admitted to be "very much at variance with the character of the work" (i.e. the *Vita*), while the resemblance to "the chaplain's" work (i.e. the *Gesta*) is "patent on every page," perhaps because the chaplain "*may* have placed the work in his hands" (p. xliii).

[2] For further examination of Hearne's assumption, see Kingsford, Biogr. 62, who concludes that he "had no better ground to go upon than the conjecture of Smith," in his Catalogue of Cottonian MSS., p. 11; do. Lit. 56. See also Tanner, 260; Cotton Cat. 17.

[3] Vol. i. p. 195.

[4] Lenz, 14.

[5] Kingsford, p. v, though since converted, see Engl. Hist. Rev. xxii. 579, and Biogr. 60. It is curious that Church (44), though apparently by a guess, believes that Elmham "became one of Henry's chaplains"; A. R. Malden, 30, calls him "probably the king's chaplain."

[6] Duckett, ii. 15; Athenaeum, Aug. 1902, p. 254.

[7] Though it still appears in Loserth, Gesch. 539; Valois, iv. 362. Baeske, 30, 31, thinks that Elmham wrote both the *Gesta* and the *Vita* and that the *Liber Metricus* is a supplement to the *Vita*. Vickers, 460, notes that the attribution of the *Vita* to Elmham is doubted.

[8] Not Elinam, Elinham or Holingham, as Pits, 915; Thoroton, 219; Duckett, ii. 15, 17, 22; nor "Elmhouse," as Adams, Battle Stories, 116. In Exch. Accts. 48/10, is an indenture dated May 30, 1416, in which John Elmeham appears as one of the retinue of the king's hostel, intending to proceed with 1 man-of-arms and 2 archers to the relief of Harfleur in the coming summer. For John Elmham, appointed (Feb. 5, 1420) keeper of the cocket for sealing cloths in Kent, see Ewan, Cal. xlii. 342.

[9] =choppis; cf. Du Cange, s.v. *Schoppa*; i.e. from Henry Somerset, Elmham, Aug. xxii. 72; Twisden, 2290; Vita, xx.

Walbrook in the Poultry of the city of London. He was evidently attached to the court of Henry IV, and has recorded detailed particulars of the death-bed scene in the Jerusalem Chamber[1] at which he may have been personally present, and it is to him that we owe our knowledge of the exact date of the birth of his son Henry V[2]. He was certainly a chaplain to Henry V and transacted much of his business in the Palace at Westminster. Up till now he had been a Benedictine monk, but on June 11, 1414[3], he became Prior of the Cluniac house at Lenton[4] near Nottingham. The transition would be an easy one, as the Cluniacs not only wore the black habit of the Benedictines[5] but were a *referenda* section of that Order, merely adhering with greater strictness to the rule of their common founder[6].

Lenton had already obtained a charter of indigenation[7], and it is probable that Elmham took up the office of Prior as a good practical man, for the field was rotting and ruined[8] and greatly in need of the plough[9] and a strong man was wanted to save, if possible, the remaining property of the Order which was rapidly dwindling in the unequal struggle that laid open the alien priories to the plundering hands of kings and parliaments[10], and it is expressly stated that the king had approved of the appointment when he granted him the temporalities[11]. His value as a business-like administrator and an intimate friend of the new king was soon recognised by the whole Cluniac Order in England,

[1] Pol. Songs, II. xxvii. 120; see App. A.

[2] See App. B.

[3] On which day he received the temporalities as Prior, Pat. 2 H. V, i. 19; Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 199; Escheators' Inquisitions, 1278; Tanner, 260; Monast. v. 109; Vita, xx, 345; Elmham, Mon. Aug. xxii. He was presented by John Burghersh on the death of Richard Stafford, late Prior, Duckett, ii. 23; Wylie, iv. 92, note 5.

[4] See vol. i. p. 347, note 2. Not Llanthony near Gloucester, as Angl. Sacr. ii. 322; nor Denton, as Rym. ix. 383; nor Lynton, as Adams, i. 194.

[5] For resemblance between the habits of the Benedictines and the Cluniacs, see the brass of Prior Nelond, Prior of Lewes, Monast. v. 6, at Cowfold, compared with the monks of St Albans, Macklin, 134.

[6] Secundum regulam sanctissimi patris nostri, Duckett, i. 225; ii. 23; Monast. v. p. iii. For Cluniacs not a separate order, see Barnard, 250. Stevens (ii. 11) thinks that Lenton and Daventry had joined the Benedictines.

[7] i.e. in 1392, Reyner, ii. 71; Thoroton (Thoresby's edition, 1796), ii. 204; Monast. v. 110. For similar charters to Lewes, Castleacre, Pretwell, temp. Ed. III (i.e. Prittlewell in 1374, Monast. v. 21), see Reyner, ii. 71.

[8] Marcidus et collapsus, Duckett, ii. 23.

[9] Ibid. ii. 15.

[10] For frequent confiscations of Cluniac abbeys and priories in England, see Reyner, ii. 71.

[11] Duckett, ii. 23.

and it was not long before a request was sent over to the Abbot of the mother-house at Cluny that he would appoint a Vicar-General as his representative for the transaction of secular as well as spiritual business in this country, so as to reduce the field and spare the husbandmen in lessening the great expense and personal danger entailed by frequent journeys abroad[1]. Prior Burghersh who was the Abbot's vicar[2], though apparently with more limited powers, supported the application, and in it the petitioners prayed that the Abbot would approve the appointment of Elmham as Prior in opposition to the troublesome Geoffrey Graner[3]. Burghersh was himself, he said, prepared to resign the office of Vicar-General in favour of Elmham, and it was well known that this arrangement would be specially acceptable to the king[4]. Within a year[5] of his appointment as Prior of Lenton, Elmham was certainly acting as Vicar-General, with supervision over the whole of the Cluniac houses in England and Scotland, though it was some time before a formal recognition of the appointment was obtained from the Abbot, and while this matter was being pressed forward Prior Elmham was intending to travel to Constance[6], where he hoped to meet the Abbot at the Council and put his case before him in person, but the king would not consent to part with him[7] and he was therefore compelled to remain in England[8]. The king however wrote a letter[9] to the Abbot on his behalf in which he supported his nomination as Vicar-General and hoped that Lenton might in future be allowed to choose its own Prior and admit its own monks. The Abbot had already granted this privilege to Thetford[10], and he would like the new Prior of Lenton to have a share of the milk from the same breast or, if not, he would find some other way of getting it for him[11]. The

[1] Duckett, ii. 15, 22. [2] Ibid. i. 207, 211. [3] Vol. i. p. 343.

[4] Cujus dicto et facto applaudit notorie regius favor, Duckett, ii. 17.

[5] Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 332, 337, June 12, 17, 1415; also Aug. 18, 1416, ibid. ii. 43; Rym. ix. 383. Not that he was appointed vicar-general on the latter date, as Vita, xxii, 346; Elmham, Aug. xxiv; Pauli, v. 689.

[6] Disposuit se venturum ad praesens concilium generale Constantiae, Duckett, ii. 17, from letter of John Kylquyt, a preceptor of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, April 21 [s.a.].

[7] Ex praeceptis contrariis domini regis Anglie coartatus, ibid.

[8] In gravem et non modicam sue displicentiam voluntatis, ibid.

[9] Dated at Westminster Palace, Nov. 24, [illegible]. 1414.

[10] For indigenation of Thetford in 1377, see vol. i. p. 339, note 2.

[11] Alioquin pro ulteriori remedio impetrando intendimus providere, Duckett, ii. 17.

letter was carried by John Kilquit, head of the preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers at Mount St John near Thirsk, who was also in the royal service[1], and in the meantime Elmham crossed with the expedition to Harfleur. Kilquit went on to Constance but the Abbot was not there[2], and on his return down the valley of the Seine he forwarded the letter to Cluny by another messenger[3], as his own passport was made out for the Constance journey only. That the Abbot's advisers did not relish the proposal for another Vicar-General is evident from the endorsement still to be seen on the letter, where they call it "a big piece of folly[4]," but the plan was certainly carried out nevertheless, though the formal appointment seems only to have been made by Abbot Raymond's successor, Robert of Chaudeyrolles[5], at Constance on Oct. 26, 1417[6].

Elmham's new activity as Vicar-General met with much success but he had his difficulties, especially when he tried to establish an effective control over the wealthy priory of Bromholm near Bacton on the coast of Norfolk, whither crowds of pilgrims flocked to visit the Holy Rood[7], made from the wood of the True Cross that had been brought from Constantinople two centuries before[8]. He still, moreover, kept up his official connection with the court, and there is extant in Paris[9] a letter in his own handwriting written in the Palace at Westminster on Feb. 18, though unfortunately the year is not specified. In this he speaks of himself as appointed to watch over the flock in England, especially in regard to the alienated manors of the Cluniacs,

[1] Servitorem dominationis sue, Duckett, ii. 17.

[2] Vol. i. p. 342, note 7.

[3] i.e. Gregory of Conflans. Kilquit's letter to the Abbot is dated at Châtillon in the Côte d'Or, April 21 [s.a.], in which he explains that if he wanted to get to Cluny, his safe-conduct would have to be *visé́d* at Bar-sur-Seine or Troyes, which would cause delay, Duckett, ii. 17.

[4] Una magna fatuitas, Duckett, ii. 22.

[5] i.e. near Fay-le-Froid (Haute-Loire) in northern Languedoc. This I take to be the meaning of "Chandessola," "Chaudessola" or "Exhaudessola." Abbot Robert was elected on Sept. 13, 1416 (not 1446, as Duckett, i. 26), and received the benediction from Jean de Brogny, Cardinal of Ostia at Constance on April 18, 1417. He had represented Cluny at the Councils of Pisa and Constance owing to the great age of Abbot Raymond, and died in 1423, Gall. Christ. iv. 1158. For his letters dated at Constance March 10, April 21, Oct. 21, 25, 1417, see Duckett, ii. 198.

[6] Duckett, ii. 198.

[7] Cf. And wenden to Walsingham and my wyf also,
And byd the Rood of Bromholme bring me out of dette.
Piers Ploughman, B. v. 230, and note, p. 121.

[8] i.e. in 1223, Monast. v. 60.

[9] i.e. in Bibl. Nat. Collection de Bourgogne, vol. lxxxiv. no. 477; Duckett, ii. 21.

his letter being written in great haste as he was much hampered in despatching business with the king[1]. That he still maintained his independence and exerted a powerful influence over the character of the king is evident from the strong remonstrance that he addressed to him in the latter part of his reign, when Henry's popularity at home was suffering under the long-continued strain of the war with France. He tells him straight that England is glad to see him go and dreads to have him back. Wherever he is, peace flies away. Let him think on the fate of Richard and check the insolence of his courtiers, lest the wrath of God should smite him as it did his father. Though king to-day, to-morrow might upset him and his crown[2].

In Sept. 1416, Elmham accompanied King Henry to Calais in the character of an official recorder[3]. He did not cross with the army on the second expedition to France in 1417, but remained in England to pour out his indignation against Oldcastle, whom he regards as a dragon of hell[4]. He is referred to as Prior of Lenton in 1416, 1422 and 1423[5], but on Feb. 18, 1427[6], he resigned his post as Prior into the hands of a namesake John Elmham[7], and after that date we hear of him no more[8].

He wrote much both in prose and verse, and from frequent references in the *Gesta* it is certain that he had access to many official documents which have now disappeared. The methodical drift of his mind found expression

[1] In negotiis penes dominum nostrum regem expediendis in praesenti multipliciter prepeditus, Duckett, ii. 21, who supposes (198) that the letter was written after 1417 or 1418.

[2]
Errores solitos quos nunc tua curia mittit
Corrige, ne feriat te gravis ira Dei.
Nam licet hic hodie sis Rex, sors crastina forsan
Te cito subvertet et diadema tuum. Pol. Songs, ii. 119.

[3] Puiseux, Rouen, v, thinks that il n'a jamais quitté son monastère.

[4] Satellitis infernalis, tartareus draco, Lib. Metr. 156, 159.

[5] In Pat. 4 H. V, 16 (Aug. 18, 1416), he is Prior of Lenton in the diocese of York, and deputy for Raymond, Abbot of Cluny; also 9 H. V and 1 H. VI, Thoroton, 219, 223, who quotes from Registrum de Lenton, probably the Chartulary (Otho B. xiv), that once formed part of the Cottonian Library (T. Smith, 71), but was destroyed in the fire at Westminster in 1731, Monast. v. 110; the present Otho B. xiv is a different volume altogether, Cott. Cat. 365. For a copper plate (16th century), representing the crucifixion, found at Lenton, see Gent. Mag. lxvii. 281.

[6] Pat. 5 H. VI, i. 12; Cal. Pat. H. VI, ii. 392; Monast. v. 109; Vita, xx, xxiii, 345; Fabricius, vi. 252. Not 1426, as H. Morley, vi. 160.

[7] He resigned on Oct. 18, 1450, Cal. Pat. H. VI, v. 403; Monast. v. 109.

[8] Vickers (p. 460) says that he died "some time during the reign of Henry VI," which is vague enough. Called "circ. 1440," in Gent. Mag. (1859), ii. 350; Dict. Nat. Biogr. xvii. 309.

in compiling chronological tables, in one of which he gave the succession of the kings of Britain from the mythical Brute down to Richard II, with short notes of leading events tabulated year by year, breaking off abruptly with the year 1389, the existing copy in the British Museum[1] being obviously unfinished, though a note on the MS. in a later hand records that it was written in 1416. He also drew up a similar chronological table of the Abbots of St Augustine's at Canterbury, which he appended to his history of that house written while he was an inmate there before his transfer to Lenton. Throughout all that he wrote he used his facility for Latin elegiacs, often bringing in his own name in the form of an acrostic, as "Thomas Elmham" or "Elmam," with the addition of "Monachus" or "Prior Lenton."

The *Gesta* in its prose dress ends with Nov. 20, 1416, but the metrical version carries on the story till March 1418. There is evidence that it was consulted by Adam of Usk who finished his chronicle before June 10, 1421[2]. It was followed also by Tito Livio when he wrote his Life of Henry V about 20 years after Agincourt, by Hardyng who was present in the battle, and by Capgrave in his book on the famous Henries about 1440[3], though in his chronicle written about 20 years later he mainly followed Walsingham, whose influence, together with that of Monstrelet, dominated all writers who treated of the subject for the next 150 years. Elmham's account was used however by John Stow in the 16th century, and by Thomas Goodwin, who wrote a minutely detailed account of the reign of Henry V in 1704[4]. But as a rule historians of those days did not much trouble themselves about unprinted sources, and the MSS. of the *Gesta*[5] were not used with much real effect till Sharon Turner[6] wrote his history in 1823. The Agincourt section was translated into English by Sir Harris Nicolas in 1827[7]. At length the Latin text was fully printed

[1] Claudius E. IV. 1.
[2] Usk, 131, 320, compared with Lib. Metr. 153.
[3] Capgr. De Illustr. Introduct. p. xxv.
[4] Goodwin, 61, 63.
[5] i.e. Sloane MS. 1776, and Cotton, Julius E. IV (Nicolas, ix).
[6] S. Turner, v. 398; Nicolas, x.
[7] Nicolas, pp. lxxxvii–ccxlvii. For a modern free translation of the Harfleur section into French, see Hellot, Récit.

by Dr J. A. Giles[1] in 1848, and two years later for the English Historical Society, since which time all writers have agreed to acknowledge the supreme value of the narrative[2], though most of them have failed to recognise the personal identity of the author.

The little force set out from Harfleur on Sunday, Oct. 6, 1415[3], arranged in three battalions[4], which was the usual marching order. The foremost, being the least encumbered[5], was captained by John Cornwall and Gilbert Umfraville; the king himself took charge of the main division, supported by the Duke of Gloucester[6], John Holland[7], and the youthful

[1] Who once informed me that mistakes in the text must be excused, as the type was set up for him by one of his maid-servants.

[2] e.g. Pauli, v. 104; Yonge, 269, 270, 275, who thinks that it adds but little to what was already known; Mazas, Vies, v. 570, who thinks that it was unknown before Nicolas; Michelet, vi. 19; Knight, ii. 57; Borély, i. 108, who seems to identify him with Walsingham; Belleval, 32, who depends upon Nicolas' translation; Kohler, ii. 741, who thinks that he leaves all earlier accounts of sieges far behind, though for an account of the battle he prefers Monstrelet. He thinks that the details of the siege of Harfleur have been gänzlich missverstanden by Pauli, v. 103.

[3] Quo die (i.e. Oct. 6) recesserunt de villâ de Haraflieu cum eodem domino rege versus bellum de Agyncourt, L.T.R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 6/7; Exch. Accts. 47/26; do. 47/7, where the Earl of Huntingdon's claim for wages in viagio versus bellum de Agyncourt is reckoned from Oct. 6; see also Hunter, 36, 45. In Exch. Accts. 46/34, 47/7, the wages of the troops left to garrison Harfleur run from Oct. 6, though from Oct. 8, ibid. 46/24. It is possible that Oct. 8 was chosen because the 1st quarter ended on that day, reckoning from the muster day at Southampton, i.e. July 8, 1415. For wages to begin at Southampton on July 8, 1415, see Exch. Accts. 46/29, 38. The start is dated Oct. 6 by Labitte, 134; Belleval, 58; Oman, 109; Henty, 338; Sainte-Marthe, 9; Adams, i. 217; do. Battle Stories, 101; also Macfarlane, 29; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 29; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 558; or Oct. 7, in Hunter, 20; Beamont, i. 242; Boulé, i. 418; Wals. ii. 310, who allows about 18 days for the march; also Hypodig. 462; Capgr. 312; or Oct. 8 (i.e. Tuesday before St Dionysius), in Gesta, 36, who also gives in nonis Octobris, i.e. Oct. 7; Low-Pulling, 553; Kingsford, 136; Kingsford, Chron. 70, 297; Vickers, 26; Historians' Hist. xi. 169, xviii. 532; Jähns, 858; Strang, 80; Niethe, 18; Delbrück, iii. 479; Loserth, Gesch. 550; called "about Oct. 8," in Tyler, ii. 158; Oct. 8 or 9, Ramsay, i. 206; Champion, Vie, 143; "in October," Radford, 48; not Oct. 9 in festo Dionysii, as Elmham, Lib. Metr. 114; Otterbourne, 276; Yonge, 274; Hippeau, 129; Oman, Pol. Hist. 250; nor Oct. 10, as Normandie, 169; called apres la Saint Remy (Oct. 1), Ruisseauville, 137; la première semaine du mois d'Octobre, Cagny, 97. The date was certainly not Oct. 1, as Hard. 390; Kingsford, Chron. 119; Chron. Lond. 100; Pol. Songs, ii. 123, though Nicolas, 81, inclines to this date. News of the start had reached Venice (viâ Bruges) between Nov. 12 and 14, 1415, Morosini, ii. 68. For itinerary of Henry V from August 11 to Nov. 24, 1415, see Nicolas, 105; Belleval, 118.

[4] Cf. batailles, Waurin, 191, 194, 196; Le Fèvre, i. 233, 235, 241; Lydg. 317; Nicolas, App. 75; called "phalanxes" in J. E. Morris, Archers, 429; in trés acies et alas duas prout more solito agi solebat, Gesta, 135; ordine solito, Tit. Liv. 19; velut sui moris semper erat tribus instructis aciebus et alis, ibid. 82; Vita, 250, i.e. of the march to Troyes in 1420; anglico more, Tit. Liv. 56; First Life, 116; as thus of Englishmen is accustomed, First Life, 43, from Tit. Liv. 12; i.e. the usual marching order, Viollet-le-Duc, Mobilier, vi. 383; Jähns, Atlas, 63; not the fighting line, as Kohler, ii. 765; cf. drei Treffen und zwei Flügel, Schmidt, ii. 250; cf. these kynges comes with here batayles, Laud Troy Book, 223.

[5] St Denys, v. 556.

[6] My brother Gloucester (not Clarence) verament,
Ye shall ryde al be my syde. Harflet, 315; MS. Harl. 565.

[7] Son of John, Earl of Huntingdon (d. 1400), and his wife Elizabeth (d. 1426), daughter

Lord de Roos[1], while the Duke of York and the Earl of Oxford[2] brought up the rear[3]. All baggage wagons were left behind and such stores as they took with them were to be reduced to an absolutely indispensable minimum[4] and carried on the backs of sumpterhorses[5], but it is with amazement that we read that in the king's coffers were carried a crown[6], a sword of state so valuable that it was very seldom allowed to be seen[7], the chancery seals[8], a gold cross set with precious stones valued at 13,000 crowns, and a large piece of the True Cross six inches long and more than an inch wide[9], together with gold and silver salsers

of John of Gaunt. He was born in 1394 and restored to his title as Earl of Huntingdon in 1417, Comp. Peer. iv. 287. Called Duke of Exeter in Goodwin, 84, where he commands the rear battle at Agincourt, though he was not created Duke of Exeter till Jan. 6, 1443, Doyle, i. 712; ii. 230. See page 16.

[1] i.e. John, Lord de Roos, who succeeded his father William in 1414 at 17 or 18 years of age, Wylie, ii. 180, note. He was killed at Baugé, Mar. 22, 1421. Not that he was brother to the Earl of Huntingdon, as Waur. ii. 188. For his retinue (9+22), see Nicolas, 343 (or 20+40 at Southampton; Wylie, Notes, 138; or 10+30 on May 1, 1416, see Dugd. i. 552). Called le Seigneur de Ros, in Cordeliers, 228. For his monument (from Belvoir Priory) now in the church at Bottesford, see Eller, 366 (with orle and SS collar). He married Margaret, daughter of Philip le Despenser. For grants to him, April 2, 1419, see Bréquigny, 67.

[2] Cf. Hontyngdoun and Oxford bothe
Were wondere fers all in that fyght. Pol. Songs, ii. 125.

[3] Harflet, 315, 316, 323; Nic. App. 74, adds the Earl of Devonshire, Lords Clifford and Willoughby and Sir William Bourchier. Monstr. (375) gives the Earl of Dorset, Lords Beaumont and Chamber (? Camoys, see vol. i. p. 531); also "the yong Erle of Devonschere," Harflet, 315; meaning apparently Edward (see vol. i. p. 527), son of Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, who was "said to be blind," Hunter, 29; or "elderly," Ramsay, i. 199 (i.e. 58 years old, Doyle, i. 575); though Köhler (ii. 766) supposes him to have been present at Agincourt. For retinue of Edward Courtenay, knight, in 1415 (30+90), see Nicolas, App. 88; called 190+400 in Dugd. i. 641; Cleaveland, 209, where he is Admiral of the Fleet from May 1 to Aug. 1, 1418. For his seal, with grant to his brother Hugh Courtenay, kt. dated at Tiverton in 1414, see Cott. MS. Julius C. VII. 138.

[4] Vita, 51; sans guère de bagaiges, Brands, ii. 128.

[5] For names of sumptmen (*sic*) that sailed from Southampton in 1415, see Exch. Accts. 44/30 (1); usually called "sumptermen," e.g. Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Dec. 20, 1415; 8 H. V, Pasch., May 21, 1420; Wylie, iv. 277. I can find no authority for the statement in Mazas (Vies, v. 616) that the force had very few horses and that these were all used for baggage. Oman (Hist. 223), on the other hand, thinks that the whole army, including every archer, "had been provided with horses."

[6] See p. 30. In Ruisseauville (140) this becomes two crowns, one of which he was to wear when he appeared before the public in France, and another to be used at his coronation at Rheims; cf. Danvin, 119. For the famous ruby shown in the State Crown (1838), see W. Jones, Crowns, 45.

[7] L'epée dou rois Artus qui valoit tant de finanche que on ne le savoit exposer, Ruisseauville, 140; Danvin, 119; une moult précieuse épée ornée de riches pierres et aultres joyaux, Monstr. 376; cf. Gesta, 50; Chron. Giles, 45; Nicolas, 259; Paradin, 597; Biondi, 121.

[8] Ramsay, i. 222, who calls it the Great Seal; Gaucourt (in Nicolas, App. 26), who recovered the seals and some of the jewels and gave them up to the king in England. This is doubted by Labitte (144), but without any sound reason.

[9] Called 2 pieces, each 6 inches long, in Daniel, iii. 875.

worked in arabesque[1] and garnished with pearls[2], garnets and amethysts, a gold spoon and 27 silver ones, and a long serpentine[3] worth 70 marks[4], all of which precious things were packed in the baggage of John Hargrove, a sergeant of the pantry[5].

Large as the army might originally have been, the hard campaigning had left it but a crumpled and ragged squad[6], with harness out of joint and jacks all worn and tattered into slovenry[7]. Strangers arriving in Calais brought word of the wild adventure and it was generally believed that they would be in death-grips with the French before they had been 15 days out[8], but it was soon made quite plain that they had started on no easy promenade. At Montivilliers a small garrison which had been watching its opportunity during the siege of Harfleur[9] gave them their first blood-letting as they passed within half-a-mile of the place[10], and although strict orders[11] had been given that no burning or plundering should be allowed except for the necessaries of life, yet as they found that the country had

[1] Operis de Morask. Cf. "moreske-work," Cotgr., s.v.; des objets morisques (i.e. furniture), Le Coy de la Marche, ii. 161; une pomme d'or faicte de haute taille en manière de morisque, Guiffrey, i. 302; unum salarium auri operis de morask, Pat. 4 H. V, 17; Priv. Seal, 664/659; ouvrage de Damas, Wylie, iv. 83, note 4.

[2] One of them had a perula Scocie (probably a cairngorm) on the top. Called "a Scotch pebble" in Nicolas, 259.

[3] Called lapis pretiosus in Du Cange, vii. 439, but it probably means a snake; e.g: bestes sauvages et serpentine, Godefroy, vii. 395.

[4] Rym. ix. 356; Nicolas, 259, who dates the document in 1415 instead of 1416; cf. Belleval, 107; Mély-Bishop, i. 169. The total value of the articles was £86. 5*s*. 5*d*., Kingsford, 153.

[5] Servientis panetrie, Rym. ix. 357; Cal. Pat. H. V, ii. 41.

[6] G. Daniel, Trinarch. iv. 147.

> A Route of tattered Rascalls starved,
> Fitter for spittles and the surgeons care. Drayton, 44.

[7] H. V, iv. 3. 114. Fort foulés leur harnois mal à poinct et les jacques des archers usées et déchirées, Juv. 518.

[8] Rym. ix. 314.

[9] Juv. 517. For 200 livres tourn. paid on Oct. 13, 1415, to Colard, lord of Villequier, with 25 cross-bowmen (*arbalestriers à pied*) at Montivilliers, see Belleval, 59, from Titres scellés de Clairembault, t. 113, in Cabinet des Titres, Bibl. Nat. In Rept. on Foed. D. 366, Jan. 2, 1422, Clement Overton, esq. is captain of Montivilliers for one year with 3+9; also June 1, 1422, where the garrison (5+12) is mustered by Hugh Luttrell, kt. and Thomas Holgylle.

[10] Gesta, 37; Hard. 390; Pauwels, 242; Nicolas, 220; Kingsford, Chron. 119 (i.e. Cleop. IV. 24); Pol. Songs, ii. 123, where they pass through Houndfle (i.e. Honfleur) and Barflete (i.e. Barfleur) before reaching Montivilliers; Nicolas, 361; Belleval, 353, shows that Geoffrey Blake was killed in the engagement; Hunter, 27, that an archer Robert Roger was taken prisoner; also 3 cordwainers, Exch. Accts. 45/15; and one of the squires and 1 archer of the late Earl of Suffolk, ibid. 46 (24) (where the fight is stated to have taken place on Oct. 8). Daniel (iii. 871) thinks that une infinité de monde was killed and captured by the garrisons at Montivilliers, Caudebec and other small places.

[11] Piissima et honestissima statuta, Chron. Giles, 32; Gesta, 37.

been stripped of supplies, it is no wonder that we find them everywhere working countless woe. This at least is the stock complaint of the French chroniclers[1], though there is a remarkable statement by one of them that in this part of the campaign at least the English neither robbed men nor churches, nor lit a single fire in France[2]. For a time they were able to extort a certain small modicum of food[3] from the towns and villages through which they passed, as the near example of Harfleur and the helplessness of the French government had struck a note of panic terror along the whole countryside. At Fécamp[4] a considerable force had been collected by David, lord of Rambures[5], the captain of Boulogne, to oppose them, but the townspeople had less to fear from the English than from their own friends, who burned the town and took refuge in the fortified precinct of the Abbey[6], as the castle was in no condition to make any defence[7]. Here they stalled their horses in the church and shamefully ill-used the defenceless women who crowded

[1] Maux innumérables, Juv. 517; gastant et destruisant, Le Fèvre, i. 231; ardant et exillant tout devant luy, Waur. ii. 188; praedus agendo et cuncta diripiendo, Basin, i. 20.

[2] Ossi ne desrauberent de nuls hommes ne eglises ne ossi boutet nuls feux en Franche et s'il tout fait pour seur nous en avons fait justiche, Ruisseauville, 142, while the French (p. 138) did nothing forsque rober et piller villes et moutiers (abbayes) et violer femmes.

[3] Parcissimè licet, Tit. Liv. 12. Not that the writer was present, as supposed in Nicolas, 184. Rapin (iii. 446) thinks that the French brought in provisions pour les vendre à prix excessif; cf. Tindal, i. 513.

[4] Juv. 508. For William Bramshulf taken at "Fescame," see Nicolas, 361; Belleval, 353; called Fecant, Pauwels, 242; Fescoompe, Pol. Songs, ii. 123; Fescompe, Kingsford, Chron. 119; omitted in a map of the route in Köhler, ii. 768. For destruction of a large part of Fécamp (or 400 houses) by the English on July 15, 1410, when half the population disappeared, see Coville, Recherches, 392, 393, 399, from Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 25708/631, 635, 639.

[5] For a messenger despatched to him from Boulogne on Sept. 14, 1415, who however did not find him at Fécamp but at Rouen, see Deseilles, 418, where he is maistre des arbalestriers de France; cf. Anselme, viii. 67; Belleval, 95, 244.

[6] Cf. abbaciam turribus et muris altis defensam, Blondel, ii. 94 (writing in 1450). For a plan of the abbey, see Sarrazin, Jeanne d'Arc, 266, from Monasticon Anglicanum. For account of it, see Normandie Monumentale, 465. For pictures, see A. Laborde, ii. Plate CLIX; Bordeaux, I. i. 49; Joanne, ii. 1406. It is not a little remarkable that an inventory of the goods of the Abbey dated Sept. 1415, still exists among the records of the English exchequer, Delpit, cxv. It was doubtless drawn up in consequence of the expected arrival of the English. For other inventories dated Dec. 5, 1362, Sept. 10, 1375, Jan. 14, 1400 and 1425, see Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, xx. 160, 167, 403, L. i. 11, no. 3. For a contract dated Oct. 12, 1420, by Alexandre de Berneval, who was then living in Rouen, to build an erection with a stone doorway (une huisserie de bonne pierre de taille, cf. une huisserie a deschendre de la neuve chapelle en la vielle, C. Beaurepaire, Notes, iii. 187) for the faithful to approach the stone with the angel's footprint on it in the Abbey, see C. Beaurepaire, Notes, i. 59, 61, where the monks are to find fer, plomb, engins, cordail et estabiiez (benches) et mortier a ce faire.

[7] On April 18, 1419, the castle was ruinosum et desertum, Bréquigny, 82.

thither for protection[1]. The most recent local historian[2] of the town supposes that the English established themselves in front of the Porte du Bail and placed guns on the heights above, from which they opened a terrific fire with "enormous globes of stone" till they had breached the walls, though it is certain that they had not a single gun or stone shot with them. But beyond the fact that three Englishmen were captured[3] we have no record of any serious collision, and the bulk of the English force appears to have left Fécamp entirely to the left and to have passed through Fauville[4], arriving on Friday, Oct. 11[5], before the castle of Arques[6] which dominated all the country watered by a stream[7]

[1] En laquelle y avoit gens d'armes *en garnison* qui avoit brulé la ville, Juv. 508; Godefroy, Charles VI, 297. Not that this was all done *by the English*, as Nicolas, 82, who translates the above passage as "where he (Henry) placed a garrison who burnt the town"; also Belleval, 59. Zantfliet (406) represents that Henry had besieged and taken Fécamp and left an English garrison there before he attacked Harfleur, cf. Gall. Christ. xi. 212.

[2] A. Martin, i. 122, who supposes that resistance was organised by the Abbot Estod d'Estouteville, brother of the defender of Harfleur (see p. 35), quoting B. L. Fallue, Histoire de la Ville et Abbaye de Fécamp (Fécamp, 1841), pp. 250, 251, a work which I have not been able to consult. For safe-conduct for him (May 4, 1420) coming to do homage to Henry V, see Ewald, Cal. xlii. 369, where he is called Estodus d'Estouteville.

[3] viz. 1 lance (William Bramshulf) and 2 varlets (Edward Legh and John de Rede), Q.R. Exch. 45/1; see page 91, note 4.

[4] Monstr. 371; Waurin, ii. 188; Guthrie, ii. 462, who thinks that they intended to keep near the sea in order to get supplies from their ships. St Denys, v. 549, followed by Juv. 517, makes them go towards Gournay, i.e. Gournay-en-Bray near Beauvais (called Gournai-en-Beauvoisis in Choisy, 321; Boulé, i. 148), but this seems altogether too far south. Juv. 517, calls Gournay 22 leagues from the sea, and says that the English stayed there 4 days (exacto quadriduo); also Montfaucon, iii. 163. Not that "they were 4 days on the route" (as Nicolas, 238), and then went on to Amiens. But he seems to have been quite misinformed, see also Hellot, 99. In Normandie, 166, they pass through le pays de Caux; called Caoorsin in Waurin, ii. 188. In Cordeliers, p. 228, they cross the Oise and the Eure (Autye or Autura, Des Champs, 137, Graesse, s.v.) before reaching the Somme. In Trussel, 100, they march from Harfleur to Porthouse, i.e. Pontoise (cf. Pountoyse, Halle, 63; Grafton, i. 514), which he seems to place on the Somme. Mazas, Vies, v. 585, makes them take the high road for Dieppe, moving toward St Miel (*sic*) (possibly St Michel du Hoisel near St Romain), meaning to sleep at Fauville, but that they had to abandon this plan because Boucicaut was on their right flank, and so they went to Fécamp. In Strang, 83, they move from Fécamp "past Cany and Valéry to Arques."

[5] Gesta, 37; Hard. 390.

[6] Not "Argues," as Aubrey, ii. 47. It is called "Arkes" in Pol. Songs, ii. 123; "Arches" in Coningsby, 28. For pictures of it, see Dibdin, Tour, i. 29; Cotman-Turner, I. i; D. Turner, i. 33; Duruy, ii. 147; Normandie Monumentale, 303; Dearmer, 359; Macquoid, 119; Bordeaux, I. i. 62; Albert-Petit, 104. For ruins 1838, 1883, with postern (11th century) and prisons (15th century), see Sarrazin, Jeanne d'Arc, 119, 120, quoting Rev. de la Normandie, 1868, p. 642, where it is called le géant du moyen âge. For plans of it and siege in 1589, see Deville, 233, 283; Viollet-le-Duc, Architect. iii. 71–75; v. 38–47; Sarrazin, Jeanne d'Arc, 118; Jähns, Atlas, Plate XLIII. For John Baskerville, kt. appointed captain of Arques, July 29, 1420, see Ewald, xlii. 379; also Aug. 10, 1420, Jan. 2, March 9, Dec. 26, 1421, Rept. on Foed. D. 365, where the garrison = 10 + 30.

[7] i.e. the river Arques. For 16th century picture showing its course, see Sarrazin, Jeanne d'Arc, 116. Called "the Béthune," in Strang, 83.

winding down to the harbour of Dieppe[1] some three or four miles away on the shore to their left.

Halting his troops in the adjacent fields, which were intersected through and through by watercourses, the king sent to demand a free passage for his troops, but the captain of the castle had blocked the bridges with timber[2] and answered the summons by aiming some shots at the messenger from the walls; but when the English threatened to set fire to the open bourg[3] or town that clustered round the church at the foot of the castle hill, he came to terms, agreeing to supply them with bread and wine and let them pass unmolested on their way[4]. So they marched through Arques[5], and on the following day (Oct. 12) arrived within half-a-mile to the south of the walled town of Eu[6], near to the outfall of the river Bresle[7]. Here a large force had assembled to bar their further advance[8], but in accordance with his determination not to seem to be scuttling out of the country that he claimed as his own by inheritance, the king marched his army with banners flung right into the teeth of the enemy. As his scouts[9] approached the town the French sallied out and caused some trouble, but were driven in with

[1] For 17th century plans of Dieppe, see Zeiller, viii. 12. For the castle, see Duruy, ii. 145. For pictures of Dieppe in 1575, see Belleforest, i. 105; Normandie Monumentale, 279–291.

[2] Infra quorum (i.e. the castle and the narrow bridges) districtum et offensionem transitus non erat, Gesta, 37; Chron. Giles, 32. Not "within the range and shot of which was our passage," as Nicolas, 220; cf. pontibus et turribus satis munita, Capgrave, De Illustr. 116.

[3] For position of it, see Deville, 382, 385.

[4] Ne trouva aucun empeschement, Juv. 519. Belleval (61) thinks that the governor had been secrètement gagné.

[5] Not "through Depe," as Pol. Songs, ii. 123; Kingsford, Chron. xxv. 119, 304; also Hardyng, 378; Pauwels, 242; called "Deape" in Coningsby, 28. In Raoulet, 154, they pass au long de la mer pardevant Dieppe et au pais par amprès Hadelincourt (? Hallencourt) et la rivière de Somme. Musgrave (276) makes them pass through Creil (i.e. Criel), which seems impossible from its position on the shore; also Aubrey, ii. 47. Mazas, Vies, v. 585, supposes that they crossed the forest of Inerville (possibly Intraville), followed by Boucicaut, who made them retire to Eu avec précipitation, losing 5000 men before they reached the Somme, all of which imaginary details appear to be accepted by Belleval, 60, 61, 65; cf. Duval-Pineu, ii. 192; Köhler, ii. 752 (who quotes St Denys, v. 550, but this refers to the action of Boucicaut after the English had reached the Somme); Niethe, 19. In Duthilloeul, 57, the attack is supposed to be made by the Duke of Burgundy!

[6] Called "Delewe" or "de Tewe" in Pol. Songs, ii. 124; Kingsford, Chron. 119. For account of Eu in the 18th century, see Ducarel, 4. For remains of the walls with the Porte de l'Empire, see Sarrazin, Jeanne d'Arc, 75, 80, 83, 89, quoting Estancelin (Le Château d'Eu), Leboeuf (La ville d'Eu, 1844), Vatout (Château d'Eu). For the castle of Eu burned by order of Louis XI, July 18, 1475, see Vatout, iii. 164; do. château with picture. For picture of the church and the modern château begun in 1545, see Bordeaux, I. i. 70; Normandie Monumentale, 333; Fouquier, ii. 110. For seal of Eu, see Sarrazin, 70.

[7] Le Fèvre, i. 232; not Presle, as Mazas, Vies, v. 585, 588.

[8] Ibid. Vies, v. 585, assumes that this force was commanded by Boucicaut.

[9] Les coureurs, Monstr. 371; Waurin, ii. 188; Le Fèvre, i. 231.

loss[1]. Then followed the usual threat to burn the neighbouring villages if food were refused, and so great was the dread of the English name that here also the mere threat was effectual[2]. Hostages were offered; bread and wine were delivered[3], and the English army again sped on with growing confidence in themselves. Passing from Eu they left Normandy behind[4] and entered the county of Ponthieu which had long been incorporated in the province of Picardy. Crossing the Bresle at Gousseauville[5] near Gamaches, they marched by Friville and Nibas[6] towards the mouth of the Somme.

Some of the prisoners that they had captured at Eu had given them to understand that an immense force was posted in front of them ready to dispute the passage of the river, which in the ordinary course they might reasonably expect to reach by the following day. This news was variously discussed. To some the rumour seemed the likeliest thing in the world, for it looked incredible that the great French nation were really going to see their chief seaport wrested from them and sit with folded hands while these insolent aggressors ravaged their fields, and then let them escape scot-free to their own land. But though opinion in some parts of Europe had up till now believed that the English were bound to fail because the French were both united and prepared[7], yet those were far nearer to the truth who thought that internal discord had cut so deep into the nerve of France that no large force would venture far from Paris, lest the Duke of Burgundy should slip behind their unprotected rear, re-occupy the capital[8], bring back the refugees and re-enact the Terror of Caboche[9].

[1] Grande escarmouche, Fenin, 558; gave the Englishmen a skirmish, Holinsh. iii. 551; it was foughten sore and vigorously, Stow, Chron. 349. Not that the garrison repulsed an English division, as Vatout, iii. 138. Sarrazin, 75, thinks that Henry was obliged lever honteusement le siége on Oct. 13, 1415.

[2] Not "paying generously for everything he received," as Henry, v. 37.

[3] Gesta, 38; Tit. Liv. 13; Vita, 52.

[4] Laquelle est la derraine ville de Normandie, Le Fèvre, i. 231.

[5] Not "Gouzenville," as Mazas, Vies, v. 585, who supposes that Boucicaut crossed in pursuit a little higher up at Soren [? Soreng near Monchaux].

[6] Louandre, 276; Belleval, 65, 66. Called Fréville and Cartigny (i.e. Catigny near Arrest) in Mazas, Vies, v. 589. Lefils (134) sends them on to sleep at Bailleul and then back to St Valery, where he supposes that they had a garrison.

[7] Contra gran posanza per eser tuti i signory de Franza ben sono d'acordo e ben provisty, Morosini, ii. 50.

[8] For a rumour at Venice that the Duke had actually returned to Paris, see Morosini, ii. 64.

[9] For statement that Simon Caboche was executed at Bapaume in July 1414, see Bédu, 60, quoting Hennebert-Devienne. But he was still "un personnage officiel" attached to the Duke's hostel in 1418, Coville (Lavisse), iv. 377.

CHAPTER XXXII

DISSENSIONS

LONG before the expedition started from Southampton the French Council had been aware that dangerous preparations were afoot[1], and when at length the return of their envoys from Winchester at the end of July 1415[2] had made it plain to their laggard eyes that their country was on the very verge of invasion, the Dauphin called the Council together in Paris and decided to levy an aid throughout all France and to garrison the towns on the northern and western coasts[3]. As soon as the landing of the English at Harfleur was an accomplished fact, the collectors pressed for money in all directions. They squeezed out loans wherever they were to be had, forced the clergy to pay a tenth of their receipts[4] and exacted contributions from every quarter under threats of imprisonment[5]. By this means they got together the largest amount that had been collected within the memory of any living man[6], but to effect this much the whole land was robbed and plundered worse than even the English could have done it, and no good came of it after all[7]. One small result of this burst of energy was seen in the rigging up of the few vessels that still remained in the galley-close at Rouen[8], amounting in

[1] Page 51, note 3; Transcr. For. Rec. 135. For order dated April 19, 1415, to the bailiff of Rouen to collect men to oppose the king of England, see Champion, Vie, 139.

[2] Vol. i. page 492. They reported the numbers of the English as 6000 + 50,000, St Denys, v. 531; Goodwin, 61.

[3] Waurin, ii. 169; Monstr. 362.

[4] Juv. 514.

[5] St Denys, v. 536. For order dated Paris, Sept. 18, 1415, calling upon sheriffs and collectors to bring the proceeds promptly, see Ordonnances, x. 426.

[6] Le plus grant taille qu'on eust vu cueillir d'aage d'homme, Bourgeois, 62.

[7] Tout le pais gasté et robbé et faisoient autant de mal aux pouvres gens de France comme faisoient les Angloys et nul autre bien n'y firent, ibid. 62.

[8] For the Clos des Galées at Rouen in 1338, see Lalanne, 81; Larchey, 21; Brackenbury; Roncière, i. 33, 401, 403, 404. It was built about 1294 (A. Martin, i. 150), and was known as the arsenal of the west (arsenal du Ponant). Oppenheim (9) calls it "a complete establishment such as did not exist in England till more than a century afterwards."

all to 13 balingers. Carpenters were engaged to fit them with orlops[1], and caulkers to scour their bottoms[2], but it was not till Sept. 14[3] that the crews were mustered—too late of course for any effective purpose. Ten days after the English had actually landed, an order was made out[4] at Rouen to send two galiots[5] with provisions to Harfleur with directions to land men and keep up communications with the garrison; but how this was to be done in the teeth of the blockade does not appear to have been considered, seeing that with the exception of the 13 before-named balingers, all of which were unseaworthy, every ship in the galley-close had recently been sold[6], and as soon as the news came that the English were actually in the Seine messengers were despatched to Sluys to hire[7] carracks and galleys for the immediate emergency; but as Sluys was under the sinister control of the Duke of Burgundy, the prospect of relief was not bright in that direction.

Early in 1415 the Peace of Arras[8] had been sworn by the Dukes of Orleans, Bourbon and Bar, but much against their will[9], and as soon as it was signed they showed that they had little love for it[10]. The king was ill, and when the Dauphin took over the government with the finances all pinched and thin[11], he found himself deserted by the royal

[1] i.e. decks or overlops, Roncière, ii. 215; see Cotgr,. s.v. *Tillac.*

[2] Calphas remolas pour mestre sus et ouvrir. Cf. calfas et remolants (=oarkeepers, avironniers) pour espalmer les galères, Add. Ch. 259, not 269, as Roncière, ii. 215.

[3] Add. Ch. 68, 69, in Nicolas, App. 86, where Colin Govel, master of the ship *Jehan Langage*, gives a receipt for £107. 10*s.* 0*d.* for himself, 1 mate (*contre-maistre*), 4 quarter-masters (*carteniers*) and 30 sailors (*mariniers*).

[4] i.e. by the constable, Charles d'Albret, dated at Rouen, Aug. 23, 1415, Roncière, ii. 214, quoting MS. fr. 26,040, p. 4971 (cf. Omont, iii. 31), and Pièces Orig. vol. 2289 dors.; Piquet, p. 49 (28,773 in Omont, iii. 134). For 30 livr. tourn. paid by the Receiver of Rouen to a carpenter at Rouen for a small new galiot to go to Harfleur with victuals and bring news; also for 10 sols tourn. for a banner with the royal arms to put in it; also payment to Robert de Hellande, kt. bailiff of Rouen, going to Paris to tell the king and Dauphin, see Cagny, 95, note, from Bibl. Nat. Quittances, vol. 49, pièce 4971, i.e. letter of Charles d'Albret dated Aug. 23, 1415, notifying that all these payments had been made.

[5] See Cotgrave, Murray, s.v.

[6] i.e. in 1404, 1411 and 1412, Roncière, ii. 201. For barges and galleys at Rouen in 1382, all bearing saints' names, see Bréard, 60.

[7] Noliser, see Godefroy; Du Cange, s.v. *Nauligare.*

[8] See vol. i. p. 399. The Dukes of Burgundy and Brabant were both at the Hostel de Flandre in Paris on Feb. 18, 1415, Finot, Paix, 39, and the former was at Bruges on March 4, 1415, Gilliodts van Severen, Invent. iv. 325.

[9] Fort à contre-coeur, Fenin, 557; D. Sauvage, 231; Paradin, 587.

[10] Quelque paix qu'ils eussent jurée ensemble, si y avoit-il peu d'amour, Fenin, 557, 558. Pays-Bas (353) represents that the Duke of Anjou and the Count of Armagnac were excluded from the Peace of Arras.

[11] Prinses et exillés, Le Fèvre, i. 213.

blood[1]. The Duke of Berry retired to the castle at Dourdan[2] in his county of Etampes, the Duke of Orleans to Blois and the Duke of Bourbon to Clermont, where the barons of the country did homage to him as Duke of Auvergne[3], and none remained but the Count of Richmond[4].

The Duke of Burgundy averred that he had all along been willing to sign the peace but that he had been unable to approach the capital, and that provisions had been refused to him at Châlons[5] as a traitor, whereupon he had turned back homewards and was making up for his long absence from his Duchy[6] by camping out with his wife and daughter for a four months' hunting in the forest, where a hall and a chapel, with bed-rooms and tiring-rooms were fitted up under canvas with all the customary ducal state, and when envoys came from Paris to announce the wishes of the Dauphin that there should be peace and reconciliation he professed his profound attachment to the royal house and asked them to sup with him and the ladies in the green forest rides[7]. But for all that he steadily refused to sign the peace unless his Cabochians were recalled, as had been promised in a separate agreement with the Dauphin[8]; otherwise, if the English gave trouble, he would neither come forward nor take any steps to oppose them. Three messengers[9] were next sent from Paris to soothe him; but the moment was not favourable, as the Dauphin had just sent away his wife Margaret, who was the Duke's daughter, to St Germain-en-Laye[10] in order

[1] Asseulé du sang royal, Le Fèvre, i. 214; Gollut, 1002; cf. ceulx du sang, Finot, Paix, 18. The Duke of Burgundy asserted that the Dauphin was removed to Mehun-sur-Yèvre and Bourges, ibid. 30, 74. If so, this must have been by order of the Duke of Berry.

[2] He was at the castle of Dourdan (Seine-et-Oise) on May 11, 1415, Huillard-Bréholles, ii. 198.

[3] i.e. on June 12, 1415, by virtue of letters from his father-in-law the Duke of Berry, ibid. ii. 199, 203.

[4] Le Fèvre, i. 213.

[5] Finot, Paix, 30, 74.

[6] Qui longtemps navoit demouré ne séjourné en son pays de Bourgogne et qui vouloit bien avoir ses plaisirs et soulas, Le Fèvre, i. 202.

[7] For l'assemblée en esté et en yver in the forest, see Couderc, Pl. XLII; York, 26, 89, 93; Herbert, 267. En belles ramées de verdure, Le Fèvre, i. 205; fair logges of grene bowes, York, 108. Not that this was a proof of his sombreness, as Kervyn de Lettenhove in Chastellain, i. 18, note.

[8] Cartellieri, Beiträge, iii. 7, 15, 16.

[9] i.e. Guichard Dauphin, the lord of Viel-Pont and Jean de Wailli, Monstr. 304, where it is said that 500 of the Duke's followers were banished on July 23, 1415.

[10] Called Marcoussis in Gilles, ii. 61. For the park of Saynt Germaynes, see J. Coke, 57.

to pass the time more pleasantly with a court mistress who was more to his fancy[1], and the Duke had sent him a sharp reminder[2] that, if he did not mend his ways, he need look for no help against the English when they did come.

Nevertheless no actual breach occurred in the negotiations. Ambassadors from the court in Paris conferred with the Duke at Dijon from May 23 to June 5, 1415[3], and others came to Paris from him later in the same month[4], including Jean de Vergy and Regnier Pot[5]. These were commissioned to say that the Duke was willing to do all that his sovereign wished. He would try to be friends again with the Duke of Anjou and forget the insult put upon him in rejecting his daughter[6], provided that her jewels, plate and dowry were returned within six months[7]. He would try and forgive the Duke of Bar for his high-handed rescue of the envoys on their way from Constance[8]. He would try and get the captain at Arras to give up the guns and war munitions that had remained in his hands since the sham surrender of the previous autumn. He would write and see whether a fleet could not be got ready at Sluys and an army equipped with powder, guns and artillery on the March of Flanders. But he prayed that

[1] Pellicem quandam, J. Meyer, 245; D. Sauvage, 238; Villaret, xiii. 332, 334; Anquetil, i. 555; Barante, iii. 133. She was a daughter of Guillaume Cassinel, one of Queen Isabel's maîtres d'hôtel, Pannier, xxvi. 220; xxvii. 33; Thibault, 111; Cosneau, Connétable, 39. For his receipt for wages dated Rouen Oct. 15, 1415, with seal, see Demay, Invent. i. 201. His sister Bielle had been the mistress of Charles V and was the mother of Jean de Montaigu, Malte-Brun, 33; Merlet, 253; Brachet, 535, with her rebus (K + cygne + aile) on the arms of Charles VI.

[2] J. Meyer, 245; Paradin, 591; Gollut, 1004.

[3] Itin. 418. For documents dated at Dijon June 2, 4, 1415, see Archives Historiques et Littéraires, i. 112, 114.

[4] Plancher, iii. 420.

[5] He was Lord of La Rochepot (or Larrochepôt, Bissey, *passim*) near Nolay (Côte-d'Or), Bibl. de l'Ec. des Chartes, xlvii. 496, where he is Lord of Praugne, i.e. La Prugne or La Prune (Allier) in the Bourbonnais, Plancher, iii. 435, 438, 461; Boutiot, ii. 358; Vaissète, x. 1960; Maulde La Clavière, i. 9. He had been a chamberlain to the Duke of Orleans (Wylie, iii. 92), though he afterwards became his enemy. For a horse presented by him to the Duke of Orleans, see Add. Ch. 2326, May 27, 1398. He was a member of the Grand Council in 1407 and 1410, Valois, Conseil, 113.

[6] Vol. i. p. 412. Du tort et blasme que le roy Loys avoit fait à lui et à sa fille, il l'amenderoit en temps et en lieu quand il pourroit, Le Fèvre, i. 271; Monstr. 382.

[7] Juv. 512.

[8] Pour cause de délivrance des ambassadeurs du roy venant du Sainct Concile and for the demolition of the castle of Sancy, Juv. 513; Barante, iii. 140; called Saulcy on the Meurthe above St Dié, in Valois, iv. 324, quoting E. Jarry, Un enlèvement d'Ambassedeurs au XVe siècle. It belonged to Henri de la Tour, who had carried out the capture of the envoys, Finot, Paix, 53, 105.

his king would not insist on excluding the 45[1] unpardoned Cabochian outlaws from the benefit of the peace, or at least that the number might be reduced to seven of the worst offenders, and that his subjects in Artois might be excused from paying up the new tax, as they had all their work to do to beat off the inroads of the English near Calais[2].

The envoys were to denounce as "liars" those enemies of the Duke who had dared to say that he had made an alliance with the English and brought them into the country. On the contrary he asserted that he was only waiting for his king's command to come forward and drive them all out. Above all they were to resent the aspersions cast upon his honour at Constance in connection with the Faith[3]. He was deeply hurt that some of Gerson's[4] faction had spread a rumour that the Council had condemned Jean Petit's thesis[5] and publicly burnt it. Such a statement was a total falsehood. The only thing that had been condemned was a forgery of Gerson's own, and he demanded that for the honour of France the forger should be disavowed and recalled, and as a matter of fact it was not long before the shifting needs of policy produced another change, for by Aug. 21, 1415[6], the University of Paris had been again talked over and flatly repudiated Gerson's action.

To the Duke's envoys the Dauphin replied that he would ratify these requests as soon as their master had signed the Peace of Arras[7], and they were back in Burgundy by the middle of July, whither they were followed by others from Paris who arrived at Rouvres, in the plain near Dijon, for a further conference with the Duke on

[1] Coville, 400. Or 46, in Juv. 511. [2] Ibid. 514.

[3] For their report dated July 14, 1415, see Gachard, 45, which contains also an undated document in the archives at Dijon, giving an account of what had passed at Constance in regard to the proposition of Jean Petit, with the names of the doctors and bachelors in theology appointed to examine the question.

[4] Called Maistre Jehan Jarson et plusieurs autres nos mortelz ennemis, Finot, Paix, 45, 96. For protest dated at Cambrai, Oct. 9, 1414, against a statement of Jehan de Jarson that the Duke of Burgundy was a heretic, see ibid. 24, 67, those signing it including Pierre Cauchon, vice-decanus of the cathedral at Rheims, Guillaume de Champdivers (de Campo Diverso), Pierre de Viesville, Hugh de Lannoy, gubernator Insolensis (i.e. of Lille), and Johannes Raulini (Rolin), the Duke's proctor at the court of Rome.

[5] i.e. on July 6, 1415, Lenfant, i. 427; Dumont, II. ii. 44. See App. M.

[6] Lenfant, i. 392, 474.

[7] Gachard, 45. For a summary of events since the Peace of Arras, see document dated Paris, June 29, 1415, in Finot, Paix, 49, 102.

July 28, 1415[1], with the result that on July 30 he swore under protest to observe the treaty in so far as the other princes did[2] and on the understanding that all proclamations derogatory to his honour should be withdrawn, and on Aug. 20 it was reported in Venice that he was definitely leagued[3] with the King of France. Nevertheless he still pressed for the recall of his Cabochian friends[4] and an amnesty was granted for 500 of them on Aug. 31, 1415[5], the king at the same time withdrawing all previous imputations of treason against the Duke and declaring him to be a good and loyal subject[6]. Then came the news of the fall of Harfleur which all Paris at first refused to credit. For eight days contradictory rumours were afloat, some saying that Harfleur had given in, others that it had not[7]; and when at length no doubt remained about the fact, all manner of conflicting accounts were circulated as to the details[8]. According to some the garrison had been compelled to surrender by sickness and sheer starvation[9]; others

[1] Itin. 420; Barante, iii. 136. For envoys from the Duke of Brabant at Rouvres, Aug. 6–9, 1415, Dynter himself being one of the party, see Dynter, iii. 288, 739. For a document dated at Rouvres, Aug. 6, 1415, see Prost, Acquisitions, 352, where 500 gold crowns are paid on behalf of the Duchess for a French Bible historiée et enluminée. In Pays-Bas, 353, the Duke is wrongly supposed to be in Paris on Aug. 7, 1415. For a letter written by him at Rouvres on July 13, 1415, see Gilliodts van Severen, Invent. iv. 342.

[2] Autant qu'elle sera jurée par les princes du sang, Coville, 399; Juv. 512; Plancher, iii. 421; Dumont, II. ii. 54; Fenin, 266. Not July 1, as Juv. 515; nor that it was signed at Argilly on Sept. 4, 1415, as Sismondi, xii. 470.

[3] Iera in liga, Morosini, ii. 44.

[4] For a schedule containing the names of the banished a huiz ouvers devant tout le peuple on Feb. 7, 1415; also a letter of protest written by the Duke at the castle of Laperrière near St Jean de Losne on Feb. 18, 1415, see Finot, Paix, 43, 44, 95, 96; Cartellieri, Beiträge, iii. 17. For the names of many of them still in his service, see Coville, 398. Raoulet (163) says that Caboche used to call the Duke his *beau-frère*. For 500 of them exempted from pardon, the names to be specified by June 24, 1415, see Dumont, II. ii. 21–23, quoted in Finot, Paix, 81; see also Cartellieri, Beiträge, iii. 11, 21, 23. For a document dated Oct. 1, 1415, giving the names of those to whom pardon is refused, see Boulé, Hélyon, 15, 27. For the original 500 afterwards reduced to 200 and ultimately to 7 qui ont offensé les personnes du roy, de la reine et de la sienne (i.e. the Dauphin), see Finot, Paix, 51, 53, 55, 104.

[5] Dumont, II. ii. 47; Gachard, 46; Coville, 399. The fact was intimated to the Duke by Thibault de Soissons, lord of Moreuil, and Jean de Wailly, Praeses curiae, i.e. President of the Parliament of Paris, Juv. 511; J. Meyer, 245; Barante, iii. 139. Called Vely in Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 314. Not "Vedy," as Gachard, 46.

[6] Son bon et loyal parent, vassal et sujet, et bienvueillant de nous, Finot, Paix, 55, 107; Gachard, 31; son vassal et non moins bon cousin, M. Roy, 20, quoting Valois, iv. 321, from letter of Charles VI dated Aug. 31, 1415.

[7] Juv. 508.

[8] Modus rei geste multorum varie oppinancium discussioni pateat, St Denys, v. 542; on en disoit et parloit en diverses manières, Juv. 506.

[9] Cousinot, 133. Gaucourt himself gives these reasons, Nicolas, Agin., App. 25. Daniel (iii. 871) conceals the capitulation saying that the place was taken by assault, all the garrison being either taken prisoners or cut to pieces.

would have it that the houses were all crashed and battered and the town walls levelled to the ground; others that the leaders would not deign to open the gates to the victors but left them to climb over with ladders and let themselves in[1], and such like consolation figments.

Thus it was not long before stories were in the air that Harfleur had been sold[2] by Gaucourt and the Constable and that King Henry had himself admitted that it was so[3]. In London it was certainly believed that the garrison had made only a half-hearted defence and had scampered like hares when they heard the lion roar[4]. Then the great lords who had left Harfleur to its fate fell into contempt. The streets of Paris again echoed with scurrilous songs[5] directed this time not against the Duke of Burgundy but against the king's new advisers, and it was with difficulty that the royal name itself escaped the popular raillery.

In the same week in which Harfleur had surrendered a woman in Paris received a letter from her husband[6] who had been banished as a Cabochian two years before, in which he told her to meet him at a certain town on Oct. 20, and to bring 20 crowns with her, for by that time the Duke of Burgundy would be there with a large army. Not having the money herself she borrowed it from a relative[7] who was a pronounced Orleanist and left the letter in his charge[8]. Straightway the news got passed from mouth to mouth. The English were forgotten; the Skevins and the Provost were changed[9]; orders were issued to repair the walls and ditches[10] and stock the city with supplies. The gates were barricaded; revolution was in the air; the Paris workers did not hide their joy at their favourite's approach[11], while the ruling faction once more set their teeth to front the dreaded Duke of Burgundy[12].

[1] Juv. 507; Goodwin, 71. [2] Page 50.
[3] Li rois disait en tout communement, Ruisseauville, 137.
[4] Ante lepus fugit quae nunc est Anglica villa,
Quando leo rugit per Francos redditur illa.
Pol. Songs, ii. 127; Curteys, f. 166 b [125].
[5] Versa est in canticum totâ die, St Denys, v. 542.
[6] i.e. Colin de la Vallée, Mirot, D'Orgemont, 154, 156.
[7] i.e. Antoine de Boursier, Coville, 171, 176. [8] Juv. 508.
[9] Bourgeois, 61, 62. For a document signed at Rouen Oct. 6, 1415, appointing Philippe de Brébant Provost of the Merchants in Paris, see Mirot, D'Orgemont, 151.
[10] Oct. 3, 1415, Ordonnances, x. 247.
[11] Juv. 519. [12] Plancher, iii. 437.

The poor demented king was meanwhile "occupied in arms[1]"; that is to say, he was travelling westward in deep distress of mind and on the day before the English began their hazardous march from Harfleur he left Mantes to join the Dauphin at Vernon[2] and the two together entered Rouen on Oct. 12, 1415[3].

And all this while the life of France was bleeding out in cruel raids and seizures[4] and other heartless horrors. The fields were left untilled[5] and famine, death and pestilence stalked everywhere abroad. The court was broken up, the government neglected, the coinage debased[6] and all France was desolate[7]. The very heavens fought against her[8]. Flooded rivers swamped the low-lying lands[9] and the crops and vintage lay rotting in the ceaseless rain[10].

For an explanation of the changed attitude in the capital we must turn our eyes eastward to the forests of the Côte-d'Or. When negotiations for surrender were proceeding at Harfleur the Duke of Brabant and other envoys from Paris arrived at Argilly[11], where they dined with the Duke of Burgundy and were entertained for three days at his expense[12]. They brought back with them three letters

[1] Ordonnances, x. 427. [2] Page 54.

[3] Juv. 508. Called the beginning of October in St Denys, v. 546. For incident connected with his leading the Archbishop to his throne in the cathedral, see Fallue, ii. 317.

[4] For gageries or guerres privées, see Renard, 73; Godefroy, Cotgr. s.v. where it is called distraining.

[5] Basin, i. 15. Aridos et squalentes agros sine cultoribus deseri, non seri, non meti, nulla agrestia opera nisi furtim et clandestinè exerceri, cuncta apta rustico operi animalia immo et instrumenta eripi nec asellis etiam parci, Clamenges, Epist. 191; ecce deserta patria est in heremi vastitatem prope redacta per quam nullus graditur nisi latrunculi, viri exusti sunt, cultores trucidati, boves abacti, incolae profugi aut penuriâ consumpti, arva inculta longo situ squalent caesorum hominum cadaveribus adoperta etc., ibid. 335 (written in 1414); cuncta caedibus rapinis atque injuriis multimodis complebant (i.e. Burgundians and Armagnacs), Basin, i. 25.

[6] Ad aerumnarum cumulum numisma ipsum, non ut emendatius sed ut mendatius sit, frequentius mutatur, Clamenges, Ep. 335. For coiners in France in 1389, see Duplès-Agier, i. xxv. 480–494.

[7] Clamenges, Epist. 82.

[8] Adversum nos omnia pugnant, caelum tonitru et grandine minatur et pestiferorum siderum conjugatione, ibid. Ep. 335.

[9] For floods in the Loire in February, March and April 1415, see Argentré, 728.

[10] St Denys, v. 475.

[11] Called "Argily" in Dynter, iii. 294. For ruins of the castle at Argilly (1611) on the Meuzin near Beaune, about eight miles to the east of Nuits, see E. Petit, vi. 14; Garnier, 309.

[12] i.e. Sept. 19, 1415, Dynter, iii. 294; or 20th, Itin. 420, where the Duke of Brabant is called Duke of Lorraine; cf. Hard. 375; i.e. Lower or Basse-Lorraine, comprising Brabant, Hainault, Namur, Luxembourg, Liège and Limburg, Dynter, iii. 276, 296, 302, 737; Rymkron. 193; Mas Latrie, 1750.

of ominous import, all written at Argilly on Sept. 24, 1415[1], just after Harfleur had finally fallen into English hands. These letters were addressed to the King of France, one by the Duke himself and the others by his leading vassals. All alike profess their deepest loyalty to the throne but this cannot make them forget the slight put upon the Duke in leaving him out when all the other peers were summoned to aid their country in her hour of need[2]. To ask him to remain at home because of the recent reconciliation[3] did but make matters worse. It seemed a mere pretext for lowering his authority and trifling with his honour, which he valued higher than anything else on earth[4]. All ought to bear a hand in this business[5], and instead of the paltry 500 men-of-arms and 300 archers that were asked for, he meant to send a far larger number[6], whose duty it should be to save the kingdom from its present peril and uphold his own position as the proud premier of the Twelve Peers of France[7].

[1] Juv. 508–517; Plancher, iii. 423; Dumont, II. ii. 54; Barante, iii. 144. Not Sept. 22, as Record Transcripts, 135/6, from Archives du Royaume K. 61. For an undated letter from the Four Members of Flanders complaining of certain terms in the Ordinance as to the peace which are injurious to the Duke of Burgundy, see Gachard, 109.

[2] Quem tamen rex non consultus est in auxilium evocare quia caeteri principes cum eodem cordiali affectu minimè conveniebant et optabant sine ipso expeditionem bellicam laudabiliter consummare, St Denys, v. 546; et defendre qu'il ne vint tant comme ils pouvoient, Juv. 519. This message had been previously brought, together with news that the English had landed at Harfleur, by Jean de Pioche, kt. who was master of the king's household, Juv. 510. He had previously (i.e. in 1405) been maître d'hôtel to the Duke, Itin. 582, where he is Lord of Onay near Gray. Cf. là ne estoit mandé à cause que on ne lui voulloit point, Pays-Bas, 356. Prat (245) supposes that the Armagnacs forbade him to take any part in the war. For supposition that the Duke of Burgundy's offers of help were rejected because "he could command but the townsfolk of Flanders and Picardy," see Historians' Hist. xi. 174. For statement that the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy were *both* ordered to send help without coming themselves, see Loserth, Gesch. 550. For the letters see Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 314.

[3] i.e. at Pontoise, see vol. i. p. 173. For a copy at Montauban, see Maisonobe, 43.

[4] Plus que chose terrienne, Juv. 510.

[5] Que tous vos bons amis et subjets mettent la main à la besogne, ibid. 517.

[6] Juv. 513; Anquetil (i. 557) thinks that he made this offer only to save appearances.

[7] Decanus parium, St Denys, vi. 74; doyen des pairs, Juv. 509; Monstr. 398; Lodge, 320; deux fois Per de France, Rym. x. 33; Vallet de Viriville, Assass. 266; double Per (i.e. Burgundy and Flanders), Plancher, iii. pp. cccliii, cccx; omnium patriciorum caput et decanum, J. Meyer, 250. For the 12 Peers of France, see Dewick, p. 14, i.e. 3 Archbishops (Rheims, Laon, Langres), 3 Bishops (Beauvais, Châlons, Noyon), 3 Dukes (Burgundy, Normandy, Aquitaine), and 3 Counts (Toulouse, Flanders, and Champagne), cf.

Lyngo. Remi. Laudu. Nor. Aqui. Burgundia sunt Du.
Belva, Chatel. No. Tholou. Campania, Flandria sunt Co.

Usk, 106, 285; see Montfaucon, iii. 75; Anselme, ii. Table; Lavisse, Etudes, 189. For pictures of them at the coronation of Louis XI in the cathedral at Evreux, see Lasteyrie, p. lvi; Bordier-Charton, i. 544; Dewick, 24, 25, 26. For Philip VI (1328–1350) presiding at a sitting of the Cour des Pairs, see Couderc, Album, 5, Pl. XV; also sitting under the presidency of Charles VII at Vendôme Feb. 15, 1458, in Champion, Vie, 445, 540, 545. For their arms, see Gaguin, Compendium, Frontispiece. They are

With such a menace ringing in their ears did the leaders of the great French host at Rouen[1] approach their plan of campaign. Divided heads meant everywhere divided counsels. The Duke of Bourbon, like his father-in-law the Duke of Berry[2], had withdrawn in disgust at the scandalous intrigues and high-handed misgovernment of the Dauphin, and he did not join the muster till Oct. 17[3]. The Duke of Lorraine held back because the Duke of Burgundy was not summoned[4]; the lords of Picardy refused to move without his orders but thus far he had given no assenting sign[5], and men might well be excused if they believed the current rumour that Henry was marching into Picardy in the expectation that the Duke of Burgundy would walk straight into his camp[6]. The Duke of Brabant, in spite of the lukewarmness of his subjects who regarded the whole quarrel as none of their making[7], was ready to come up with 1400 men-of-arms and 600 archers, but the number was more than had been asked for and he would not take his summons from anyone but the king himself, and such a summons never came. Six thousand burgesses of Paris offered to help in the field[8], but their help meant playing into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy and as such it was rejected with scorn. What did they want with these mechanics with their hatchets and hammers[9]? They might be all very eager to do something with them somehow[10], but the great gentlemen of

called majores pares in G. Metz, 47; Viollet, iii. 301; or doussepers, Fortescue, 131; Murray, Dict., s.v. *Douzepers*; or douze nobles pilliers, Bouvier, Descr. 51.

[1] Page 102. For musters at Rouen to serve against the English either in the Pays de Caux or elsewhere, from Collection Clairambault, Tome xxxii, dated Sept. 22–30; Oct. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 12, 13, 15, 17, 1415, see Belleval, 300–336. For Boucicaut's muster at Rouen Sept. 22, 1415, see Demay, i. 600.

[2] Page 97.

[3] For muster of the Duke of Bourbon at Rouen on Oct. 17, 1415, see La Mure, ii. 130, quoting Collection Clairambault. His troops included 8 hommes d'armes bien equipés contre les Anglois by Isabel d'Harcourt, Dame de Villars in the county of Dombes near Lyons, Huillard-Bréholles, ii. 203.

[4] Higgins, ii. 297.

[5] D. Sauvage, 239.

[6] Aen. Sylv. Comment. 151. Cf. par doubte du Duc de Bourgogne, Pays-Bas, 355, 356.

[7] Ut bello supervacaneo nec e te Brabanticâ, Dieve, 219; do. Annales, 41; Verhaer, i. 381.

[8] Not 8000, as Mazas, Vies, v. 595; do. Cours, ii. 173; nor "to form the van of their army," as Guthrie, ii. 461.

[9] Called "shop-keepers" in Nicolas, Agin. 237; cf. vor solchem bürgerlichen Gesindel, Pauli, v. 116. For the "gens de pourpoint" (i.e. artisans) at Troyes in 1404, armed with plombées or maillets de plomb for defence of the town, see Tisserand, 85. For 80,000 burgesses liable to watch the walls of Paris, temp. Louis XI, see A. Laborde, Paris Municipe, 54.

[10] Qui avoient grande volonté de eux employer, Juv. 517.

France had forgotten the lessons of Courtrai[1], Poitiers and Nicopolis and they resolved to keep out all such undisciplined hordes; and so they went out to resist their enemy as a jealous and suspicious faction when they should have faced him as a resolute and united nation[2]. After the battle, when France was bleeding under her staggering blow[3], both sides recriminated fiercely on each other. The Armagnacs taxed the Duke of Burgundy with cowardice and his party replied that, had he but been present, the English would have scampered like hares before the dog[4]. The truth was, they said, that he had longed keenly to be there[5], but how could he be, when he knew of some folks' treason[6]? It was easy to be wise after the event, and if he had foreseen the issue he would certainly not have made an alliance with the English at all[7]. But the damning fact remains that he did make an alliance with them; that his envoys were in England[8] negotiating it just when the breach took place with the French ambassadors at Winchester; that an English envoy was despatched to him on the very day before the fleet weighed anchor from Southampton[9]; that while Harfleur was besieged he was discussing "secret business" with an

[1] Godefroy, Charles VI, 310; i.e. July 11, 1302, St Denys, v. 548; Juv. 517; Hymans, 122; Awans, 252; G. Köhler, ii. 216 (with map); Masson, 143. For picture, see Guizot, ii.

[2] La discussion qui estoit entre le Duc Jehan de Bourgoinge et les seigneurs du sang royal pargastoit tout, Fenin, 66.

[3] Le royaume qui seigna long temps, Bouvier, 430.

[4]
Fols furent les Florentinois (French),
Sans Leonet (Burgundy) que tant doubtoient,
Panalois (English) pour les dis Merlin,
Qu'ils tiennent pour ung Apollon,
Que si son nom tant seulement
Escriassent par hardiment,
Au fier estour et aduré,
N'eussent poy ne grant duré
Panalois, mais ainsy fuissent
Que lièvres quant les chiens glatissent. Pastoralet, 776.

[5] Gollut, 1008.

[6]
Je lui diroie apertement,
Qu'il (Burgundy) a veu trop clairement
Souvens d'aulcuns la desraison,
Et pour ce doubta trayson. Pastoralet, 777.

[7] Si le duc de Bourguongne eust seu celle aventure il n'eust pas euez les alianchez au roy d'Engleterre telles comme ils furent, mais quant le fait est fait le conseil en est pris, Cochon, 275.

[8] For expenses of Copin de Viesville (i.e. Laviéville) and other ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy for 16 days in July 1415, see Exch. Accts. 406/29. See vol. i. p. 416.

[9] i.e. Aug. 10, 1415, Rym. ix. 304. I can find no evidence for the statement in Mazas, Cours (ii. 173), that he supported Henry with money to begin hostilities.

English envoy sent to him from London[1], and that when Harfleur had surrendered and he was summoned to the rescue of his country, he was leisurely loitering among his domains in Burgundy[2], hunting in the forests of the Côte-d'Or[3], or devising plans for reforming his finances and cutting down excessive salaries[4], foreseeing, as his son afterwards said, the ruin that was hanging over his country[5]; and on the very day on which the blood of thousands of his countrymen was shed at Agincourt he was comfortably making his way back to Dijon[6] after attending the christening party of a child[7] of one of his brothers, who was lying stretched among the heaps of the slain.

His own son, Philip, Count of Charolais[8], now 19 years of age, whom he had recently appointed Governor of Flanders[9] and who afterwards succeeded him as Duke Philip the Good, was nearer to the scene of action. His presence with the

[1] i.e. Philip Morgan, who was appointed on Aug. 10, 1415, to make final arrangements for an alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, Rym. ix. 304; though there is no indication of his reception by the Duke in Itin. 420. For Morgan's account, see For. Accts. 3 H. V, showing that he left London with 11 men and 11 horses on Aug. 19, 1415, as ambassador on secret business to the Duke of Burgundy, hired a passager to cross from Dover to Calais, and did not return to London till Dec. 19, 1415, see For. Accts. P.R.O. p. 80. Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Pasch., Sept. 3, 1415, shows £66. 13*s.* 4*d.* paid to Morgan *isto die* on this account; also subsequent payments, ibid. 6 H. V, Pasch., May 6, 1418. For litera *pacis* ducis Burgundiae sigillata cum sigillo suo deposited in the Exchequer at Westminster, Oct. 10, 1415, see Kal. and Inv. ii. 99.

[2] He was at Argilly from Sept. 1 to 25, 1415; at Nuits near Dijon on Sept. 26; at the Cistercian Abbey at Maizières on Sept. 27; at Chalon-sur-Saône from Sept. 29 to Oct. 9; at Germolles near Macon from Oct. 10 to 16 (Plancher, iii. 438); at Beaune on Oct. 17, 18; again at Argilly on Oct. 19; at Saulieu near Semur on Oct. 20, whence he passed by Avallon to Clamecy (Oct. 21); hence back to Vezelay on Oct. 22, Semur on Oct. 23 and Fleury-sur-Ouche (Oct. 24), Itin. 421, 422; Gachard, 230.

[3] Barante, iii. 139; Michelet, v. 335 (who thinks that he was getting as near as he could to Constance sous prétexte de la chasse), H. Martin, vi. 8; Trébuchet, 67.

[4] For his ordinances of April 7, June 27 and Sept. 22, 1415, see Lameere, xiv, xv.

[5] Car il preveoit par sa clere prudence la ruyne qu'il advint aux Franchois pur leur division et désordonnance, Bull. Hist. Soc. Antiq. de la Morinie, iv. 41.

[6] For Is-sur-Tille, north of Dijon, see Garnier, 331.

[7] On Oct. 21, 1415, he was at Clamecy, where he attended the baptism of one of the babies of his brother Philip, Count of Nevers, Itin. 422. This was John, who died at Nevers on Sept. 25, 1491, Dynter, i. cxiv, where his birth is given as Oct. 25, 1415; Anselme, i. 252; Mas Latrie, 1649.

[8] i.e. the district round Charolles (Saône-et-Loire); not "the lord Charoyles," as Caxton, 226; nor "Earl of Charolous," as Halle, 65; Grafton, i. 515; nor "Count Carallois," as Biondi, 117, 120; nor "Charilois," as Kennett, i. 319. Called Monseigneur de Charroloys in Guiffrey, i. 104, where a large ruby is given to him by the Duke of Berry on Jan. 1, 1413.

[9] Lors gouverneur de marches de par decha, Lannoy, 33; Lelewel, 30; i.e. since Oct. 6, 1414, Paradin, 592; D. Sauvage, 233; Choisy, 314; Villaret, xiii, 325; Lameere, 30. For a letter written by him at Ghent, Sept. 1, 1415, see Gilliodts van Severen, Inventaire, iv. 356. For a great tourney held during his stay at Ghent in 1414, see ibid. iv. 332. For his entry into Bruges, Dec. 29, 1413, see ibid. iv. 259, where he is presented with twee queuen roods wyns van Beane and three silver cups are given to the Countess.

army at Rouen had been urgently sought by the Orleanists and his father had promised that he should come[1]. For a long time it was quite uncertain whether he would be there or not, and when messengers arrived at Arras announcing the resolution to fight, they were still overwhelmed with polite verbiage. But instead of promptly answering the royal summons the young count was taken by his father's express orders in the opposite direction, to the castle of Aire[2] near St Omer. Here he received secret information of the actual day on which the battle would be fought, but his guardians, who had been charged on their lives to see that he was not present[3], were sharp enough to keep him all that day in a private room crying with vexation[4] and out of the range of any future messengers till the dreadful news came in at vespers that the great French army was destroyed. Long afterwards when he was nearly 60 years of age[5] he used to say that he should never forgive himself for having missed being at the battle whether to live or die. For had he been there, he said, he would have rallied the nobles and not have let the English carry off the victory so cheap[6]—regrets as vain as all too late.

[1] Juv. 513.

[2] Roye, 168; Meyer, 245; D. Sauvage, 240. Not "Haire," as Paradin, 595; nor "Arras," as First Life, 47. For the castle at Aire on the Lys, see Harbaville, ii. 167.

[3] Soc. Ant. de la Morinie, iv. 41. The statement in First Life, 47; Kingsford, Biogr. 82, that this was "for no favour or love he had for the English" is an echo of the Englishmen's feelings after the Peace of Arras in 1435.

[4] Très fort pleurant, Monstr. 372; Juv. 521; Waurin, ii. 198; Le Fèvre, i. 239, all trying to account for his absence during the battle. Bourgeois (64) represents that he was actually barring the road by which the English wanted to pass. In Gollut, 1009, he nearly dies of grief and would eat and drink nothing for three whole days and nights. Cf. Barante, iii. 170; Thévedy, 17.

[5] Monstr. vi. 41.

[6] i.e. que les ennemies n'en eussent point remporté la victoire sans leur perte, Danvin, 120, from MS. no. 8311–2621, Bibl. Impériale; Bull. Hist. Soc. Antiq. de la Morinie, iv. 41 (St Omer, 1867), where the conversation is given by one who heard it, writing in the time of his son Duke Charles the Bold (1467–1477). Called 40 years later in Trébuchet, 72, quoting Le Fèvre (i. 239); =je ne me consolerai jamais de ne pas y avoir été pour vivre ou mourir, Chastellain, i. 41, note, quoting Guillaume Fillastre for the same remark; Dupont, 3, from Le Fèvre, vii. 258. The story is disbelieved by George (84) on the ground that the Duke's father had put France into the hands of the English.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE MARCH

BUT while the blight of these intrigues was darkening the day for France, the English force was marching on in deep uncertainty, meaning if possible to cross the Somme[1] by a ford near its mouth where the cattle usually passed when the tide was out[2]. The place was known as the White Spot (*Blanche-Tache* or, in the Picard patois, Blanque-Taque)[3], because it was located by those who approached it from the west by keeping the eye on a low patch of chalk cliff about 20 feet high on the other side, which forms a bank on which the present railway is carried between Noyelles and Port-le-Grand[4]. The ford had been used since Roman times, and it was here that the army of Edward III had forced a passage in their desperation just before the battle of Crécy nearly 70 years before[5].

When the advance guard of Henry's troops came within six miles of the place a Gascon prisoner was brought in[6], who averred that the French had rammed sharp stakes

[1] Called "the see Ryvers" in Brut, ii. 377; "the water of Some," J. Coke, 97. Not the Seine, as Argentré, 729; Duck, 69.

[2] Gué. Frois. i. 231; ou les bestes du pays soloient quand la mer estoit retraite, Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 7136, quoted in Louandre, 224. There was room for 12 men abreast to cross twice a day at the ebb tide, Frois. i. 230. For large number of cattle seized there by the Burgundians in 1417, see Fenin, 561.

[3] Louandre (120) says that was still so called (i.e. in 1834) by sailors and by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, but on visiting it in September, 1900, I was not able to meet with anyone who knew such a name, see App. V[2].

[4] Vadum aque de Summe de *Porte* ubi fluxus et refluxus maris succedunt, Baker de Swynebroke, 81; qui est au dessous Abbeville au Crotoy ou le dit passage sied, Frois. i. 230. The signalman's cottage on the west side of the line stands just on the highest point of the little rise.

[5] i.e. Aug. 24, 1346; Ling. iii. 134; not *after* the battle, as Le Fèvre, I. xx. For the battle of Crécy, see Köhler, ii. 384–416.

[6] Mazas, Vies, v. 589, places the incident at Drancourt near Estreboeuf but gives no authority; also Louandre, i. 276; Belleval, 67, quoting Histoire des Mayeurs d'Abbeville, but there is no reference to this in Louandre, Mayeurs, 21, where the Mayor of Abbeville in 1415 is Pierre Journe. Yonge (276) supposes that the man was captured at Eu.

into the ford[1], and that Marshal Boucicaut was guarding the other bank with a force of 6000 fighting men. Straightway the prisoner was brought before the king and offered to stake his head on the truth of his assertion. A halt was called to reconsider plans and thus two precious hours were lost. The tide would now be no longer ebbing; to attempt to cross under such conditions would be madness and there was nothing for it but to give up the short cut[2] and seek a crossing somewhere higher up. This interesting story was told to the chronicler Waurin by a young Picard baron, Jean Le Fèvre[3], lord of St Remy[4], who was with the English army in the Burgundian interest[5] during the whole of the march[6]. The chronicler adds that the information was altogether false, as no Frenchman appeared till eight days later, but that the Gascon invented it[7] in order to force on a fight, otherwise the English would have got clear off to Calais, and France would not have known the unhappy day of Agincourt. And so in the light of after events the French would console themselves by saying that this smug and well-groomed Gascon was none other than the very Devil himself[8], but I agree with those modern writers[9] who believe that we may well doubt whether the prisoner's story was pure invention, though

[1] Tit. Liv. 13; Vita, 53. Cf. "Pyled the forthes of the water of Some," Chron. Lond. 101; "impeached with stakes," Holins. iii. 551; "intersected with palisades," Lingard, iii. 492; S. Turner, v. 419, not *below* the ford, as Towle, 311; nor that they had "fortified both banks," as Low, 36.

[2] Iter compendii, Wals. ii. 310; Hypo. 463.

[3] He was born at Abbeville in 1396 (Olivier de la Marche, 416; Grande Encycl. xxi. 1129), and later in his life became King-at-Arms of the Golden Fleece in the household of Duke Philip of Burgundy, Waurin, ii. 189, who says that he himself was then 15 years of age and in the French army, Le Fèvre, I. xiv, where Le Fèvre (p. xx) is supposed to be the only one who narrates the incident.

[4] Near Eu, also of La Vacquerie (near Bernaville), Avesnes (in Ponthieu), and Morienne (near Aumale).

[5] For his presence at Arras with the Burgundian army in Sept. 1414, also at the fêtes in Paris in March, 1415, and at Argilly in July, 1415, see Le Fèvre, I. xv.

[6] Lequel comme il disoit avoit este tout au long de ceste chevaulcie, Waurin, ii. 189. For the editor's attempts to explain his presence with the English in order to pick up information or because he did not think there would really be a fight, see Le Fèvre, I. xix.

[7] Waurin, ii. 191; Le Fèvre, i. 233. Cagny (fol. 80) merely says that the Duke of Alençon estant devers le Roy a Rouen sceut que ainsi devoit estre (i.e. that Henry would try the ford) et par sa diligence fist tant qu'il se trouva en la ville d'Abville ouparavant que le dit d'Engleterre peust estre audit passage. Niethe, 20, believes that the ford *was* guarded, because it would have been an unpardonable mistake on the part of the French if it had not been.

[8] Gentement monté et armé si sambloit bien estre homme de grant fachon en maintien et contenance, Waur. ii. 190; deable et non homme, Le Fèvre, i. 233; Waur. ii. 190.

[9] Louandre, 178; Ramsay, i. 207.

it is difficult to fall in with the view that he acted as a "true French knight[1]."

Nothing but the most insuperable difficulties and the direst necessity would have turned Henry aside from his purpose at the passage of the ford, for not only would his stock of provisions soon be giving out, but he had every expectation of assistance when he reached the other bank. Immediately on the expiration of the truce with France which terminated on Aug. 2, 1415[2], he had despatched troops to Calais to divert attention from his operations against Harfleur. On Aug. 15[3] they sallied out from Calais and crossed the western March, whence the French guards had been withdrawn[4]. They carried on relentless plundering raids in the district round Boulogne and in the county of Artois[5]; but the farther they ranged from their base the greater the risk they ran, and the French were not prepared to accept these insults with impunity. The lord of Laviéville[6], at the head of 500 men of arms, was posted on the border to check their depredations, and vigorous efforts were made at Boulogne to give them a warm reception as soon as they were known to be approaching.

Before the king had left Harfleur arrangements had been made for some of these troops to reach him out a hand from Calais as soon as he had crossed the ford. Three hundred of them started[7] but found it no easy task, for all the intervening towns were on the alert, and long ere they could reach the Somme they were driven back by the Picards and many of them were either killed or taken prisoners[8].

At Boulogne orders had been issued as far back as Sept. 15 to keep a strict watch every night with dogs and lanterns outside the moat[9]. The walls and towers were pierced with wider slits to give more play for cross-

[1] Mazas, v. 589.
[2] Monstr. 365.
[3] Waurin, i. 174.
[4] Deseille, 418 (Sept. 14, 1415).
[5] See letter of Duke of Burgundy, Sept. 24, 1415, in Juv. 514; la pluis forte guerre par decha que on peust aux Franchois, letter of Wm. Bardolph to the Duke of Bedford written at Calais, Oct. 7, 1415, Rym. ix. 314 from Calig. D. 5, where it was believed that the great battle would be fought within 15 days.
[6] Called Biesville in Rym. ix. 316 from Calig. D. 5; Belleval, 67; Goodwin, 76, who calls him "a considerable officer"; i.e. Laviéville near Albert, see vol. i. p. 416; Monstr. iii. 159; vi. 237. Called the lord of Rambures, ibid. iii. 78.
[7] St Denys, v. 550; Nicolas, 232.
[8] Juv. 517; Daniel, iii. 871; Tyler, ii. 161.
[9] Por plusseurs doubtes quy estoient pour le roy d'Engleterre, Deseille, 417.

bow practice[1]; the suburbs were cleared of buildings in preparation for a possible siege, and men were stationed by day on the hills above Desvres[2] to signal the expected approach of the English. Gunners and miners had been drafted in to help in the defence[3]. The big town gun was brought up from the Guildhall[4]; the captain's long bombard was mounted in position[5] on the walls; a saltpeterer was sent to St Omer to buy ingredients for making powder[6], and every nerve was stretched when letters came in from Abbeville on Oct. 11 with news that the English king was coming that way to cross the ford[7]. Six days later a messenger from Montreuil announced that Henry had changed his plan and was moving up the valley of the Somme[8]; the Calais force at once fell back[9], and for the moment the tension was relieved at Étaples and Boulogne.

Foiled at the ford the English army turned aside[10], striking a south-easterly direction towards Airaines[11], and rested for the night on Sunday, Oct. 13[12], at Mareuil[13] and Bailleul in

[1] Treux pour juer du tret, Deseille, 418.

[2] "Desvrennes," ibid. 419, 424; i.e. Monts Hulin and Pelé.

[3] For a messenger sent off on Oct. 11 to Montreuil pressing the War Treasurer for payment of their wages, see ibid. 422.

[4] For tampons pour le grand Kanon de la Ghihalle, see ibid. 426. For le Ghihalle, see ibid. 418; Regnoult, 69, 70, 78, 87. For the Gihalla, Gilhalla or Guihalle, at Dover, see Fox-Bourne, 21; Statham, xv. 29; Malo, i. 284. Gildalla (near Carfax) at Oxford, Ingram, iii. 5 (St Martin's). Guyhald, Guyhalde, Guyhalle in London, Pat. 4 H. V, 24d; 5 H. V, 10d; Priv. Seals Writs, 1423/383; Jewitt-Hope, ii. 122. Gildehalle at Bruges, Vigne, Moeurs, 3; aula Gildae, Bateson, I. xlii. 248; II. x. 143. Gilthalla, Gyhalda (1296), at Exeter, circ. 1200, Jenkins, 365; Exeter Municip. Deeds, 150, 198; Cotton and Dallas, iii. 188; v. 21, 23; Freeman, 66. For representation of it in the city seal, circ. 1250, see Oliver, 224. For the Geylhall dore, see Cov. Leet Bk. i. 29, 32.

[5] Le longue bombarde de monseigneur de Rambures, Deseille, 426; cf. page 91.

[6] Estoffes pour faire poure de Kanon, Deseille, 423.

[7] Pour passer a le Blanque Taque, Regnoult, 92.

[8] Montait a mont au long de la rivière de Somme, Regnoult, 93; Deseille, 423 (Oct. 17, 1415).

[9] Daniel, iii. 871.

[10] Not that he stayed six days at the ford as H. Morley, vi. 153.

[11] Called Aras in Pol. Songs, ii. 123; Kingsford, Chron. 119; Arannes in Halle, 63; Arames, Holinsh. iii. 551; Aranes, Trussel, 100; Araines, Serres, i. 959 (281); Sveyro, ii. 124; Mazas, Vies, v. 589; Arraines, S. Turner, v. 419; "Aireanes," Macfarlane, 29; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 29; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 558; Arrames, Goodwin, 78; Lingard, iii. 492; Airennes, Cassell, i. 528; Low, 36; Evaigne, Biondi, 117; Vorines, Echard, i. 184; Wormes, Speed, 78. For account of Airaines with the Priory and Castle, see Soyez, 379–394; Musgrave, 34; not that they "burnt and pillaged Airaines," as Brougham, 115. For the Priory Church at Airaines, see Enlart, Monuments, 34, 52.

[12] Monstr. 371; not Oct. 3, as Louandre, i. 277; nor Oct. 6, as Dusevel, ii, s.v. Pont-de-Remy, 6. There is no need to suppose that Henry rested "at least a part of the Sunday because he was ever attentive to the forms of religion," as Gesta, 39, note.

[13] Called Mareul in Waurin, ii. 191.

the district of Vimeu[1], the latter place being about three miles south of Abbeville[2], whither the Constable D'Albret[3], together with Marshal Boucicaut, the Count of Vendôme, the lord of Dampierre, the Duke of Alençon[4], and the Count of Richmond, had hastily transferred[5] a large force from Rouen, and the place had been quite recently stocked with 12 heavy triple-chambered guns[6], 2171 gun-stones, and large stores of saltpetre, sulphur, gunpowder[7], arblasts, windlasses, and all appliances of war. So, as no prospect of safe passage could be looked for here, the English moved on to try the next crossing by the bridge at Pont-Remy[8].

Here however and elsewhere[9] they found that the causeways had been broken up and the bridges unframed[10], while their scouts brought word that a large French force under D'Albret and Boucicaut[11] was shadowing them from the opposite bank[12], moving as they moved and following the river windings to check them if they should dare to attempt a crossing. Failing thus at many points

[1] Bailleul en Vimeu, Monstr. 371; not "Baillew," as Speed, 778; "par le Vimeu," Paradin, 594; Serres, i. 959 (281); Roujoux, ii. 242; not that he "approached to Virron," as Speed, 778; Echard, i. 184; nor "intended to ford the Vimeu," as Waurin (trans.), 190.

[2] Prope villam de Abvile, Gesta, 39; Hard. 390; cf. Abbatonia in Pontieu, Pauwels, 242; Pontinum (i.e. Pontivum = Ponthieu) progressus, Rosières, 430. For view of Abbeville in 1660, see Zeiller, Pt. II. 14.

[3] For messenger leaving Boulogne on Oct. 12 to the Constable at Abbeville, see Deseille, 423.

[4] Cagny, 17, 97.

[5] ibid. fol. 80.

[6] Chascun a trois boistes, and weighing 3300 lbs., Louandre (1834), i. 178, (1844) i. 276, who cites these items to prove that Blanque Taque was strongly held; cf. pierres rondes ou boulets de grès pour juer de canons contre l'ennemi, Long, lxxxiv. 317, from Louandre, whom he visited at Abbeville.

[7] Including poudre d'ambre.

[8] Fenin, 559; Waurin, ii. 193; Le Fèvre, i. 235; not the *pass* of the Pont de Remy, as S. Turner, v. 426; called Pont-le-Remy in Dusevel, ii, s.v. (with picture of the castle); Speed, 778; Sandford, 279; Pont Rémy, Musgrave, 120 (who visited it in 1861); Pont St Rémy, Low, 36; Kingsford, 139; "Rémy" in Ramsay, i. 208; "the Bridge of Rhenus," Biondi, 117; "Port de Remy," or Port St Remy, Cassell, i. 530; Echard, i. 184; Church, 72; Niethe, 21. "St Remi" in Mazas, Vies, v. 589, who sends them first to Fontaine near Longpré and back (par un movement rétrograde). Pont-Remy was called "Pont-dormy" in the 16th century, Dusevel, ii. 3; wrongly called Pont Ste Maxence in Halle, 64; Baker, 170; Goodwin, 78; Guthrie, ii. 462; Brougham, 115 (who supposes that the French opposed him there with 30,000 men); Doyle, Chron. 365; Towle, 311; Kingsford, Biogr. 85. For ruins of the old church at Pont-Remy, see Enlart, Monuments, 154.

[9] e.g. by the lord of Vaucourt, Hennebert, iii. 321; called Waucourt in Waurin, ii. 191; Gaucourt in Monstr. 371.

[10] Juv. 519; Fabyan, 579; Halle, 63; Grafton, i. 514. Edward III had failed to pass the bridges at Long and Picquigny, Frois. i. 229.

[11] Juv. 550.

[12] Gesta, 39; côtoyaient par l'autre lez de la Somme, Monstr. 371; cf. "coasted aloofe like a hauke though eager yet not hardie on hir preie," Grafton, i. 514; Holinsh. iii. 551.

where the river ran deep[1] or the swampy reaches[2] made access to its banks impossible, the English force was sore out of heart[3] and as they moved further up and up they began to fear that they would have to track the river to its very source[4], some 60 miles away in the heart of France[5].

As each day took them further from their goal they thought of their attenuated numbers, their stock of food exhausted, the country all laid waste before them, and the slim Frenchmen[6] luring them further and further from their base, and in their despair they flung themselves upon their knees and prayed to St George and the Blessed Virgin, the patrons of the country's unconquered crown[7], to intercede with God for them and look with pity on the desolation that would fall on England if their blood were now shed, and to rescue from the Frenchman's sword their king, who had sought not war but peace, and bring him and his people on their way to Calais in triumph. In such a baffled and despondent mood they halted fruitlessly at Hangest[8], Crouy and Le Mesge[9], and just one week from their start from Harfleur they found themselves quite off their course at Pont-de-Metz[10] on the river Selle about three miles above its junction with the Somme at Amiens[11].

[1] Moult parfonde, Waur. ii. 192.

[2] Qu'il entrent en ung marescage
Bien fort herbu en bieu eauage. Pastoralet, 766.

Cf. Soames' marshy side, Drayton, 43.

[3] C'est ce qui lor joie rompy, Pastoralet, 767.

[4] Not that they actually did so, as Delbrück, iii. 477.

[5] P'my le coer de France, Rot. Parl. iv. 62; passant parmy la terre de France, Exch. Accts. 406/29; "up to Paris warde," Brut, ii. 377; per medium Francie, Usk, 126; J. R. Green, 261. Trévédy (332) estimates that their journey was prolonged at least 160 kilomètres. The whole distance (14½ marches) actually traversed from Harfleur to Agincourt is estimated at nearly 250 miles, Kingsford, 203.

[6] Hostilis calliditas, Gesta, 40.

[7] Sub quorum protectione viguit ab olim invictissima corona Angliae, ibid.

[8] Monstr. 371; Paradin, 594; not Hargest, as Speed, 778; Sandford, 279; nor "along the river Hergest," as Echard, i. 184; nor "Angest," as Mazas, Vies, v. 590; nor "Hangst," as Köhler, ii. 754. For account of Hangest-sur-Somme, see Soyez, 370–374; Musgrave, 123.

[9] Called "Croy" and "Neiges," in Waur. ii. 192.

[10] Not Pont Audemer, as Monstr. 371; Michelet, vi. 24; Niethe, 22; called Ponteau-de-Mer in Biondi, 117; Goodwin, 78; Guthrie, ii. 462 (who imagines that they were faced here by 30,000 Frenchmen who did not however "venture on an engagement"); Macfarlane, 30; Cassell, i. 530; Adams, i. 219 (who calls it "Ponteau de Cher" in Battlefields, 102); Henty, 339; Labitte, 134 (who thinks that the English were repulsed there on Oct. 15); called "St Audemer" in Köhler, ii. 754.

[11] In Pol. Songs, ii. 124; Kingsford, Chron. 119, they march through "Amyas." Oman, Pol. Hist. (251), supposes that they reached Amiens on Oct. 14. For order dated Aug. 5, 1415, to compel churchmen (*gens d'église*) to work at the fortifications at Amiens, see Daire, i. 227.

Their drooping spirits revived for a while when on Oct. 16[1] they reached Boves[2] where the castle[3] belonged to Ferry, Count of Vaudémont[4], a partisan of the Duke of Burgundy[5], who was at the time serving with Boucicaut's army[6] on the other side of the river. Here they arranged with the castellan for quarters for the night, but when they clamoured for food they were only able to lay their hands on eight baskets full of bread or about as much as two men could carry. By this time they were getting "shrewdly out of beef[7]," for they had been living for days on dried meat, walnuts and water[8], such wine as had been obtainable on the way having been reserved for the leaders and men of the better sort[9]. So when the archers now rushed to the flowing presses and brimming vats[10] to drown their care at Boves, there followed a scene of riot, and the king gave orders to stop the drink. "What need?" said someone to him; "the brave fellows[11] are only filling their bottles!"

[1] Gesta, 41; called Oct. 17 in Hardyng, 391, which is evidently founded on Gesta, see Gesta, 39, note.

[2] Called "Bowys" in Capgr. de Illustr. 116, or "Bowes" in Halle, 64; Grafton, i. 515; Holinsh. iii. 551; Echard, i. 184; not "Bonne," as Goodwin, 78; nor Beauvais, as Ruisseauville, 138 (=par amiennois et par beauvoisis en toudis siewant la rivière de Somme); also Baker, 170; not that they "cut across country from Corbie to Boves," as Lingard, iii. 492.

[3] Not "castles," as S. Turner, v. 421. For views of the castle of Boves in 1793 and 1835, see Janvier, 252; Nodier (Picardie), vol. i; Soyez, 121.

[4] Near Vézelise, in Lorraine, Waur. ii. 192; called Waudemont in Le Fèvre, i. 234; Wademont in Ruisseauville, 141; Vadamount, Drayton, 77; Vaudmount, Trussel, 103; Vawdemont, Martyn, 183; Vademont, Biondi, 119; Vaudemont, Soyez, 352; Widemont, Twinger, ii. 916; not "in the county of Vaudemon," as Waurin (transl.), 194. Ferry was the second son of Jean, Duke of Lorraine (d. 1390), Caix de St Aymour, 126, xcvi; Grande Encycl. vii. 900, who married Margaret of Viriville, daughter of Henry, Count of Vaudémont, lord of Rumigny-en-Thiérache near Vervins (d. 1374), Mas Latrie, 1570, 1628, 1695; Higgins, ii. 291, quoting Calmet. In Daniel, iii. 876, Ferry is called brother to the Duke of Lorraine, i.e. Charles II, Duke of Lorraine, who married Margaret, eldest daughter of King Rupert, Higgins, ii. 286; Mas Latrie, 1628.

[5] Boves is called villam ducis Burgundiae in Gesta, 41; cf. Janvier, 130.

[6] Ferry is called Geoffroi in Raynaud, xiii, who prints roundels written by his son Antoine de Lorraine, lord of Joinville, written before 1415, ibid. 6, 17, 20, 53, 57, 66, 81, 86, 101, 105.

[7] H. V, III. 7. 141.

[8] Ils avoyent tres grant disette de boire et de mangier, Ruisseauville, 138; moult grant deffaulte de vivres, Caguy, 97; ils ne trouvoient que manger si non a grande peine, Bouvier, 429; avellanis nucibus et *assis* carnibus, Wals. ii. 310; Hypodig. 463, followed by Yonge, 274; cf. thei had walnotes for bread, Capgr. 212; des noix et peu de chèvre, Mazas, Vies, v. 620; filberd nuts and roasted meat, S. Turner, v. 433; curiously translated "raw chestnuts, *asses* flesh, and other carrion," in Brougham, 113, which he calls "disgusting and noxious aliments."

[9] Potus aquae fuit cunctis inferioris fortunae viris, Wals. ii. 310; Hypodig. 463.

[10] For picture of the sack of a town with soldiers dipping bottles into wine vats, see MS. Reg. 20, C. vii. f. 41.

[11] Les petits compagnignons, Le Fèvre, i. 234; les gallans, Waurin, ii. 192; cf. "Felas," Lydg. 321; not "the inferior persons," as Nicolas, 227.

"Their bottles!" replied the king in disgust, "they are making big bottles of their bellies, and getting very drunk!"

On the next day[1] they passed the Avre[2] without any opposition and appeared opposite to the walled town of Corbie[3], the garrison of which rushed out upon them with headlong shouts[4] and captured the standard of Guienne which was carried by Hugh Stafford[5]. But through the valour of his kinsman John Bromley[6], a Cheshire squire[7], the banner was recovered and the French were driven in

[1] Not that they stayed some days at Boves, as Pilham, 263.

[2] Called "a branch of the Somme" in Nicolas, 227.

[3] Not "Le Corby," as Collins, vii. 321; not "in a narrow pass," as Rapin, iii. 448; Tindal, i. 512; Guthrie, ii. 462. For view of Corbie in 1660, see Zeiller, Pt. II. 14. For accounts of the Abbey of St Pierre (now a military hospital), see Nodier, Picardie, vol. i; Soyez, 435–473. For the church of St Etienne at Corbie, see Enlart, Monuments, 94. For merchants of Amiens, Corbie and Nesle in London, see Letter Book I, 75, 89, 267.

[4] Cantu terrifico impetuque maximo ut moris est Gallis, Tit. Liv. 13; Vita, 53; Adams (i. 219) supposes that they were "armed peasantry"; Towle (312) thinks that "Henry's soldiers showed a disposition to attack the town."

[5] He was the son of Hugh, second Earl of Stafford (who died in 1386, Morant, ii. 253; Beltz, 217; Doyle, iii. 386). He was made a K.G. in 1418, Beltz, lix, clviii; Comp. Peer. i. 393. He married Elizabeth (d. 1399), daughter and heiress of Bartholomew Bourchier, kt. (who died in 1409, Wylie, iii. 287). Hugh Stafford died in 1420 (Comp. Peer. i. 393; called 1421 in Wright, i. 464), and his widow afterwards married Lewis Robsart, kt., a Hainaulter and standard-bearer to Henry V (Morant, ii. 253), who died in 1431 and is buried in Westminster Abbey. He is called Hugh, sire de Bourgchier, in Sloane MS. 4600, where he brings a retinue of 20+40, Nicolas, 317; Wylie, Notes, 137. Dugd. ii. 128, quoting Claus. 12 H. IV, states that he was summoned to Parliament as Lord Bourchier, but this is not borne out in Dugd. Summons, 384; or Cotton, Abridg. 477, in both of which he is merely Hugo Stafford; also in 13, 14 H. IV, and 1 H. V, after which he ceases to be summoned. In Rym. x. 1, July 7, 1420, he is Hugo Stafford de Bourgchier miles; but Lord Bourchier in Pauli, v. 112. For "the Water Bowge" (i.e. Henry Lord Bourchier), see Pol. Songs, ii. 223; Doyle, i. 705.

[6] He was a descendant of the Staffordshire (not Shropshire, as Campbell, Chancellors, ii. 115) family which sprang from Gerrards Bromley near Eccleshall, Inq. p. Mort. ii. 149, 165; iv. 39, 74, where the manor together with Eccleshall, Ashley and Wonington is the property of Thomas Bromley, one of the Staffordshire branch who died in 1418, and of his wife Margaret who died in 1422 (ibid. iv. 100), passing afterwards to his grandson John Bromley, who proved his age at Stafford in 1425 (ibid. iv. 106, 119).

[7] i.e. of Badington near Nantwich, Ormerod, iii. 370. For his death on Sept. 4, 1419, and burial at Acton (as recorded in Chester Castle), see Holinsh. iii. 565; Ormerod, iii. 371. For elopement of his wife Margery with Thomas de Wetenhale at Wich Malbank (i.e. Nantwich) during his absence in France, see Ormerod, iii. 369. In Nicolas, Agin. 91, 228, 351, he is a groom of the King's chamber. In 1418 he was made Captain of Domfront, Goodwin, 175; Visitation of Shropshire (1623), Harl. Soc. 74; though Hugh Stafford, Lord Bourchier, is Captain in Gesta, 276; Champollion-Figeac, Lettres, ii. 341. For a document signed by him (John Bromley) at Domfront on Aug. 12, 1418, in which he owns woods at Willoughbridge in the parish of Astley and meadows at Shurlebrook and Fordsmead, see Holinsh. iii. 563, where he is Captain-General of Domfront and Seneschal and High Constable of Bosseville-le-Rosse. For grant to him of property in Bayeux, April 18, 1418, see Bréquigny, 17; Ewald, xli. 680; Carte, Rolles, i. 256; or April 22 in Vautier, 19; Charma, 2. For seal of John Bromley, see Ormerod, iii. 371; Holinsh. iii. 563, where he is "of the blood of the Duke of Buckingham."

without however giving up their hold upon the bridge[1]. From this point the English mounted to the plateau of Santerre and struck across the open chalky country by Harbonnières[2], Caix[3], Vauvillers[4] and Nesle[5] towards the head-waters of the Somme, leaving out the great bend of the river at Péronne[6], where they knew that the French were awaiting them in great force[7].

It was on this portion of their march that a man in the English ranks entered a village church (possibly at Harbonnières or Caix[8]) and stole a copper-gilt pyx[9],

[1] The story is given in Holinsh. iii. 551, followed by Collins, vii. 312 (who assigns it to 1416); Goodwin, 79; Nicolas, 228. Holinshed adds a deed dated at Madeley on March 10, 1417 (though Madeley does not appear amongst the possessions of Hugh Stafford at his death in 9 H. V, Inq. p. Mort. iv. 63), whereby Hugh Stafford, being then Lord Bourchier, granted £40 a year (not £50, as Trussel, 100) to John Bromley of Bromley (*sic*), though it is open to some suspicion, being an account of an ancestor of Chancellor Thomas Bromley (d. 1587), who presided at the trial of Mary Queen of Scots and is buried in Westminster Abbey, Fuller, Worthies, ii. 307; Neale, ii. 179; Foss, v. 463; do. Dict. 127; Dict. Nat. Biogr. vi. 400.

[2] Monstr. 371; not Herbommères, as Gesta, 41, note.

[3] Waur. ii. 193; not "Cais," as Köhler, ii. 755.

[4] Not "Vauville and Bainvillier," as S. Turner, v. 422; nor "Vauviller and Bauviller," as Niethe, 22; nor Wauviller, as Gesta, 41, note; nor "Bainvilliers," as Macfarlane, 30; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 29; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 558, where its position is indicated on a plan of the route in which "Bainvillers" is the only place marked between Amiens and Péronne.

[5] Gesta, 42; Trahisons, 128; called "Nel" in Elmham, Lib. Metr. 116; "Neele," in Mazas, Vies, v. 592; not "Melle," as Pays-Bas, 355; nor "Nefles," as Lingard, iii. 492; Cassell, i. 530; nor "Denesle," as S. Turner, v. 423. In Kingsford, Chron. 119; Pol. Songs, ii. 124, they reach "the cete of de Neelle" *before* they get to Amiens. For a view of Nesle, see Nodier (Picardie), vol. i. For a good map of the locality, see Daussy, Ligne de la Somme.

[6] For view of Péronne in 1660, see Zeiller, Pt. II. p. 26; also Nodier (Picardie), vol. i; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 635, with the belfry from Voyages dans l'ancienne France. For the castle, see De Witt, 59. For péaige or winaige de Péronne, see Finot, 210, where it is also charged at Roye, Crépy and Compiègne, see Ducange, s.v. *Guida, Vinagium.*

[7] Waurin, ii. 193; Le Fèvre, i. 235; Normendie, 18; Gruel, 16.

[8] For the church at Caix with 16th century tower and nave, but choir and transepts of the 14th century, see Dusevel, ii, s.v.; Caix de St Aymour, 230; Grande Encycl. viii. 831. Belleval (60) supposes the incident to have happened earlier, viz. at Thiétreville, a little to the south of Valmont near Fécamp. French (108) places it at Corbie; also Ramsay, i. 208.

[9] A pixe of sylver, First Life, 44. Halle (64) adds on his own account: "and unreverently did eate the holy hostes within the same conteigned"; also Brougham, 389. Tyler (ii. 160) thinks that he hid it "in his sleeve." It is called a chalice in Goodwin, 77; or "the tabernacle wherein the hostia is kept," in Biondi, 118. For picture of a pyx, see French, 109; Aubrey, ii. 176 (from Exning, near Newmarket). For picture of a ciborium, see G. F. Lee, 86; Cassell, i. 453; cf. coupe où corpus Domini repose, Calliat, 37; cf. pour lever nostre Seigneur, La Mure, iii. 168; Rev. de l'Art Chrétien, année VII. p. 128 (at Amiens); ung calice avec lequel estoit enveloppée une petite boîte dedans laquelle estoit le corps de nostre seigneur, Murray, s.v. *Ciborium* =in form of a monstrance, Hanson, 178; or a dove suspended from the ceiling, in which the elements were reserved, Villerabel, 206; G. F. Lee, 89, 90; cuppa ad custodiendam Eucharistiam, Conc. iii. 388; a coupe of sylver and golde to lay Goddes body, French, 108; coupe de cuivre à mettre corpus Domini, Fagniez, Inventaires, xxviii. 84; Cahier, Nouv. Mél. ii. 212, 218, 219. For 1 pixid' de argent' deaurat' pro corpore dominico (1386), see Nichols, Coll. iv. 179.

which contained the Host, supposing it to have been made of gold. A cry was at once raised, the battalion was halted and the king refused to advance till the thief was caught. He was dragged out before the gazing files and hanged on a tree[1] beside the church where the theft had been committed; the pyx was restored; the felony was expiated[2], and the army moved with a quieted conscience on its further way.

At Nesle[3] the people had hung out red rags in token of "no surrender[4]" and the king gave orders to burn the country round about[5]. So in the hope of getting rid of the plunderers, information was supplied to them that there were two unguarded passages in the neighbourhood by which the river might be crossed[6]. These were two fords[7] at the villages of Béthencourt[8] and Voyennes[9] respectively, each of which

[1] Not beheaded (ablatum ferro caput), as J. Bucelin, 380. This was one of the special offences named in the order put out after the landing at Harfleur, ne quis sacramentum Euckaristie vel pixidem sive capsulam in quâ dictum sacramentum custoditur irreverenter tangere audeat, Upton, 139; "the boxe or vessel in the whiche the precious sacrament is," Black Bk. of Adm. i. 283, 459; cf. a galowe tree, Lydg. Min. Po. 151; like a thief hung upon a tre, ibid. Night. 19. For "no man to touch the Holy Body of our Lord Jesus Christ on pain of being drawn and hanged," see Nicolas, Navy, ii. 489. For la honteuse mort à un arbre, see Chastellain, i. 96.

[2] Gesta, 41; Tit. Liv. 13; Vita, 53; Harpsfeld, 588; Kingsford, Biogr. 82.

[3] Called Neelle-en-Vermandois in Lachauvelaye, 98.

[4] Avoient leur murs couvers de couvertoirs la plus part vermaulx, Le Fèvre, i. 234; Waurin, ii. 193; cf. Godefroy, s.v. *Covertoir*; not that the English marched through the town, as Pol. Songs, ii. 124; Kingsford, Chron. 119; Musgrave (278) thinks that they "got into quarters" there and supposes that there were marshes round it; Nicolas (92) thinks that the English were "received with great respect, the walls of the town being hung with scarlet stuffs."

[5] Trahisons, 128.

[6] For story that the secret was divulged by a peasant from Pont-Audemer, see V. Fréville, 93; cf. captivi ejusdem patriae, Tit. Liv. 13; à ung ghes qu'il (*sic*) ont retrouvé, Pastoralet, 767; cf. nusquam praeinventum prout testabantur, Vita, 53; "never had discovered beene before," Drayton, 43.

[7] Called bridges in Cosneau, Connétable, 41; cf. either by a bridge or by a ford, Schmidt, ii. 250.

[8] Monstr. 371; Waur. ii. 192; Le Fèvre, i. 235; not "the ford *between* Betencourt and Voyenne," as Sat. Rev. (1883), lvi. 528; Adams, i. 219; Macfarlane, 30; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 30; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 558; Church, 73; Aubrey, ii. 47; nor between Corbie and Péronne, as Bouvier, 428; Gaguin, Mer, 140; Pol. Verg. 444; Halle, 64; Grafton, i. 515; Guthrie, ii. 462; Mézeray, ii. 566; Le Petit, i. 349; called between Péronne and St Quentin in Cagny, 98; Pays-Bas, 355; not "at St Quentin," as H. Morley, vi. 153; nor above St Quentin, as Saint Foix, iii. 188; nor between Ham and Fonsomme, as Boulé, i. 418. E. Hardy (158) places it "à une lieue de Ham"; cf. "unterhalb Ham," Liserth, Gesch. 550. Not "near Péronne," as Hassel, 224; nor at Doingt, as Ruisseauville, 138; nor at St Quentin, as Bertholet, vii. 233; nor in sight of Amiens, as Biondi, 117; nor at Blangy, as Bouchard, clii; nor at Beauquesne, as Gilles, ii. 61; Belleforest, Hist. 227; Meyer, 245; Biondi, 117 (who calls it "Beauquen," and confuses it with Blanque-Taque); Dupleix, ii. 712; nor at Eclusier-Vaux near Bray, as Fenin, 559; Trahisons, 128; Mazas, Vies, v. 592, 595 [who finds Voyennes given in the Chronique de Tramecourt, but adds nous ne le croyons pas (593)]; called

[9] For note see next page.

was approached by a raised causeway[1] carried across a mile of treacherous swamp through which a little rivulet called the Ingon straggled into the Somme[2]. These two ancient causeways have now entirely disappeared and have been replaced by good carriage roads which avoid the swamp by making wide *détours* along the higher ground that dominates both the villages. The waters of the Ingon have been turned into a modern canal and partial drainage has converted much of the marsh into cultivated garden ground. But even with these large deductions the mile of swamp is still as obvious as it was 500 years ago and without a roadway would yet prove a fatal barrier to any force that should attempt to pass that way. At Béthencourt, where the Somme has been dammed and the road passes over a mill-race[3], no ford can now be seen, while the main stream beyond spreads out into lakes, pools and reaches wide and deep enough to swallow up an army. But at Voyennes the ford is still distinctly to be traced at the very spot where the river is spanned by the present little wooden bridge which was erected as a substitute for it only 40 or 50 years ago.

The guarding of these fords had been left to the men of St Quentin[4], but so little had the English been looked for there, that no watch had been kept[5], and when this fact was ascertained the king determined to risk the passage. As the troops floundered through the marsh they found that the causeways had been broken up, and at once set to work to demolish such houses as stood near, and a whole day

Bourg l'Esclusier in Pilham, 263; "Bethewcourt," in Stow, Chron. 349; "Béthancourt," in Ramsay, i. 209; "Béthencourt," in Trévédy, 332; "Betancourt," in Brougham, 110; "Bethancourt," in Leo, Lehrbuch, i. 800; Yonge, 275; Oman, Pol. Hist. 251; Trébuchet, 74; "Béthancourt," in Strang, 85.

[3] Not "Vienna," as Stow, Chron. 349; nor "Voyere," as Biondi, 117; nor "Voyenne," as Musgrave, 278; Cassell, i. 530; Ramsay, i. 209; nor "Vovenne," as Adams, Battle Stories, 102.

[1] Uno calceto satis stricto, Capgr. De Illustr. 116; not "lanes," as Tyler, ii. 161; nor "a marsh on one side and a river on the other," as Vickers, 28.

[2] Gesta, 43. Ante tamen quam flumen adit transire mariscum, Elmham, Lib. Met. 117. The map in Nicolas, 94, is not very helpful. He thinks that the English were "shut up in a corner between the two rivers" (i.e. the Ingon and the Somme); also Musgrave, 278; Belleval, 73; Towle (213) supposes that there was a marsh parallel with the river and a plain between.

[3] Cf. La chausée du moulin, Bouvier, 429.

[4] Not "a certain Captain de St Quentin," as Haggard, 116.

[5] Duval-Pineu (ii. 192) suggests treason in the interest of the Duke of Burgundy. In Henty, 339, there is at first a "desperate conflict," and then "the whole army swarmed across the river."

was spent in bringing up doors, shutters, stairways[1], rafters, and any woodwork they could lay their hands on to patch up the breaches[2], together with litter and faggots from the neighbouring woods[3]. The work was carried on from eight o'clock in the morning till well after nightfall[4], and even then there were places where the men could only advance in single file. Early in the morning of Oct. 19[5], 200 archers from the front battle waded in small companies[6] through the ford at Voyennes and established themselves on the steep ground that rises abruptly on the other bank, whence but little attempt was made to dislodge them[7].

The king had posted himself on one of the causeways leaving two trusted officers on the other to control the confusion. The fighting force was to cross by one of them and the baggage by the other[8], and by an hour after mid-day the crossing had begun in earnest[9]. Five hundred lances with an ensign[10] crossed first under John Cornwall and Gilbert Umfraville[11]. These were followed by the main army all on foot and last came the sumpter beasts and other horses who passed through the river up to their bellies in water, and by an hour after dark[12] the whole fighting force was safely across the Somme[13], and moving on to Athies[14] and Monchy-Lagache[15], on the little river Omignon[16] some five or six miles to the south of Péronne.

[1] Called "ladders," in Durham, 47; cf. un escalier de bois, Darne, 66.

[2] Not "to fill up the irregularities in the river bed," as Towle, 313; called ponts improvisés in Morosini, ii. 70, note. In Verneuil, 218, they cross "sur belles claies," i.e. hurdles; cf. pontes et clavas, Rym. iii. 32; Ducange, s.v. *Cleia*.

[3] Waurin, ii. 193; Gesta, 43; ex vicinis nemoribus, St Denys, v. 550, who represents them as collecting workmen to build a bridge.

[4] Non sine difficultate maximâ, Wals. ii. 310; Hypodig. 463.

[5] Stow, Chron. 349; Paradin, 594; Daniel, iii. 872; Larrey, 811; Guizot, ii. 256; R. Black, ii. 279; not Oct. 18, as Champion, Vie, 144; nor Oct. 22, as Baker, 170; nor Oct. 13, as Hennebert, iii. 321; nor Oct. 5, as Tyrrell, 290 [170]. Bouvier (428) says that it took them quite 15 days after starting (i.e. on Oct. 6) to get to the other side of the Somme; called nearly three weeks from Blanque-Taque to the crossing, Villaret, xiii. 354.

[6] Petit à petit, Le Fèvre, i. 235.

[7] Insultum Gallorum sustinuit, Capgr. De Illustr. 116.

[8] Gesta, 43.

[9] Gesta, 44.

[10] Guidon (i.e. geton), Waur. ii. 194.

[11] Hard. 391.

[12] Gesta, 44; not that they crossed "en une nuit," as Cagny, 98.

[13] Called "the ryver of Peroñ," in Fabyan, 579; not the Seine, as Collier, iii. 313.

[14] Le Fèvre, i. 235, 240; H. Martin, vi. 13; not Athie, as Lachauvelaye, 101.

[15] Not "Mouch legach," as Stow, Chron. 349; called "Mouchy Lachache," in Paradin, 594; "Manchi la Gache," Nicolas, 24 (map); Monchy la Gauche, Lingard, iii. 492; Pauli, v. 114; Cassell, i. 530; Mouchy La Gache, Kingsford, 370; Niethe, 23; Strang, 85; "Mouchy," Adams, i. 209. The place is called Monchy-Lagache in Joanne, iv. 2709, but Mouchy-Lagache in Cochery.

[16] Or Amignon; not the river of Miraumont (i.e. the Ancre), as Waurin, ii. 194; Monstr. 371; Stow, Chron. 349; Serres, i. 959 (281); Paradin, 594.

Here they rested for the night with gladder hearts and lifted spirits, for in these anxious hours of exaggerated fear they reckoned that by this lucky move they had knocked off eight days from their toilsome march[1], and had thereby got a start of their harassing enemies who were believed to be waiting for them above St Quentin at the very sources of the river at Fonsomme.

The few unsuspecting scouts from St Quentin[2] that had been posted to bar the passage had spread themselves about among the scattered houses in the locality some two or three miles away, little supposing that their services would be called for at Voyennes until other fords had been tried lower down. But when they saw that they had missed their chance and that more and more of the English were crossing every hour they galloped off to raise the alarm with a large French force that had collected at Bapaume[3]. Here the fugitives were fiercely blamed for failing at their post[4], and taunts were freely flung about that someone must have helped the English over[5].

But after all the slackness of the guards was but a reflex of the general spirit of "sloth and carelessness[6]" that had numbed the fighting power of France. We have already seen the mighty preparations made at Rouen, and before the English left Harfleur it had been reported in the neighbourhood of Calais that the Duke of Brabant had also assembled a force of 50,000 men which would probably increase to 100,000 ere long[7]. Vast numbers of well-found and well-armed gentlemen who scorned to shrink from duty[8] had answered the summons of their king, and when he arrived at Rouen early in October[9] he found himself surrounded by an army large enough to annihilate many

[1] Not "that in eight days we should complete our march," as Nicolas, 235.

[2] Called "the militia of St Quintin's" in Ling. iii. 492.

[3] Waurin, ii. 194. Not that they "returned to King Charles," as Yonge, 276.

[4] Le Fèvre, i. 235.

[5] Dont plusieurs du pays emerveillièrent extimans que aulcun les favorisait, Pays-Bas, 355; Rapin, iii. 444; Tindal (i. 512) thinks that the French intentionally allowed Henry to pass the river in order to draw him into greater danger.

[6] Segnitia vel incautela, Gesta, 44.

[7] Rym. ix. 314, Oct. 7, 1415; Goodwin, 76, where he is called Duke of Lorraine; see page 102, note 12. For statement that 140,000 men had been collected before the fall of Harfleur, see Wals. ii. 310; Hypodig. 462; Capgr. 311.

[8] Armés et habillés et gentils hommes qui ne daigneroient faire faute, Juv. 518.

[9] Page 102, note 2. For prayers and processions in Paris during his absence, see St Denys, v. 552.

barbarous nations[1]. All were burning to avenge the deep disgrace of Harfleur, and yet their leaders shrank from facing this small, exhausted, isolated foe[2]. At Rouen King Charles and the Dauphin were lodged in the castle, but the vast army with the Duke of Berry lay camped beyond the eastern wall at the foot of St Catherine's hill far longer than the peasantry had liked[3], when they found the whole country racked to furnish the troops with supplies[4]. The king and his son had both wished to go forward with the fighting force but had been dissuaded by the Duke of Berry[5], who saw that their lives were too precious for such a risk[6], though as late as Oct. 19[7] it was believed that they might both be present in the battle after all. But when all was ready it was arranged that both[8] should stay behind at Rouen[9] with the Dukes of Berry[10] and Anjou[11] and a small portion of the force, the bulk of the great army moving east to Amiens where their vigilance blocked every passage of the Somme and well-nigh drove their enemy to despair[12].

But discord soon appeared to mar their prospects. We have already seen[13] how the mysterious action of the Duke of Burgundy was threatening to wreck his country's plans,

[1] Ibid. v. 546, who reckons the copias militares (i.e. men-of-arms) at 14,000.

[2] Famis, laboris, aegritudinis et aliarum gravitatum turbinibus fatigatam, Vita, 54.

[3] Longement et plus que pluisieurs ne euissent voullu, Pays-Bas, 355.

[4] Moult en estoient travaillés, Pays-Bas, 355.

[5] Bouvier, 429, who was a native of Bourges and was crowned king-at-arms for the March of Berry at Christmas 1421, Grande Encycl. vi. 422; cf. Gaguin, Mer, 140; Ann. 202; Meyer, 245. For the crowning of a king-at-arms, see Bouvier, 4. For picture of him presenting his chronicle to Charles VII, see Montfaucon, iii. 274, who spells the name Bonnier or Bonnerius on the authority of MS. Colbert, 1867. For extracts from his Book of Travels (Description des Pays) from Bibl. Nat. MS. 5873, see Bouvier, Armorial, 20. The text was published by E. T. Hamy in 1908.

[6] George (84) rejects this story as "out of keeping with the prevalent feeling of the French." Tyler (ii. 158) thinks that the king advised the Dauphin to abstain; also Sat. Rev. (1883), lvi. 528.

[7] Dynter, iii. 298, 748; Rymkron. iii. 211, from letters written at Péronne.

[8] Not that the Dauphin commanded at Agincourt, as Bertholet, vii. 233; Hume (1854), ii. 357; Parker (277), who even supposes that he was captured in the battle. For a very early statement that he was killed at Agincourt, see Kingsford, Lit. 277.

[9] For documents dated at Rouen Oct. 19, 1415, see Lobineau, ii. 904; Bibl. de l'Ec. des Chartes, xlvii. 532.

[10] Raoulet, 154. Not that he was "among the leaders of the army" at Agincourt, as Macfarlane, 33; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 31; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 560; Jahns, 860.

[11] Monstr. 372.

[12] Lesquelz donnerent de grant paines et travaux aux diz Englois et porterent de grans dommages, Cagny, 98.

Ja en voient tel appareil,
Que mais n'ont vu le pareil. Pastoralet, 767.

[13] Page 102.

and now the Duke of Brittany refused to move unless his "cousin[1]" of Burgundy were in it too. In the previous year he had been called upon to join the royal army against the Duke but had distinctly refused, and when the troops had been baffled at Arras he declined an invitation from the Queen to come to Paris to meet "those who are there at present[2]," although he half agreed to join her at Montargis[3] on Nov. 1, 1414[4], and actually did arrive there on Nov. 30. Subsequent events however did not detach him from his partisanship, and while the English ships were starting from Southampton his envoys[5] were conferring with the Duke of Burgundy at Rouvres. Some said that he now held back because of his old alliance with the English[6], and we now know with certainty that he had quite recently sent over to England for a renewal of it, and that when King Henry was making his final preparations for the attack on France, Archdeacon Hovingham and Simon Flete were preparing to cross to Brittany on secret business[7]. A truce was proclaimed with Brittany on Aug. 20, 1415[8], and three days later the two English envoys started on their mission and did not return to London till Dec. 7[9]. These English envoys must have been with the Duke of Brittany when he received his king's urgent summons to join the army at Rouen, and by the time he could reach Falaise the English army had started on the march to Calais, but instead of hastening up to join in the pursuit the Duke spent many days at Falaise before even moving on to Rouen, where more time was consumed in haggling with the French

[1] Juv. 519; Argentré, 729.

[2] En la présence de ceux qui y sont à présent, from his letter to the Duke of Burgundy dated Oct. 22, 1414, and carried by Simon del Loge in Blanchard, ii. 182, in which it appears that he had already written three times but could get no reply.

[3] For picture of the castle at Montargis, see Touchard-Lafosse, iii. 596.

[4] Blanchard, ii. 183.

[5] i.e. the lord of Hanseberghe and others on Aug. 8, 1415, Itin. 420.

[6] Argentré, 730, who represents that the French did not want him to join in the battle.

[7] Rym. ix. 297, July 28, 1415.

[8] Rym. ix. 309; though on Feb. 24, 1416, England was regarded at Bordeaux as being at war with France *and Brittany*, Jurade, 329; cf. Ordonnances, x. 362, May 16, 1416.

[9] For payments to them of £40 and 40 marks respectively on Sept. 3, 1415, missi versus ducem Britann', see Rec. and Iss. Rolls 3 H. V, Pasch., Sept. 3, 1415, received *isto die*. On Aug. 19, 1415, Hovingham was present at the trial of John Claydon for heresy in St Paul's, vol. i. p. 290. For payments to him for his embassy from Aug. 23, 1415 (on which day he left London, For. Accts. 3 H. V), to Dec. 7, 1415, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Jan. 23, Feb. 8, 1416; vol. i. p. 104, note 9.

Council about the possession of St Malo which had lately revolted and been recognised as directly dependent upon the King of France[1]. This done he started from Rouen on Oct. 21[2] for Amiens with 6000 fighting men[3], where he urged that the English were so strong that the French would have all their work to do to beat them, even if every loyal subject should bear his part. After three days' halt at Amiens with his tail between his legs he moved out on the very day on which the battle was fought[4], altogether too late to be of any use, though he had received 100,000 francs to pay his troops[5].

From the moment when they saw the English started on their unhappy march the rumour went among the French that they were pressed with hunger and were cursing the traitors that had brought them into France[6], while the court at Rouen believed that they had them so broken and reduced with cold and misery that they had only to sit still

[1] Cagny, 101; Pitre-Chevalier, i. 391, 393. For declaration of the Bishop of St Malo on Oct. 21, 1415, from MS. fr. 6537, f. 85, that St Malo belonged to the crown of France, see Roncière, ii. 228, who interprets this as a patriotic anti-English declaration. For documents dated Rouen Oct. 1415, granting St Malo to the Duke of Brittany, see Ordonnances, x. 248; Argentré, 731; not 1417, as Robuchon, Bretagne (St Malo). For confirmation of the grant by Pope Martin V, see Ramet, iii. 64 (E. 160); Trévédy, 333. Cf.

> These false coloured pelours,
> Called of Seynt Malouse and elles where,
> Wheche to there Duke none obeysaunce woll bere.
> Pol. Songs, ii. 164.
> Rehersynge that the mounte of Seynte Michele
> And Seynt Malouse wolde never a dele
> By subject unto his governaunce. Ibid. 166.
> Whych to obeye as seyde was were not fayne. Ibid. 167.

[2] He was at Rouen on Oct. 20, 21, Blanchard, i. cxxii.

[3] Monstr. 373; Le Fèvre, i. xx; Cousinot, 134; Normandie, 171; Blanchard, i. cxxii; Bouchard, clii; or 5000 lances, St Paul, 52; called 8000, Argentré, 729 (where they are collected at Dol and Fougères); 100,000 in Chron. Brioc. 891 (all knights and esquires, not including crossbowmen, archers and varlets); Basin, i. 24; Trévédy, 15; not 2000, as Speed, 783; or 12,000, as Le Baud, 450; Roujoux, iv. 169; grandement accompagné, Juv. 519; J. Meyer, 246.

[4] Cagny, 102, with quotation from Basin, i. 24; tardif de deux ou trois jours, Raoulet, 155; Roye, 168; advenit sero, Meyer, 247; Le Baud (i. 451) represents that he was "grandement courrocé" and "merveilleusement despit," because the others did not wait for him, as the English afterwards confessed that they would have given ground (Sandford, 311) if he had attacked them. In Chron. Brioc. 891, he marches night and day, qui leur venoit jour et nuyt. Le Baud (450, 451) thinks qu'il se hastoit au plus qu'il pouoit. In Labitte, 144, he gets within three miles of the field and then retreats. He was still at Amiens on Oct. 25, Blanchard, i. cxxii, and back at Rouen on Nov. 3, 4, 8, 1415, ibid.; also ii. 194, 195, 196, 199.

[5] Bouvier, 430; Mamerot, 272; Gaguin, Mer, 141; called 100,000 crowns in Le Baud, 450; Goodwin, 76; Roujoux, iv. 169. In Lobineau, i. 528, he receives also a gold horse valued at 50,000 crowns.

[6] Qui eos Franciam petere consuluerant, St Denys, v. 550. Not "the French traitors who had produced their miseries," as Nicolas, 238.

and all must surrender without more ado[1]. But as soon as they were reported to have crossed the Somme[2], the whole prospect changed and great doubts prevailed in the minds of the French leaders as to the advisability of giving battle at all. The Constable D'Albret, Marshal Boucicaut[3] and others who had had a long experience in arms[4] advised to let them get clear away, for if attacked they would be certain to sell their lives dear, being as they were in a strange country and in a desperate plight. Let them go then and France would be well rid of them. It would afterwards be an easy matter to besiege the remnant in Harfleur and recover the town, and this would find work enough for the Paris burghers with their picks and axes. This advice, astounding as it seems to us, was quite in accordance with the maxim then in vogue always to build a silver bridge for an entangled foe[5]. But this time it was received with jeers and mockery. If these lean and way-worn English were in such desperate straits and more than half beaten already, why be afraid of them?—and so under these stinging taunts the leaders made an instant resolve to fight[6].

This resolution appears to have been taken at Péronne[7] on Saturday, Oct. 19[8], and letters were sent off to the king at

[1] Astrictos et vincibiles, St Denys, v. 544; es dem Engelschen konige hert lag, danne sie meintent den Engelschen konig also gewiss zu haben das sie keins fridens begertan, Windecke, 87.

[2] Cagny, 98.

[3] Mazas, Vies (v. 608), regarding it as wise advice, thinks that Boucicaut was le seul peut-être qui fut animé de l'amour du bien public.

[4] Qui avoient fréquenté les armes, Juv. 518; also Bacqueville, Guichard Dauphin, the master of the arbalestiers and others, St Denys, v. 572; see page 97, note 12. For "the mayster Alblester" (i.e. on the French side), see Greg. Chron. 112, which the editor curiously misunderstands as "Thomas Arblastier," who was one of the men-of-arms in the retinue of Wm. Bourchier on the English side, Nicolas, Agin. 360.

[5] Cf. si ne doibt jamais enclorre ses ennemis qu'il ne leur lasse aucun chemin ouvert pour eulx en fuyt, car qui tant les enclost qu'ilz ne puissent fuyr est communement cause de les faire vaillans et par desesperée bataille devenir victorieux, Blondel, i. 445; quod tamen veteres prohibent ne desperatio in virtutem commutaretur, Aen. Sylv. Orat. iii. 192; recte admonent qui fugientibus hostibus argenteum pontem sternendum aiunt, ibid. Comm. 151, quoting una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.

[6] St Denys (v. 552), regarding this advice as wrong after the event, professes not to know who really proposed the plan of fighting; cf. stulto consilio iter praeclusit, Aen. Sylv. Comm. 151; le sens l'avoit dit dans le conseil, l'outrecuidance livra bataille et la paya cherement, Salmon, p. vi.

[7] For the French force concentrated at Péronne, see Normandie, 169; though in Ramsay's map (i. 207) they move by Beauvais and Montdidier to Amiens and thence round to Ham and Bapaume without touching Péronne.

[8] Dynter, iii. 298, 747; called Oct. 20 in Gesta, 45; Hard. 391; Monstr. 371, who places the decision at Rouen; also Nicolas, 86; Tyler, ii. 158; Niethe, 24, who thinks that the lateness of the decision helps his theory that the French army was weak in numbers; Kingsford (138) thinks that "clearly it should be some days earlier"; Waurin

Rouen, to the Dukes of Burgundy[1] and Brabant and many others in various parts[2], urging them to send more men with all haste as they had decided to fight in the following week. In view of all the jealousies that hemmed them round, it was settled that Boucicaut and the Duke of Bourbon should lead the van, the main body to be under the Constable D'Albret with the Dukes of Orleans and Alençon, the rear-guard under the Duke of Bar with the Counts of Nevers and Vaudémont, and the two wings to be in the charge of the Count of Richmond and Tanneguy du Chastel respectively. Three heralds[3] were then despatched to the English king, one of whom was Jean de Graville[4], and another Jacques de Heilly[5], who had been a captive in England but had broken prison at Wisbech and escaped to his own country[6]. They brought a message that the French would fight him some time before he got to Calais, but the exact place must be decided by special deputies who would select a spot that would give no advantage to either side[7].

(ii. 196) makes them decide at Rouen on Oct. 25; others make them decide at Bapaume, as Waurin, ii. 194, or Corbie, as Bouvier, 429. In Guthrie (ii. 463) they "transmit the minutes of the council of war to Roan for approbation."

[1] Page 106. [2] Partout ailleurs, Cagny, 98.

[3] In Halle (64) the herald is called Mountjoy king-at-arms, but he was then negotiating with the Count of Charolais at Aire, Monstr. 372. See page 107.

[4] Called John Gravelle (ut fertur) in Capgr. De Illustr. 116. Cf. John Granvil miles secum fuit associatus, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 118.

[5] See vol. i. page 135. Called Heilli in Capgr. De Illustr. 116; or Heilly, Carte, Rolles, ii. 189; "Hielly," Lay, 116; "Helly," Tit. Liv. 18; "Helley," First Life, 57; le Maréchal de Heilly, Villaret, xiii. 375; "Baron de Helly," G. Daniel, iii. 873; "Dominus de Hayle," Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 30 d; "Hayle Dominus," Elmham, Lib. Metr. 118; "el Signor de Ely," Morosini, ii. 82; "the Lord Heley," Guthrie, ii. 467; or "Helly," Cassell, i. 529, who gives a fancy picture of the scene.

[6] See Wylie, i. 293; ii. 61. For order dated Oct. 26, 1415, for enquiry as to escape of Jacobus dominus de Hayle in ffrancia and other prisoners of the Earl of Dorset from the custody of George Nestfeld in the castle of Wysebeche, see Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 30 d; qui carcere rupto fugit furtivè, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 118. In July 1413, he was Marshal of Guienne, see vol. i. 135. Called Marshal of France since 1412 in Mas Latrie, 2182; and governor of La Rochelle, Cagny, 72. He was killed at Agincourt, Tit. Liv. 21; Monstr. 377; not taken prisoner, as Morosini, ii. 82.

[7] Waurin, ii. 195; Le Fèvre, i. 236; Gesta (45) expressly says that no time or place was fixed; also Capgr. De Illustr. 116. On the other hand Juv. (520) says that they fixed Saturday, Oct. 26; also Impens, 356; called Oct. 22 in Normandie (Hellot), 19; or Oct. 24 in do. (Williams), 169; or Oct. 25 in Chron. Brioc. 891; Pays-Bas, 356; Lingard, iii. 492. Bouvier (429) represents that they fixed on Aubigny near Arras as the battlefield for Oct. 24, that Henry accepted it but did not keep his word; cf. Mazas, Vies, v. 597, quoting Polydore Vergil. Guthrie (iii. 463) calls the message "an act of insolence and insane security" by "giddy Frenchmen," or a "bravading message" sent without the knowledge of the Constable (p. 464), etc. Villaret (xii. 357) thinks that the message was sent "plusieurs fois." Lingard (iii. 492) supposes that the heralds came to Henry at Monchy Lagache; also S. Turner, v. 425; Ramsay, i. 311; Nicolas (97) that it was "at or near Athies"; also Musgrave, 279; Towle, 314. It was known at Tournai by Oct. 18 that a battle was impending, Vandenbroeck, 126=la journée de la bataille qu'on dit qui se fera as Englais.

The king received the message with delight and sent answer that during all the way from Harfleur he had been constantly pressing on towards Calais without stopping in any walled town or fortress; that if they wanted to fight he did not mean either to slacken or to quicken his pace to please anyone but himself[1], and that there was no need to fix a day or place, for they would find him ready in the open any day they liked[2],—and so God's will be done! Having ceremoniously dismissed the heralds with a present of 200 crowns[3] he gave thanks to God and heartened up his men in anticipation of the coming battle, and on the next day the English army started on their road in readiness for instant attack.

The king and the leaders had donned their coat-armours[4], and the archers, taking their orders from the Duke of York[5], carried each a stout oak stake sharpened at both ends[6] ready to plant at an angle in the ground and break the charge of any mounted men that should approach them. To their surprise no hostile army lay before them, and beyond some slight attack upon them at Doingt[7] as they neared Péronne[8], they passed an uneventful day. A mile beyond Péronne the trampled roads gave plain evidence that many thousands of Frenchmen had just passed that

[1] Tit. Liv. 14; Vita, 55. There is nothing to countenance the supposition of Carte, ii. 680. that by quickening his pace Henry might have avoided an engagement.

[2] Waurin, ii. 195; Le Fevre, i. 237. Cassell (i. 530) takes this to refer to the Dauphin's challenge to a personal combat.

[3] De beaulz dons et riches, Waur. ii. 195; maximâ pompâ, Capgr. De Illustr. 116; 100 crowns in Tit. Liv. 14; or 100 each in Vita, 55.

[4] A tout cottes d'armes vestue, Waurin, ii. 196. 199. See App. W[2].

[5] Gesta, 42; Chron. Giles, 37, where it is attributed to the king (=indixit rex per totum exercitum); but "by the advice and counsell as it is said of the Duke of York," from the translator of Tito Livio, Kingsford, Biogr. 82; Stow, 349; Vickers, 27; First Life, 55; Kingsford, Lit. 66, where the plan was adopted before they reached Nesle; Brut, ii. 378, 555; Kingsford, Lit. 317, 326; Archaeologia, xx. 27. Nicolas (92) thinks it was adopted after they left Corbie; also Knight, ii. 60; Pauli, v. 112; not "almost from the beginning of their march from Harfleur," as Church, 77; Airy, i. 144. George (87) calls it Henry's own idea; also Fortescue, i. 56. Cf. "an innovation," J. E. Morris, Archers, 428.

[6] Palos bisacutos, Kingsford, Lit. 317; un peuchon aguisé de deux deboutz, Le Fèvre, i. 237; Monstr. 374; pouchon, pieu, Fenin, 63; a stake of tre sharpet at both endys, Brut, ii. 378, 555; not that they were "tipped with iron," as Tyrrell, 290 [170]; or "mit spitzigem Schuh," as Rüstow, 107; peuchons aguisies, Waur. iii. 110 [74]; einen starken eichen Stecken, Windecke, 87, who says that this expedient was advised by some Germans who were with the army probably as gunmasters (see Wylie, ii. 262; App. T[2]). There is no need to suppose that it was borrowed from the Turks, as Mazas, Vies, v. 612.

[7] Le Fèvre, i. 240. Not "Doing," as Lachauvelaye, 101.

[8] Not that they marched "through the cete of Pyronne," as Pol. Songs, ii. 123; Kingsford, Chron. 119; Tyler, ii. 162; Church, 74, who calls it "the *village* of Péronne."

way, and Elmham, whose graphic story is the basis of all our exact knowledge of those anxious days, tells us that he feared the battle was immediately at hand. He will not vouch for the feelings of his betters, but for himself and the rest of the ranks[1], they lifted up their eyes and their voices towards Heaven and prayed that God would have compassion on them and turn the Frenchmen's violence away.

Yet in spite of these evidences of the nearness of the enemy the day was void of adventure[2]. So they crossed the Ancre[3] at Miraumont[4], moved rapidly to Forceville[5], Acheux[6] and Beauquesne[7], in hourly expectation of a sight of their foe. Still however no enemy appeared, and on Wednesday, Oct. 23[8], they crossed the Grouche under the very walls of the Count of St Pol's strong castle at Lucheux[9], and found good halting quarters at Bonnières[10] and other villages round about, the Duke of York having pushed on to Frévent[11] with the vanguard to secure a passage

[1] Residuus populus, Gesta, 45; Chron. Giles, 40.

[2] For one of the men-of-arms of the Earl of Suffolk taken prisoner on Oct. 21, see Exch. Accts. 46 24.

[3] The walled town that they passed three miles to their left (supposed to be Doullens in Nicolas, 100; for picture of St Martin's Church at Doullens, see Dusevel, vol. i) was probably Ancre, called Albert since 1620, when it was given to Charles d'Albert by Louis XIII, Daussy, 188. In Pilham, 263, they pass through Ancre also. Not "Encre," as Lingard, iii. 492; Cassell, i. 530; nor "Encre on the Miraumont," as Ramsay, i. 211; Kingsford, 141; nor Albert, as Tyler, ii. 162; Musgrave, 279; Towle, 315; Hassell, 225; Church, 74, who calls it a "village"; called "the river of Myramont," First Life, 45, 49.

[4] Le Fèvre, i. 240; Daussy, 124; Bédu, 62. Duval-Pineu (ii. 192) supposes that the two armies were close together at Miraumont.

[5] Not "Forceuil," as Speed, 778; nor "Forcheville," as Goodwin, 79; Lachauvelaye, 101; Dict. Nat. Biogr. xxvi. 48.

[6] Monstr. 372; Fenin, 559; Waurin (ii. 199) adds "Cennes," by which he probably means Lucheux. Not "Cheu," as S. Turner, v. 427.

[7] Bouvier, 429; Gaguin, Ann. 202. Mazas, Vies, v. 598, thinks that the French were then at Aubigny and would have been forced into letting the English escape had it not been for Boucicaut who warned them avec la rapidité de l'éclair; cf. Belleval, 77, 79.

[8] Not Nov. 1, as Fenin, 559.

[9] Not "The Cheue," as Stow, Chron. 349; nor "Le Cheu," as Nicolas, 239; nor "Lucheu," as Lingard, iii. 493; Cassell, i. 530; Köhler, ii. 757. For picture of the castle, see Dusevel, vol. i. For the church at Lucheux, see Enlart, Monuments, 132–141.

[10] Called Bouvier l'Eccullon in Monstr. 372; Bonnières l'Eschaillon, Waur. ii. 199; Bonnières le Scallon, Le Fèvre, i. 240; or L'Escalon, Goodwin, 79; Bonnières l'Estallon, Fenin, 559 (i.e. stallion, nutshell, slate (échelon), horse's tusk, division of horse's palate, Godefroy, iii. 350; Capgr. s.v.); Bomyers, Halle, 65; Grafton, i. 515; Bonyers l'Estaillon, Stow, Chron. 349; Boniers Le Staillon, Speed, 778; Bouuieres, Paradin, 595; Bonniers, Guthrie, ii. 436; Bonnières l'Ecaillon, Köhler, ii. 757; Niethe, 27; Bouvieres l'Escaillon, S. Turner, v. 427; not Bouviere l'Escalon, as Lachauvelaye, 101; nor Bonyors Lestauillon, as First Life, 49; Bonnières d'Escaillon, Dict. Nat. Biogr. xxvi. 48. For account of Bonnières, see Harbaville, ii. 282.

[11] Not Frenench, as Goodwin, 79; S. Turner, v. 427; Nicolas, 239; nor Frenent, as Lachauvelaye, 101; nor that Henry "joined the Duke of York at Frévent," as N. Lambert, 414.

over the Canche[1]. But these precautions proved unnecessary. The Canche was passed without a blow and crossing the plateau by Siracourt[2] they dropped down into the valley of the Ternoise. When they called a halt for the night, the king had by mistake ridden half-a-league beyond the spot selected for his lodging[3], and when they told him of his mistake he said: "God would not have me now go back and forage, for I have my coat-armour on[4]." This curious personal anecdote is explained by the chronicler who heard it, as referring to the fact that the harbingers[5] never wore their blazonry when they were out marking houses[6] for the night. At any rate the king retraced not a single step but slept the night of Wednesday, Oct. 23, with the vanguard, close to the village of Blangy on the left bank of the Ternoise[7].

The footprints that had scared the English at Péronne really marked the withdrawal of the great French army to Bapaume. After resolving to fight they had in their blind and chivalrous unwisdom given up their sound tactics of holding fords and blocking rivers—a policy which a chronicler writing soon after the disaster ventured to call "very praiseworthy *although* it might be bloodless[8]." But a bloodless triumph was no welcome prospect for an Armagnac and, as we have seen, the word had passed to head the English off and make them fight in the open. With this in their mind they dislodged[9] from Bapaume, and while the footsore and hungry[10] English were pounding through the rain and

[1] Not "De Cauche," as Goodwin, 79; nor "River de Couche," as Guthrie, ii. 463; nor "Cauche," as Köhler, ii. 757; nor "Canopes," as Fortescue, i. 57. Boulé (i. 149) makes them march to Hesdin.

[2] Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 319.

[3] For "logging place," see Lydg. Troy Book, 392; al loggid in the felde, ibid. 361, 371; we schal us loge and oure tentis sette, ibid. 271; cf. how sone she had mad her logyng, Pol. Songs, ii. 153.

[4] Ja Dieu ne plaise puisque jay la cotte darmes vestue que je retourne, Waurin, ii. 199; Le Fèvre, i. 241. Called his "warcoat" in Tyler, ii. 162, who places the incident at Bonnières; see also Church, 74.

[5] Herbergeours, Black Book of Admiralty, i. 283, 284, 460; harbegiers, Halliwell, i. 434. In Add. MS. 37,967/6 the "gentilman herberoure" has to "take up logyng for his lord and assigne all other men their logyng, also bred, ale, wyne, wex, talowe and fewell after ye season of ye yere and rekyn for it dayle and wokely as ye lords bookes be made."

[6] Jurade, ii. 142.

[7] Though Hautecloque (283) supposes that the army crossed both the Canche and the Ternoise on Oct. 24, and reached the battlefield by noon on the same day.

[8] Quam revera si continuassent astuciam utique ex ipsis hostibus incruentum sed valde commendabilem obtinuissent triumphum, St Denys, v. 550.

[9] Goodwin, 160; cf. il fit desloger son armée, Paradin, 626.

[10] Moult lassés et travaillés de faim de froid et autres mésaises, Monstr. 373-377; lento gressu et praecipuè pedestres, attenuatos fame et frigore, St Denys, v. 552; avoient

wind[1] towards the Canche, the French were marching parallel with their right flank[2] to choose a proper spot on which to give them battle, and as the Frenchmen carried no music[3], the two armies moved for three days almost within sight of one another without being aware of each other's presence[4].

The French passed to St Pol and followed the right bank of the Ternoise[5] to Anvin[6], and when the English set out for their usual day's march on Oct. 24[7], their scouts brought word that thousands upon thousands of the enemy were within three miles of them on the other bank[8]. After a hurried consultation the king decided that he would fight his way through at any cost[9]. The pace was quickened and they reached the river bank at Blangy[10] only to find

eu faute de vivres par trois jours, Juv. 520; fatigatis, infirmis, inediâque confectis... ab itinere fatigatis, a vigiliis macerati a frigoribus nocturnis debilitati, Wals. ii. 310; Hypodig. 463.

[1] Il faisoit très lait temps de pleuve et de vent, Ruisseauville, 138; car il avoit bien longuement plue, Juv. 518.

[2] Called eine Art Wettmarsch auf parallelen Strässen in Niethe, 26; ein volkommener Wettlauf, Delbrück, iii. 479.

[3] Monstr. 373; Waurin, ii. 205; Le Fèvre, i. 247; though blandientibus musicorum instrumentorum cantibus, as supposed in J. Bucelin, 379. Cassell (i. 531) thinks that "very few instruments could be found."

[4] Lateraliter insequerentur, Roye, 168. Not that they actually saw each other, as Hard. 391.

[5] It is called the ruisseau d'Eps (i.e. Eps, Herbaville) at Anvin, which may possibly supply an explanation for swords (épées); also "La Faux," or the "riviérette de Heuchon," Joanne, vii. 4821; or la rivière de Blangy in Lachauvelaye, 101; Waurin, ii. 199; not "Ternoi," as Tyrrell, 290 [170]; called "the river of swords" (fluvius gladiorum) in Gesta, 46; Otterbourne, 277; Capgr. De Illustr. 116; Elmham, Lib. Metr. 118; "aque de swerdes," Strecche, 267 b; Kingsford, Lit. 317, 326; "the water of Swerdys," Lydg. 317; Chron. Lond. 101; Pol. Songs, ii. 124. Called "la rivière d'Anjain" (i.e. Anvin) in Goodwin, 79; Monstr. 372; or "Aubin" in Le Fèvre, i. 240; "Aunun" in S. Turner, v. 428; or Avien in Guthrie, ii 463; or "the river Anvin" in Nicolas, 238, 239; or "the Annion" in Brougham, 116; not the Ancre, as Hard. 391, who confuses it with Voyennes; nor the Canche, as S. Turner, v. 427; Pauli, v. 114; nor "a branch of the Canche," as Knight, ii. 61; Historians' Hist. xviii. 533. It is perhaps the same as the "water of Turwyn" (i.e. Thérouanne), Stat. iii. 165; Hazlitt, iv. 41; cf. "countrey of Turvyle," "tour of Turveyn," "Tgevy," Harflet, 316; App. 75; whence "Tirvyn" or "Tirwen," Kingsford, Chron. 135, 152; or Tyruyn, Greg. Chron. 176. It is called "the river of Ternois" in Hume (1854), ii. 356; Lingard, iii. 493 (who calls it "a deep and rapid stream"); Macfarlane. 31; Cassell, i. 530; Roujoux, ii. 243; Boulé, i. 419; Henty, 340; Low, 37; Jähns, 859; or "la riviere de Broste" in Bertholet, vii. 234, who supposes Agincourt to be in "Wimeu" (?Vimeu, i.e. the district round St Valery). For "Turwan"=Thérouanne, see J. Coke, 96. Called "Terwain" (Flemish) or "Terrewin" (English) in Caxton, Dialogues, 23.

[6] For Anvin, see Harbaville, ii. 315. Not that they crossed the Ternoise at Erin which is very near to Blangy, as Ramsay, i. 212; nor passed between Hesdin and Thérouanne, as J. Bucelin, 379; nor through Hesdin, as Hassell, 225.

[7] Waurin, ii. 200; Le Fèvre, i. 241. Not Oct. 22 or 23, as Tit. Liv. 15; Vita, 56; Yonge, 277.

[8] Gesta, 46.

[9] Iter aperiendum viribus, St Denys, v. 555.

[10] Called "Blangi" in Bouvier, 429; Blangi-en-Enternois, Normendie (Hellot), 19; "Blangy-en-Tenoys," Normendie (Williams), 170; "Baugy," Paradin, 595; Speed, 778; "Banngy," Stow, 349; "Blagni," Biondi, 118; "Blagny-in-Termois," Goodwin, 79;

that all opposition was withdrawn[1]. Yet even so the crossing was cramped and slow[2] and there is a record that seven of the Lancashire archers were taken prisoners on that day[3]. But when at length they reached the other bank, and following exactly the direction of the present road[4], mounted the steep hill[5] that rises full in front and opens on the high plateau beyond, they saw the swarms of Frenchmen emerging from the valley on their right. Massed in three enormous routs[6] they streamed along in columns, lines and squadrons, with arblasts, guns[7] and baggage carts—a countless host[8] settling like locusts on the fields and orchards[9] right across

"Blagney," Guthrie, ii. 463, who calls it "that important pass." S. Turner (v. 430) makes them *de*scend from Blangy to the river, but Blangy is on the low ground in the valley. It was the headquarters of the fly-fishers during the English occupation in 1816, Long, lxxxiv. 311.

[1] Qu'il n'y avoit point de deffence, Le Fèvre, i. 242; though in Vita, 57, the bridge is supposed to have only just escaped destruction by the timely action of the Duke of York who led the vanguard, Musgrave, 279. French (122) thinks that the river was afterwards called the "River of Swords," because of the supposed fierce resistance at the bridge at Blangy. Fabyan (579) represents that the French occupied Blangy and the next village of Rollencourt a little lower down on the other bank; Pol. Verg (444) that the French were encamped in the plain circa Blangium oppidum; cf. Gaguin, Mer, 140; Holins. iii. 552 (and therefore Shakespeare); Trussel, 101.

[2] Long passage et estroit, Waurin, ii. 200, which is perhaps the foundation for the supposed defile "between the Ternois (*sic*) and the Canche," which the French are blamed for not holding, in Saint-Foix, iii. 189. In Barante, iii. 157, it is "difficile et dangereux." H. Morley (vi. 153) thinks that the battle was fought at Blangy in a "narrow gorge."

[3] Exch. Q.R. Accts. 44/29; Hunter, 37.

[4] Called "narrow and deep-set lanes," in Tout, 265.

[5] Cardinem montis, Gesta, 46; montis cacumen, Tit. Liv. 15; Vita, 56; not "while descending," as Kingsford, 142. Called "la montaigne" in Hennebert, iii. 322; Labitte, 135; "una montaña," Sveyro, ii. 124; "a hill overlooking the village of Maisoncelles" (*sic*), Sat. Rev. (1883), lvi. 528; "100 ft. above the level of the Ternoise," Köhler, ii. 761; not "a hillock," as Towle, 321; nor "a gentle ascent," as Historians' Hist. xviii. 553. Mazas (Vies, v. 599), supposes that after leaving Blangy they crossed "la forêt de Blingel" (which is on the left bank of the Ternoise, Harbaville, ii. 336; Hauteclocque, 305) and "la Vallée de Bellancourt" (i.e. Beulencourt to the south-west of Maisoncelles and off the road to Blangy, Harbaville, ii. 333; Hauteclocque, 292), and then mounted to Maisoncelles, but the distance from Blangy to Maisoncelles is little more than two miles. W. D. Cooper (124) thinks that the battle took place on the banks of the Ternoise. Cf.

Our kynge wente up upon an hylle hye,
And loked downe to the valyes lowe. Nicolas, App. 75.

This poem, which was written after the release of the Duke of Orleans in 1440, is based upon Harflet, Po., and J. Page, Archaeologia, xxii. 373, and Nicolas, App. 77. It is supposed to be written by "honest John Skot" (Adams, i. 227) or "John Skats the contemporary versifier" (Adams, Battle Stories, 109), but Skot was only the printer in Foster Lane in the city of London, see Nicolas, App. 69, 77.

[6] Par grandes routtes, Waurin, ii. 200; tetros cuneos, Gesta, 46; Chron. Giles, 41.

[7] Ribaudequins, Monstr. 373.

[8] In terrificâ multitudine—valdè incomparabili multitudine respectu nostri, Gesta, 46, 49; assemblez a mervailles grant puissance, Waur. ii. 200; Le Fèvre, i. 242; mundum quendam innumerabilis populi, Vita, 57; exercitus validus et innumerabilis, Kirkstall Chron. 286.

[9] Frutices, Gesta, 48; as thyke as ever dide hayle or snow, Harflet, App. 75; Adams, i. 227; do. Battle Stories, 109.

their road[1] and filling the whole flat stretch of ground far ahead from Azincourt to Ruisseauville.

A visit to the battlefield to-day will suffice to give a good general notion of the lie of the ground, and Elmham is still as good a guide-book for the tourist as when he wrote his story 500 years ago[2]. Three villages, each with its church[3], its green, its cluster of gardens, orchards and houses, stood then where they stand to-day, and then as now each lay in the centre of a small but thick wood[4]. Of these the wood of Azincourt lies to the north-west, that of Tramecourt[5] to the north-east and that of Maisoncelles[6] to the south, while the battlefield stretches as a flat unbroken triangle between the three[7]. Right through the centre of this triangular plot from south to north runs the high-road to Calais[8], having Maisoncelles and Azincourt on the left and Tramecourt on the right, while not a hedge or a thicket

[1] Baillans sur son chemin, Waur. ii. 200; et leurs cloirent le pas, Ruisseauville, 138. Not that "their extreme right touched the road to Calais," as Church, 76.

[2] For a map of the locality, see Nicolas, Agincourt, 264; R. L. Long (lxxxiv. 468), who visited it in 1849, reported that "the aspect remains unaltered"; Knight (i.e. probably Macfarlane), ii. 61, who had "stood upon this ascent," i.e. in 1856, rightly says that "nothing could be more accurate than the chaplain's account" of the ground.

[3] The present church of St Nicolas (?) at Azincourt was built in 1569, Hauteclocque, 281. The church at Maisoncelles was a "secours" to that of Azincourt, ibid. 305. For the church of Tramecourt which was an "annexe" to that at Azincourt, see ibid. 360; though called "a church of the beginning of the last (i.e. 18th) century" in Historians' Hist. xviii. 534, the village of Azincourt being described as "a number of straggling *mud-built* cottages"; "a group of dirty farm-houses and wretched cottages," Cassell, i. 536.

[4] Petis bois, petis bosquetz, Le Fèvre, i. 252; Waurin, ii. 210; per sylvas virides, Pol. Songs, ii. 127; deux petits bois *alors existans*, Morosini, ii. 72, note, who does not seem to be aware that they are there still. Woodford marked two clumps of wood to the west of Maisoncelles, one small square to the north-east of Azincourt, with fringes of wood to the north and south of Tramecourt and a hedge along the western side of the domain.

[5] Not "Trumecourt," as Labitte, 137, 139, 140–144; nor "Tramécourt," as Trébuchet, 74; nor "Traincourt," as Pilham, 266; nor "Framecourt," as Duval-Pineu, ii. 192; Sismondi, xii. 480; Guizot, ii. 256; Black, ii. 280; Beamont, 243; Crowe, i. 125; Namèche, ii. 149; iii. 55; do. Louvain, 10.

[6] Not "Masconcelles," as Echard, i. 186; Rapin, ii. 452; Tindal, i. 514; nor "Moisoncelle," as Lay, 38, 43; Tyler, ii. 163, 164; called "Maisoncelle" in Hauteclocque, 335; Viollet-le-Duc, Mobilier, vi. 382; Köhler, ii. 759, 765, 774; Schmidt, ii. 250; Trébuchet, 74; Lettenhove, Hist. iii. 89; Jahns, 859; Loserth, Gesch. 550; Historians' Hist. xi. 170; xviii. 533, 534; Niethe, 28, 36, 38, 39, 54; Haggard, 118.

[7] Entre Maisonchieles et Azincourt, Fenin, 65; N. Lambert (416) adds Bucamps; Long, lxxxiv 314, 315. Called eine Ebene in Niethe, 27, though just above he calls it ein enger Raum. For a view of the field sketched by John Absolon, see Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 561, showing "the wood from which the English archers cut the stakes."

[8] Inter nos et eos ubi erat iter nostrum versus Calisiam, Gesta, 47; Chron. Giles, 42; not from St Omer to Calais, as Brockhaus, ii. 220. The road is entirely omitted in Nicolas, 264, though marked as a very thin line in Belleval, 124; called "St Omer to Abbeville" in Cassell, i. 537. Ransome (146) makes it pass through Azincourt, giving it a fanciful curve round to the south-west.

breaks the view across, though writers at various times have worked in rocks, valleys, hills, rivers, ditches, ravines, hedges, heights, eminences, slopes, declivities, high banks and other imaginary features which probably never had any real existence[1]. Between the woods of Azincourt and Tramecourt the space narrows to a neck of about three-quarters of a mile in breadth but opens out again amply towards Ruisseauville[2] which lies some four miles to the rear. On the English right there is a slight fall in the ground and the country becomes difficult to the east, but to their left the open ground stretched westward with little break for about three miles. Thus the actual field of battle is limited to a stretch of perfectly open country (some 2 miles across and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in breadth), and this was the site which the French themselves had deliberately chosen, where a fair fight[3] could be played out free from all traps and bushments[4], before everybody's eyes.

When King Henry had reached this plateau, and saw the Frenchmen setting up their banners and taking ground across his front in numbers enormously overtopping his tattered[5] and attenuated band[6], he realised that he was hopelessly enmeshed[7]. He sent across such prisoners as he had captured on the way[8] and offered terms to his enemy. He would restore all that he had taken[9] and give security for the payment for all damage that he had done, if only passage were allowed him to proceed. If not, he only

[1] See pp. 206, 207.

[2] Not Rousseauville, as Basin, i. 23; Bearne, 272.

[3] Called campestre praelium by King Sigismund on Sept. 6, 1416, Caro, Kanzlei, 111; in *campo* de Argenton (i.e. Agincourt), Nicolas, 287; préoccupés uniquement de faire une belle bataille, Michelet, vi. 27; Duruy, i. 420; though called "the sodyne battelle" in Mon. Franc. ii. 165; though Niethe (24) sees in it a Kriegslist on the part of the French in order that they might gain time; cf. die etwas plumpe Kriegslist, Delbrück, iii. 479.

[4] Cf. abuschement, Laud Troy Book, 270; buschement, do. 349; busshementes with orrible sownes, Secreta, 215.

[5] For "tatarwagges," see Laud Troy Book, 273; Halliwell, ii. 850.

[6] Paucam familiam, Gesta, 47; his litill meyné, Pol. Songs, ii. 123; exiguitate inimicorum spretâ, Blondel, i. 263.

[7] Circumseptus locus Henricum ad certamen ruiturum artaret, ibid. i. 261.

[8] Basin (i. 20) represents him as praedis onustum cum captivorum multitudine; cf. immensa vis rerum et hominum et animalium, J. Bucelin, 379.

[9] Rendera tout ce qu'il a pris, Pastoralet, 769; sublatorum restitutionem, St Denys, v. 554; quae sunt in Franciâ dimissurum se omnia pollicetur, Aen. Sylv. Orat. iii. 192; omnia de Gallis occupata restituat, do. Comm. 151; add Bourgeois, quoted in Trébuchet, 74. Windecke (88) represents that he sent across a blank parchment with his seal attached for the French to write any terms they liked upon it, ein Membran (cf. Wylie, iii. 454) das ist ein versigelt Brief das sie daruf schribent waz sie wolten.

asked that he might have battle on the very next day[1]. It afterwards became a question whether his offer involved the giving back of Harfleur[2] or even Calais[3], and certainly the doubt might be excused seeing that even the English accounts admit that he undertook to give back "all towns obtained by force in Normandy and France[4]." But it mattered not what terms he really meant, for his offer was at once rejected and he was told that he must fight, whereat he passed the word to dismount[5] and take battle order, and all stood ready for the expected onrush till sunset, and the lodging of the lamb[6].

As they watched the French lords unroll their pennons[7]

[1] Juv. 520; Bouvier, 429; St Denys, v. 554 (who blames the French for not accepting Henry's offer). In Le Fèvre, i. 251, and Waurin, ii. 209, the terms are proposed and rejected on the field just before the advance, but they both speak with some uncertainty (*je ne sçay a quelle requeste*). In Tit. Liv. 18; Vita, 63, the negotiations are opened by the French and rejected by Henry; see also Fenin, 63; Gaguin, Mer, 140; do. Ann. 203; Towle, 330; H. Martin, vi. 17; Belleval, 97; Ramsay, i. 219; Kingsford, 149. In Ruisseauville (138) English heralds visit the French camp in the night of the 24th to arrange the parley for the next day (*qui pau dura*).

[2] This is emphatically denied by Waurin, ii. 210. Mazas (Vies, v. 590) thinks that he offered to give up Harfleur when he was at Hangest, i.e. 10 days before the battle, page 113; Ayrolles (ii. 25) places the offer at Blanque-Taque; Cassell, i. 530, at Monchy-Lagache.

[3] Quod an ita se habeat non satis habemus compertum, Basin, i. 20; though Blondel (i. 26, 442) writing in 1449 expressly names Calais.

[4] Cf. omnia oppida et castra potenter requisita in Normanniâ et Franciâ, Wals. 243; omnia bello acquisita, Impens, 355; cf. Dynter, iii. 300, 750; Meyer, 245; Le Baud, 450; Serres, i. 960 (281); Paradin, 594, 596; Argentré, 729; Speed, 778. Henry (v. 38) disbelieves this as not "agreeable to the character of his courage." Tyler (ii. 167) thinks that the statement is "deservedly considered unworthy of credit." Hawkins (Anglo-Gallic Coins, 29) calls them "most humiliating offers." Niethe (41) disbelieves the story because it does not square with his theory that the French were numerically weaker, adding that Henry demanded the restoration of the county of Ponthieu.

[5] See App. X[2]. [6] Henry V, III. 7. 32.

[7]
With baneris fresche displaied,
And her penouns unrollid everychon.
Lydg. Troy Book, 400.

Baners unrollid and longe fresche penouns,
Of rede and whyte grene bleu and blake. Ibid. 409.

For "banershaftes," see For. Accts. 8 H. V, m. 31. For pennon, i.e. three-cornered or swallow-tailed banner for knights, see Topham, Plate XXVII (circ. 1350); J. T. Smith, 244; Lingard, ii. 122; Boutaric, 301; Prost, 158, 184; Wallon, 390; Craik-Macfarlane, i. 875; Scott, ii. 11; but square for bannerets, i.e. la queue du pennon cut off, ibid. ii. 5; Encycl. Brit. s.v. *Flag*; but both appear as royal banners in Harl. MS. 4379, f. 112 b (coronation of Henry III, King of Castile). Cf. estendars à la fachon d'Engleterre tous entiers sans fente et sans pointe comme une cornette, Trahisons de France, 149.

And by devise stondardis and penowns,
And for the felde fressche and gay gytouns.
Lydg. Troy Book, 165.

For square banner of Richard II, see Scott, ii. 9. For pencel, i.e. streamer, see ibid. ii. 13; gonfanon, i.e. square pennon, ibid. For geton, guidon, possibly guyde home, i.e. guide homme, see Halliwell, 423, 425; cf. there was many a getton gay, J. Page, 42; I stay but for my guidon, Henry V, IV. 2. 60. For square banners on long staves, see Prost, 143, 158, 170; also brass of Simon Felbrigge (d. 1416), see Boutell, Brasses; Foster, Feudal Arms, 84. In Harl. MS. 4205 (written circ. 1432) the banners are all nearly square and carried at the end of poles about the height of a man; cf. MS. Reg.

and banners and group their forces round them, the English king harangued his people's courage[1] that sorely needed heartening. "Sire," said Sir Walter Hungerford[2], as he eyed their withered numbers, "I would that we had 10,000 more good English archers who would gladly be here with us to-day." "Thou speak'st as a fool!" replied the king[3]. "By the God of Heaven, on whose grace I lean, I would not have one more[4] even if I could. This people is God's people; He has entrusted them to me to-day and He can bring down the pride of these Frenchmen who boast of their numbers and their strength[5]." Then with the answer to the herald in his hand he told its purport to his men, and standing on the clear level stretch of plough-land[6], springing fresh with autumn wheat[7], he bade them think of Créci[8] and of

1 E. ix. 282; Steyert, Aperçu, p. 45, Fig. 25, from window in the cathedral at Lyons. In René, Plates XI, XIII (circ. 1450), some few are three-cornered and drooping. For pignons or banners made of cendal, buckram, red silk and green cloth (toille), see La Fons-Melicocq, Artillerie, 6; cf. som of sandel som of ynde (i.e. blue, Halliwell, i. 475), Laud Troy Book, 394; many a lovely fair pensel of gold, of ynde, of fair sendal, do. 424; cf. sendail, Wallon, i. 241; sendail de lucques for lining a chasuble, Tremoille, 96; of welwet cendel and double samyt eke, Lydg. Troy Book, 165; cf. Wylie, iv. 361.

[1] Vita, 58. The speech is simplified in Halle, 67, and Redman, 44, and condensed again in Holinsh. iii. 553; Mézeray, ii. 566. Ramsay (i. 212) calls it "in his grandest manner." For other versions of the speech, see Basin, i. 21, where the editor considers it to be "un exercice oratoire" on the part of the writer; also St Denys, v. 554, with French translation in Le Laboureur, p. 1008, which seems somehow to be the foundation for the English version in Halliwell, Letters, 85–89, containing references to the archers' thumbs and the "peace of Brittany" (*sic*), who calls it a translation "from a Latin contemporary history (? St Denys) now in All Souls Library." It is called a "long and spirited address" in Towle, 328–330, who supposes that it was read out.

[2] Not "Thomas," as Strang, 87. For his retinue (20+60) at Southampton, see Exch. Accts. 45/5, m. 5 (without names); Nicolas, 381, which falls to 17+55 in Brook's list; Nicolas, 352; Wylie, Notes, 138.

[3] Sic stulte Deum male tempta, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 119.

[4] Redman, 41; Drayton, 58.

[5] Gesta, 47; Chron. Giles, 41; Tit. Liv. 16; Vita, 61; Le Fèvre, i. 245; Waurin, ii. 203, where the incident is placed on the following day; also Pauli, v. 118; Lingard, iii. 496, who thinks that the king "*chanced* to overhear an officer," etc.; cf. Henry, v. 38; Andrews, ii. 20.

[6] Latè patuit, Wals. ii. 311; Hypodig. 464.

[7] Tritico recenter satum, Wals. ii. 311; Hypodig. 464; terre nouvelle semée, Le Fèvre, i. 255; Waur. ii. 214; nouveau semé de bled, Trahisons, 129; une belle place et herbue, Juv. 520; cf. "lond new heried," Capgr. 312; en un camp couvert de sinople (or sinoble); possibly charlock (senevey), see App. 4. Called ein junges Saatfeld das von dem Regen nicht so aufgeweicht war wie der übrige Boden, Niethe, 37. For sinople (i.e. green), see Du Cange, s.v. al. cynople, cynopre, cyneple, sinopre (Navarre, v. 11; Littré, s.v.); sinoper, synaper (Feuillerat, 201, 217, 245); zinopre (Lydg. Troy Book, 172); for 1 lb. of cynopre costing 1*s.* at Ely in 1339, see Archaeologia, ix. 160. In Ruisseauville, 139, the English are on dry fallow land (logie sur les gaskières et a dure terre) and the French sur les blés; cf. en une ghasquière nouvellement ahenée, Cordeliers, 229; Cotgr., s.v. *Gaskière*; cf. un grand guéret, Bueil, ii. 62; cf. Godefroy, i. 173, s.v. *Ahaner*, to labour.

[8] For the battle of Crécy, see George, 59; Lloyd, 63. For view of the field, see Musgrave, Frontispiece. For Agincourt as "almost a literal repetition of Crécy," see Freeman, Essays, i. 115.

Poitiers[1], and of the many times since then that Englishmen had plundered their way through France and none had dared to touch them[2]. Now let them pluck up heart and never fear this multitude of lords and princes[3], for God would turn their very numbers into everlasting shame, as he had often done before[4]. Let them think on merry England[5], the land that had nursed them, the land where their fathers, mothers, wives and children were[6], and where the religious were praying for them[7] at that very hour, and so fight their way back to her with praise and glory, or sell their lives so dear that they would never be forgot[8]. For himself, he vowed that not one noble should England ever pay in ransom for him, for in that fight he meant to win or die[9], but if any of them had aught against his neighbour let him wash the mote from out his conscience with the priest, for if they should die unprovided[10] good could never come of

[1] For the battle of Poitiers or Maupertius, Sept. 19, 1356, Rym. vi. 222, where it is officially called "la Bataille de Poitiers" in the Treaty of Brétigny, 1360, see Köhler, ii. 417-449; George, 70; Lloyd, 68.

[2] Cf. the boast that Edward III might have journeyed from Calais to Bordeaux and dined every day in a strength of his own and supped and slept in another, see Stevenson, ii. 454.

[3] For azenste one of us thowthe ther be ten thenke Criste will help us in oure ryght, Kingsford, Chron. 120; take from them now the sense of reckoning, Henry V, IV. 1. 286.

[4] Called six times in St Denys, v. 556.

[5] For "mery Ynglande," see Pol. Songs, ii. 155; cf.

Anglia plena jocis, gens libera nata jocari,
Tota jocosa velim dicere tota jocus.
W. Wattenbach, 601 (temp. Henry II).

Débat, xiv; Harflet, i. 320; Jusserand, Lit. Hist. 260; Champion, Vie, 212; cf. Wylie, iii. 208, note 2.

[6] There seems nothing to bear out the supposition that the army contained "neither married man nor widow's son," which is mere common-place 18th century fiction though Tyler (ii. 197) thought so highly of the lines as to stamp them as a motto on his title-page. Jewitt (5) says that there is a tradition to this effect still surviving in the Peak district of Derbyshire. It may possibly be an echo of "let us our careful wives, our children and our sins lay on the king," Henry V, IV. 1. 227.

[7] The religious of Ingelond all tenynge,
Ora pro nobis for us they syng. Harflet, 321.

[8] Blondel, i. 443. Cf. "feightes for the righte of Englond," Brut, ii. 555.

[9] Que a casa d'Ingraterra nunca por el pagavia huû notra, que venceria ou morreria na quella batalha, Duarte, 87, who writes 20 years after the battle and reports this saying of his "cousin" (*meu primo*).

For me this day schalle never Inglonde rawnsome pay;
Erste many a man schall leve is weddes, for here erste to death I wil be dyght.
Pol. Songs, ii. 124.

Kingsford, Chron. 119; Kabel, 3; he wolde nevir put the rem of Engelond to no Rawnson for his persone, Brut, ii. 378; "desired rather to die than to be unproffitable to this realme," Kingsford, Biogr. 81. Pyne (103) disbelieves this because "it would not have been consistent with the Christian sentiments which Henry professed."

[10] Henry V, IV. 1. 183. Cf. I am afeard there are few die well that die in a battle for how can they charitably dispose of anything when blood is their argument, Henry V, IV. 1. 145.

it[1]. At this all fell upon their knees and clasped their hands towards Heaven, praying that God would have them in his keeping[2], while the chaplains moved about from man to man, shriving the weeping penitents and whispering comfort with their last housel[3], in preparation for the death that might at any time be on them[4]. As the sunlight faded[5] and many of the Frenchmen were seen to disperse among the neighbouring villages, the king and some of his company withdrew to such few houses as there were at Maisoncelles[6] to rest for the night. His right flank bivouacked in the open close up within touch of the Frenchmen's left which spread out beyond the Tramecourt woods about four flight-shots away[7]. Most of the men lodged on the ground or in the gardens and orchards, through a night of pelting rain[8], though everything was done that could be done to lessen

[1] Juv. 521, who adds that he gave up all claim to a share in ransoms except for dukes and counts and promised that every man "in his company" should be ennobled and wear the SS collar. There is an echo of this in the speech put in by Wals. (ii. 312), quisquis ergo census honores aut praemia cupit istic reperiet haec; cf. every man in his degre shall yow quyte full well youre mede, Harflet, 321. Verneuil (218) represents that Henry first arranged with the French that only nobles should fight on either side and then returned to his army and ennobled every man in it (en disant qu'il les anoblissoit tous) while all the corresponding group of Frenchmen were ruled out (ne se combatit point le même peuple de France). The editor supposes this writer to be contemporary, but his statements are full of gross mistakes, e.g. as to Valmont. Cf. this day shall gentle his condition, Henry V, IV. 3. 63.

[2] Les veusist mectre en sa garde, Le Fèvre, i. 242, adding j'estoie avec eulx et vays ce que dessus est dit.

[3] Holinsh. iii. 552. Not by the Bishop of Bath, as Mazas, Vies, v. 615; called "les credules soldats" in Labitte, 136.

[4] Monstr. 373, on the au hority of prisoners who were captured by the French; ils se confessèrent tous ceux qui de prestre peuvent recouvrer, Waur. ii. 202; Le Fèvre, i. 244; Meyer, 246; Gesta, 47, who refers to the paucitas sacerdotum; cf. votis et confessionibus animabus propriis consulendo, Wals. ii. 310; Hypo. 463.

[5] In occubitu solis, Gesta, 48; ad vesperum, Tit. Liv. 15; quod brumalis diei brevitas cito declinaret, Vita, 58; not that the chaplains were busy "almost till morning," as Church, 75.

[6] Not at Blangy, as Gilles, ii. 61; Belleforest, Hist. 277; called the *castle* at Maisoncelles in Harbaville, ii. 343; Hauteclocque, 335; domos paucissimas, Gesta, 48; not "very scanty gardens and orchards," as Nicolas, 245; cf. in quâdam villulâ, Wals. ii. 310; Hypo. 463; in masiunculâ viliori, Vita, 58; quaedam casula, Tit. Liv. 15; "a little hut," Yonge, 278; "a cottage," Scott, ii. 550; Nicolas, 106; "a humble hut," Towle, 322, 344; not that they lodged at Azincourt as well as Maisoncelles, as Henry, v. 38. Musgrave (282), who went over the battlefield in 1861, described Maisoncelles as "a hamlet now hardly recognisable," or "a little hamlet within sight of the spire of Azincour church" (p. 278), 9 furlongs away and 3½ miles from Ruisseauville (p. 284); but he approached the field from Fruges and Ruisseauville and does not appear to have entered Maisoncelles. He stayed one hour at Ruisseauville and roamed about Azincourt for three-quarters of an hour, walking "upwards of 5 miles round and round" (p. 285).

[7] For "a flite shot," see Lel. Itin. viii. 54; cf. Laneham, p. 154.

[8] Gesta, 48; Waur. ii. 202, 211; Le Fevre, i. 242, 252; toute le nuit ne fit que pleuvoir, Ruisseauville, 138; prodigâ inundacione pluviarum, St Denys, v. 558; nox pluviosa monis, Capgr. De Illustr. 116; nox pluvialis ibi plebem quia pane madebat, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 119.

the discomfort[1]. The English king had ordered silence on his men under pain of losing horse and harness[2] if the offender were a knight, or the right ear in any lower degree, and while the French were shouting to their friends or servants by name, not a man among the English ranks durst speak above his breath[3], deep stillness fell upon their camp, and not a horse was heard to neigh[4], though it is hard to reconcile this statement with the fact that their armourers[5] pricked to and fro with files and hammers, scouring[6], rivetting[7] and straightening the arms, while they pointed their tags[8] and latches[9], and the archers notched

[1] La nuyt il les fist refrescher et les Francoys firent le contraire, Bueil, ii. 62. Airy (i. 144) supposes that they were supplied with double rations and straw to lie on; R. Stephen (130) that "every care was taken to provide for their comfort."

[2] Cf. "upon payne of horse and hernesse," Black Book of Admiralty, i. 284, 460.

[3] Tant parloient bas, Le Fèvre, i. 243; Waurin, ii. 201; Tit. Liv. 16; Vita, 58.

[4] Michelet (vi. 29) thinks that this indicated that the French horses were *tristes*. In Champion, Vie, 146, thousands of French horses were neighing, quoting Le Fèvre, i. 244, an equally well authenticated statement.

[5] Fast the armurers also with file and hammer priking to and fro, Chauc. Knight's Tale, 2510.

[6] For 22*s.* paid for furbishing armour (*fourbir et nettoyer*), see Roman, 15 (1390); cf. to scoure the Ruste, Lydg. Min. Po. 25, 102.

[7] Many on was besy for to naille
His felawis harniss for to make it strong,
And to dresse it that it sete nouzt wrong.
Lydg. Troy Book, 398; Dillon, Besague, 18.
With pointes tresses and other maner thing,
That in suche case longeth to armynge. Ibid.

Not "sharpening the points of their lances," as Haggard, 120. Cf. des pointes d'argent doré pour lacier les cottes et doublés, Mirot, Isabelle, xviii. 550. For lacing points, see Mrs Ashdown, 199. Mettant a point leur aiguillettes, Waur. ii. 202; not "sharpening their aguillettes," as ibid. translation, p. 202; nor "replaced their aguillettes," as Nicolas, 247; Michelet, vi. 28; also H. Martin, vi. 15; Köhler, ii. 765 (quoting St Remy, vii. 510); Historians' Hist. xi. 170. For "aglets," see p. 166. For picture of the Earl of Salisbury wearing palettes or circular shoulder-plates (*rondelles*, Roman, 15) fastened with aglets, see Harl. MS. 4826 (Lydgate's Pilgrim) in Nicolas, App. 47; cf. ii. poyntys of a hood of skarlat, see Amyot, 255; cf. 9 aiguillettes à 18 bouz d'or pour lassier (or lacier, p. 49) le pourpoint de monseigneur, Roman, 29; aiguillettes quarrées torses et rondes, ibid. 37; esgueillettes d'or et d'argent, Tremoille, 43; 3 dozen silver aiguillettes sewn with silk laces (cosne en laz de soye), Toulgoët-Treanna, 118; 17 doz. aiguillettes faites pour le jaque de monseigneur, Roman, 37. For the aiguilletiers at Troyes, see Boutiot, Doc. i. 198. For aiguilletier (=ferreur d'esguillettes), Culliat, 6; or esguilletier (=pointmaker, Wylie, iv. 276, 357), see Godefroy, Littré, s.v. *Mesgisme*, where they are grouped with gantiers, bourliers (i.e. makers of horse collars) and tanneurs. For little points of silver hung on black silk cord for jacket, see Add. Ch. 2155; little points of black silk ribbon fastened with plain silver, ibid. 2279. For 7 doz. punctuum at 3*d.* the doz., see Baildon, 504 (1393). For gotefel and kydfel ffor poyntmakers fulle nedefulle, see Pol. Songs, ii. 160.

[9] For laces (latchets) and points (lanniere), see Caxton, Dial. 21. For a coat-armour laced in front, see Toulgoët-Treanna, 65. Cf. onlasit his riche armes, Secreta, 173; "these rural latches," Winter's Tale, IV. 4. 430. For las de soye, i.e. silk lace with seal at the foot of a document, see Planchet, III. cciii; cf. festid with a lace, G. W. Taylor, 222; i-laced in a chaine, Lydg. Temple, 15. For 3 laces de serico deaurato together with payment to a goldsmith for 3 poyntes argent' deaurat' for these 3 laces for Queen Joan in 1419, see Q.R. Exch. Accts. 406/30 (B.B. Troyes, p. 16 a); lace her doubletts made of lyne cloth, Lydg. Troy Book, 395.

their shafts[1] or waxed their strings[2]. The silence struck the French as ominous, and thinking that their enemy was preparing for flight they lit fires[3] and set watches about the surrounding country lest he should escape them in the darkness.

They too had stood to arms all afternoon expecting an attack, but as the day wore on and they saw that nothing would be done they furled their banners about the shafts[4], doffed their surcoats, untrussed their trunks and males[5] and sent their men round the villages to gather straw and litter for a bed, for the rain came down all night and the earth was so poached[6] and trampled that the horses could scarce lift their hoofs out of the cledgy soil[7]. Between the woods of Maisoncelles and Tramecourt the ground makes a slight slope, and as at this point the outposts of the two armies approached their nearest they could not only see each other's faces[8], but as the English lay within ear-shot in the twilight they heard the hooting and shouting[9] of the grooms and pages. Time had not chastened their old contempt for their hereditary enemy; in spite of Créci and Poitiers[10] they still believed that one Frenchman was at any time a match for three or four English[11], and so sure were they of the game that stories got abroad[12] that they diced by the firelight

[1] Daniel, iv. 145; cf. "nock your arrows," Neade, D. 2; Grose, Mil. Antiq. i. 355.

[2] Drayton, 76. Cf. with boweys gode wel y-strenged, Laud Troy Book, 193.

[3] Waurin, ii. 204, 205; Le Fèvre, i. 247. Cf. the Tents with lights, the Fields with Bonefires shine, Drayton, 5; not because of the *nox prægelida*, as Emilio, 323; Rosières, 430. In Guthrie, ii. 464, it is the English who light fires; also Henry, v. 38.

[4] For "banershafts," see For. Accts. 8 H. V, 31; shaftetes pro banneriis et pens (i.e. pensils), Raine, Hist. iii. 310.

[5] Malles et bahus, Le Fèvre, i. 244; not "mules," as Waurin, ii. 202, translation.

[6] Goodwin, 85; Fortescue, i. 59.

[7] A malaise se povoient les chevaulx ravoir hors de la terre, Waur. ii. 211; Le Fèvre, ii. 252; Champion, Vie, 147. Not "the night was very cold for the horses," as Nicolas, 247; cf. en un champ bien mol car il avoient bien longuement plue, Juv. 518; ils couchèrent en ung champ ou ils estoient en la boue jusqu'aux genoux, Bueil, ii. 62.

Et par la grant pluie Octobreuse,
La place y est toute boeuse. Pastoralet, 773.

[8] Henry V, iv. Prol. 9. [9] Howtynge and showtynge, Caxton, Chron. 145.

[10] L'outrecuidé oubli de deux experiences passées, Serres, i. 960 (281).

[11] Car ung de nous en vault quatre,
Au mois en vault il bien troys. Du Bois, 177.
Leroux de Lincy, i. 300; Gaste, Chanson, xviii. 92; Vaux de Vire, xi. 35.

[12] Ut dicebatur, Gesta, 49; "as it was said," Chron. R. II–H. VI, p. 41; Caxton, Chron. 145; captivos Anglorum partiri deque his ludere talis, Aen. Sylv. Comm. 151; do. Orat. iii. 193; Capgr. (De Illustr. 116) puts the dicing in the morning of the battle; also Halle, 68; but Grafton (i. 517) gives "the night before." Cf. me will tro one chance on the dice, Fam. Vict. E. 3; Quoits Lots and Dice for Englishmen to cast, Drayton, 49.

They brought the more plentye of rychesse with theym,
To the ende to bye prisoners either of other. Fabyan, 580.

"Plaiet Englisshemen at the dyce," Brut, ii. 378, 555.

as to which should have the king and which the leading nobles, and had even painted up the very cart in which they meant to draw King Henry captive through the streets of Paris and Rouen[1].

[1] Pol. Verg. 446, who notes the messages they are supposed to have sent to the adjoining cities and towns to make "open plays and triumphs"; also Redman, 45; Halle, 68; Holinsh. iii. 554.

I have set three or foure chaire-makers a-worke
To make a new disguised chaire. Fam. Vict. 38.
And in a captive chariot into Rouen,
Bring him our prisoner. Henry V, III. 5. 53.
They cast to make a chariot,
Painted with Anticks and ridiculous toyes. Drayton, 50.

CHAPTER XXXIV

AGINCOURT

If any true conception is now to be formed of the great three hours fight[1] at Agincourt the battlefield must certainly be regarded as a vast *champclos* or tourney[2] undertaken with the fullest premeditation[3] in which each side was bound by the etiquette of chivalry to take no unfair advantage of the other, but each to be in his allotted place by appointment to start fair together at the word and fight square according to the rules of the game. Indeed so little did the modern elements of craft and slimness enter into the strategy of the age that even the best informed narrators of the fray represent that when the message reached Henry on October 20[4] that he should have his wish and get a chance of fighting, the heralds actually fixed the day and place for October 26, and that it was only on the 24th that he found his men so weary with their three days fast that he sent in to his adversary asking that the day might be altered and the battle allowed to take place a little earlier than the appointed time[5]. On the 24th

[1] Called 5 hours in Sanuto, 899.

[2] Comme s'ils allassent a une grande fiette, Ruisseauville, 142; a tous costez gens aplouvoient comme si ce fust à aller à une festes de joustes ou de tournoy, Le Fèvre, i. 268; Waurin, ii. 229, who says that if they had waited another day the carnage would have been even greater; cf. le sieur de Longny in Monstr. 379; cf. "that unscientific kind of combat that resembled a huge tilting-match," Oman, 96; "those absurd perversions of the art of war which covered themselves under the name of chivalry," ibid. 102; "when games resembled battles and battles games," Jusserand, Lit. Hist. 260; "a duel on a large scale," Scott, ii. 498.

[3] Not that the English were attacked *ex improviso*, as Aen. Sylv. Orat. iii. 191. Cf. on auroit rougi d'employer la surprise d'une attacque imprévue, Villaret, xiii. 358. For advice as to choosing a battlefield, see Christine de Pisan, Livre de Chevalerie, in Robineau, 261.

[4] Page 125, note 7.

[5] Juv. 520. For arrangement of battle-days fixed beforehand by request, temp. Edward III, see Scott, ii. 499. For the two swords smeared with blood sent by the Highmaster of the Prussian Order to the king of the Poles before the battle of Tannenberg in 1410, see Wusterwitz, 370.

he released such prisoners as he had, on the understanding that if he should win in the coming fight they should return to him and bring their masters too[1], if they were still alive, but if he lost they should be quit of ransom for ever[2], and we only obscure the motive if with some modern writers we rationalise this into a politic stroke—the outcome of prudence or necessity[3]—for he might as well have killed them all as the French had done with their 1000 prisoners the night before the battle at Nicopolis[4].

But if one item of the code of honour required that neither side should start with any unfair advantage it is certain that no means were taken to equalise the numbers, and that from this, the most vital of all points of view, the English with their tiny force[5] stood to be rolled up and utterly annihilated. Elmham, who watched both armies forming up, avers that the English had but 6000 fighting men, while he estimated the French front battle alone at more than 30 times this total[6], and if this statement may be safely set down to the effect of temporary panic or subsequent triumphant glee[7], yet the huge discrepancy between the two opposing armies is clearly marked in the confusing estimates of numbers that everywhere bewilder and elude our search. In England the chroniclers regard it as a fight between the giant and the dwarf[8], and the man in the street believed that we were outnumbered by at least 5 or 6 to 1[9], while writers of very varying degrees of credibility range the French preponderance anywhere from 2, 3, 4, 5,

[1] Not "to their masters," as Waur. (translation) ii. 201.

[2] Le Fèvre, i. 243; Waurin, ii. 201.

[3] Délibré de cet embarras, Villaret, iii. 363; Devienne, Artois, iii. 43; "that he might not be encumbered," Henry, v. 39; Encycl. Brit. i. 282.

[4] G. Köhler, 14, 32.

[5] Paucitatem nostram, Chron. Giles, 42; Gesta, 47, 57; foe un poy de gentz en regard au poair de ses ennemys, Rot. Parl. iv. 62, 70, Nov. 2, 1415, March 16, 1416; ther be so fewe of thise Inglysshmen, Harflet. 318; Franciae periit omne decus per manus paucorum, Wals. ii. 313; Hypo. 467; hostium immensum numerum v. tantillum exercitum, Vita, 57; multum tenuem, ibid. 60; tantillo numero, ibid. 61; quorum paucitatem maxime contemnebant, Wals. ii. 311; Hypo. 464; acies cum rege pusillus, Lib. Metr. 109; exigui numero, Basin, i. 20, quoting Aen. v. 754; hyr lytylle blessyd meyne, Greg. Chron. 111; sans comparoison plus que l'Englez, Bourgeois, 64.

[6] Gesta, 49; Chron. Giles, 43.

[7] Musgrave (282) calls this a "palpable absurdity" as raising the French numbers to 270,000; but it becomes less so if we understand Elmham to mean that the great front line of the French contained 30 times as many men-of-arms as the whole of the English men-of-arms together, i.e. omitting archers.

[8] Pusillum gregem cum tot gigantum millibus, Wals. ii. 310; Hypo. 462.

[9] i.e. 50,000 or 60,000 French to 10,000 English, Romania, xxxii. 49.

6, 7, 8, 10, or even 12[1] to 1. Despair falls on us likewise, when we find the French numbers stated at anything between 10,000 and 200,000[2] and the English between 4000 and 26,000 all told, of whom from 900 to 2000 appear as men-of-arms and all the rest as archers. With such extremes of choice it is impossible now to say how far these estimates are due to guess work, how far they include non-combatants, or how far they refer to those who actually took part in the fray, but knowing, as we seem to do, the numbers of the English when they started from Harfleur[3], and remembering that even these had further shrunk into a poor starved band[4] with the toil and sickness of the march, I incline to think that we shall not go far wrong in accepting Elmham's assurance that he had counted them and found but 6000 effective fighting men[5] faced by a force of Frenchmen at least 10 times their superiors in number[6]. At any rate it is unquestioned that the English would not have sought a battle as they were[7], and that though they heartened themselves up to sell life dear, yet every man amongst them went into the fight convinced that he was marked to die[8], and that even though he had escaped the scourge of flux and famine he was now at length in the wolf's very jaws[9].

The French were up at daybreak[10] in the morning of Friday, Oct. 25, the feast of SS. Crispin and Crispinian, the martyr cobblers of Soissons[11]. Up till the very day of the battle there had been strong contention among the leaders[12] as to who should form the vanguard of the front

[1] Cassell, i. 531. [2] See App. H. [3] Page 73.

[4] Henry V, IV. 2. 16; jam fame fluxu ac febribus tenuatum, Wals. ii. 310; Hypo. 463.

[5] Juxta propriam numerationem, Gesta, 57; Towle, 325, 331; cf. less than 7000 of hoole men that myght fyght, Fabyan, 579. See page 73, note 6.

[6] See App. H. [7] Henry V, III. 6. 156.

[8] Res pro capitibus agebatur, St Denys, v. 560, 562; estoit heure de chascun mettre main à leuvre quy me voulloit illec morir, Waurin, ii. 208; Le Fèvre, i. 250; pour sauver leurs vyes, Waur. ii. 212; not "in spem triumphi," as Blondel, i. 261.

[9] Vita, 57.

[10] Summo mane, Wals. ii. 311; Hypo. 464; environ heure de prime, Cordeliers, 229.

[11] Juv. 520; Basin, 14, 23; Meyer, 243; Butler, ii. 743. For the mystery of Saints Crispin and Crispinian lasting four days and played by the shoemakers in Paris in 1443, see Le Roy, 275–280; Dessalles-Chataille, xiii, xviii; Suchier, 290, in which the tools refuse to hurt them, the Aisne to drown them and the oil to burn them. For the confrairie des corduaniers in Paris, see Bourgeois, 635; do. (Tuetey), 116. For explanation of SS collar as "Soissons," see Foss, Hackington, 77.

[12] En l'avant garde vouldrent estre tous les seigneurs, Cousinot, 134; par sa destinée et par sa vanité, Larrey, 812; pre nimiâ superbiâ, Dynter, iii. 300, 501; tele presomption et oultre cuidance, Pays-Bas, 356, 357; Meyer, 246; fols furent les Florentinois (French),

battle, a post of risk much coveted by the young bloods[1], and as all expected an easy win[2], and that they had only to show their face to suck out the fat-brained Englishmen's souls[3] and swallow them at one bite[4], it was decided that all, however inexperienced, who had any pretensions to pride of blood[5], should have an equal share in the risks and the honour.

With this view the great host formed up into the usual three sections[6], consisting of a vanguard[7] composed of a

i.e. for not waiting for the Duke of Burgundy, Pastoralet, 776; par trop cuidier pert l'en victore, ibid. 769; [cf. le grand et merveilleux orgueil qui de tous temps est en eulx, St Paul, 52]; y avoient division entre les aliés du Duc d'Orlienz et Duc de Bourguongne, Cochon, 274; autrement ils ne se pouvoient acorder, Juv. 520; aiunt quod discordia et traditio quae erant inter Francos fecit eos perire, Roye, 168.

Qu'ils n'orent pas bonne fiance,
L'un en l'autre. Pastoralet, 770.

1 S'on tient les champs soies soigneux,
De ceux de l'avangarde aler,
Car c'est le plus aventureux. Cent. Ballades, 18.

2 Tenants iceux François pour certain que les Anglois ne pourroient echapper de leurs mains, Monstr. 375; Le Fèvre, i. 249; Waurin, ii. 207; se securos de victoriâ reputabant, Vita, 63. Cf. y laisserent (i.e. in the corps de bataille) leur gens pour aller combattre de leur personne en l'avant garde, Boulé, i. 421.

3 Henry V, IV. 2. 16. If the fat-brained English had any apprehension they would run away, ibid. III. 6. 145.

4 Cuident Paralois (i.e. Henry) engouler,
Et tout à ung mors englouter. Pastoralet, 767.

5 Tous estoient grans seigneurs qui estoient à la dicte bataille, Le Fèvre, i. 257; Waurin, ii. 216; tous les princes s'estoient en l'avan-garde, Fenin, 64; nul n'alast en la bataille s'il n'estoit noble, Cochon, 274;

Plusieurs enfants de grant maison,
Car jamais n'avoient vue bataille. Martial, 20.

Tout ce qui portait un nom, Choisy, 328; in primâ acie duces comitesque allocant, Aen. Sylv. Orat. iii. 193; though Monstr. places the Dukes of Bar and Alençon and five counts in the second line and three counts and a lord in the third. Lavallée (i. 378) thinks that personne ne laignait commander aux archers et à l'infanterie, whose total numbers he gives as 5000 only (p. 377).

6 Page 88, note 4. In Ruisseauville, 140, the baffled French horsemen break back and throw the vanguard into confusion (*tout parmi l'avant garde*), then les engles entrerent ens et passerent l'avant garde le bataille et l'arrière garde, all of which are over and above the gros varlets who are waiting a considerable distance in the rear. Niethe (42–47) places the avant garde, the battailee and the arrière garde all neben einander with the reserve in the rear, and as this supposed arrangement would be impossible in so narrow a space he infers that their numbers cannot have been really large. For 3 batailles drus et serres at Caen in 1340, see Frois. i. 224. For tres acies at Neville's Cross (1346) and Auray cf. Christine de Pisan, Faictes, Bk I. ch. 23, quoted in Engl. Hist. Rev. x. 539; embatayeled in iij. batayles as the Frensshemen sayde hemsilfe, Pol. Songs, ii. 124; avant garde, gross bataille et arriere garde or derrière garde, Monstr. 374; Castellain, i. 324; duas alias acies, St Denys, v. 558, 564; Waurin, ii. 215, 241; Le Fèvre, i. 247, 257; Trahisons, 132; Meyer, 246; Pol. Verg. 444; quae pene tres acies jungebantur, Tit. Liv. 16; cf. van, battle, and rearward, Scott, ii. 500; Vaward, Battle and Rereward, Smythe, 29. For three lines and two wings, see Echard, i. 185. Oman (104) regards three "battles" as "the immemorial usage of the Middle Ages," though allowing only two battles here (p. 109). Called three "wedges" in C. R. L. Fletcher, 321, 261; trois épaisses batailles rangées à la suite l'une de l'autre, Martin, vi. 15; Pauli, v. 118. For three battles and two wings in Richard II's army in Scotland in 1385, see

7 For note, see next page.

picked body of lords and gentlemen[1], variously estimated at from 5000 to nearly 10,000 men-of-arms[2] bearing spears[3] or lances from 12 to 14 feet in length[4], to bear the forefront of the attack; a second battle massed in one dense sheltron[5] to a depth of 20[6], or according to others more than 30 ranks[7], and a rear-guard[8] ready to come in as supports when the emergency should arise. All[9] had dismounted and left their horses in charge of attendants in the rear ready for hot pursuit as soon as the enemy broke into confusion[10], and as they stood bravely battled[11] all close together that one pass not the other[12], there was such a press of

Archaeologia, xxii. 16. At Verneuil (1424) the Duke of Bedford fit mettre ses gens en bataille *en un ost* tant seulement sans aussi faire avant garde ni laisses homme à cheval, Monstr. 558. Woodford arranges them in three long lines each about 2000 yards in length, placing one to the south of the cross-roads fronting the English, and the other two as supports in parallel lines on the Ruisseauville side of the road. Kitchin (i. 521) places the third line at Senecouville (*sic*), i.e. Sénecoville. Zech (297) thinks that all three corps were auf einander gedrängt. George, in Eng. Hist. Rev. x. 735, allows about one yard per man in the front rank.

[7] The vanwarde, vaunward, vamwarde or formost warde, Laud Troy Book, 393, 410, 424, 445, 446, 490. For the vanwarde, the middelward, the rerwarde, see do. 432, 433; cf. vantgarde, grete bataill and ryeregarde, Melusine, 174, 191, 198, 219, 223, 277; avangarde, bataille et arrieregarde, Cagny, 66; Monstr. 429; of the march from Paris to St Cloud in 1411, Wylie, iv. 60; anterior, media et posterior custodia et alae, Rym. ix. 543.

[1] For "gentilez" (i.e. knights and squires), see vol. i. page 364, note 2.

[2] e.g. 5000, St Denys, v. 562; Juv. 523; 8000+4000 archers+1500 crossbowmen, Monstr. 374; Waurin, ii. 206; Halle, 65; Holinsh. iii. 553; or 9200, Bouvier, 130.

[3] Cf. his spere was strong, the hed wel steled, Laud Troy Book, 199; with stelen hed that wel was tipped, ibid. 206; a spere stalworthe and towe, ibid. 184.

[4] Hence the men were often called "lances" or "spears," Quicherat, 9.

[5] Shildrime, Secreta, 174; scheltroun, Laud Troy Book, 404, 437; Lydg. Troy Book, 352, 464; do. Min. Po. 72; Halliwell, ii. 730; called "schildron" in Lloyd, 59, 64, who calls it a "solid ring" or "almost round."

[6] Vita, 621; Oman, Pol. Hist. 254. Juv. (520) supposes that the second line was only two lances' length behind the first; also Köhler, ii. 772. Mazas (Cours, ii. 174) separates the three lines by something less than half-a-mile (demi-quart de lieue).

[7] Tit. Liv. 17; called "31 men in lines" in Nicolas, 111; or 32 deep in Duval-Pineu, ii. 190; G. Hardy, 467; Historians' Hist. xi. 172; or "39 deep," Cassell, i. 532. C. R. L. Fletcher (261) thinks that they were almost as deep as they were long.

[8] Rerewarde, Laud Troy Book, 223.

[9] Not three-fourths, as Oman, 109.

[10] As they had intended to do at Nicopolis, G. Köhler, 27; also at Verneuil (1424), where they were fastened together by the necks (hastereaux, cf. Godefroy, s.v. *Haterel*; Cotgr., s.v. *Hastereau*; Murray, s.v. *Hattreil*; Wylie, iv. 348) and tails, Monstr. 558; cf. leur chevaux assez près à eux pour tantôt monter s'il etoit besoin, i.e. at Poitiers, Frois. i. 345. Church (77) considers this to be "a third line chiefly composed of cavalry"; derrière les hommes d'armes estoient tous les pages, les chevaux et les méchants gens impuissants de combattre, Monstr. 558.

[11] C'etoit grand noblesse de les voir, Monstr. 374; Le Fèvre, i. 249; Waurin, ii. 207; magnificentius sequerentur, St Denys, v. 572; cf. batailed hym ayens the Frensshman, Chron. Lond. 101; hym embatailt, Brie-Brut, ii. 554; Gower, Conf. Am. 120; he batayled hym ful rially, Harflet, 319; 3 great battayles, Stow, 586; Halle, 65; Grafton, i. 516; magne Battell, Drayton, 75.

[12] Of the vanguard, Christine de Pisan, in Caxton, Faites d'Armes, Bk i. ch. 23.

banners that many had to be furled and put away[1]. A vast number of varlets[2] including many Bretons, Gascons and Poitevins[3], formed a 3rd or rear-guard[4] line behind the great battle. These were fully armed and usually fought around their captain to bear his banner through the fight and rescue him if he fell[5], and in point of numbers would have been alone sufficient to cope with the whole English army[6], but they were base-born[7] and as such unfit for the company of the gentlemen at the front, who meant to grapple with the English themselves and reap the whole harvest of the ensuing glory[8]. These were stationed at a short distance[9] to the rear on the ground that stretches back to Ruisseauville. The weakness of the whole vast force lay undoubtedly in the paucity of its bowmen[10], and such

[1] Le Fèvre, i. 253; Waur. ii. 211.

[2] Each man-of-arms had 2, 3 or 4 varlets in his suite, Quicherat, 9. Cf. hommes d'armes avec leurs varles, Castellain, i. 326; cf. knyght ne squier knave ne boy, Laud Troy Book, 109.

[3] Waurin, ii. 216; Le Fèvre, i. 258.

[4] Furent tous les gros valles (?=varles) boutez arière, Cochon, 274; ne firent les François de toutes legers gens que deux batailles, Juv. 520; avant garde et arrière garde towards Ruisseauville, Fenin, 62; la bataille et arrière garde, ibid. 64; Monstr. (374) calls the derrière garde the varlets who ran away.

[5] Cordeliers, 229. Cf. manfully with his mayné, Pol. Songs, ii. 125; chacun sire entre ses gens et sa banniere devant lui, Froissart, i. 494 (i.e. at Auray, 1364).

[6] Cf. disoit-on que les gros varlets cuissent bien combatu tous les engles et toute la poissanche, Ruisseauville, 140. Called 3000 strong in Juv. 520; or the same numbers as the vanguard in Le Fèvre, i. 248; but in St Denys, v. 574, they are far larger in number (*majori multo numero*). Not that there were only about 600 of them, as Towle, 338.

[7] Ex concubitu furtivo et obscuro sanguine procreati, exules proscripti, etc., St Denys, v. 546; presque entièrement composée de corps des communes, Viollet-le-Duc, Mobilier, vi. 387; famulis (gros-varlés) abjectis et repulsis, Dynter, iii. 300, 301, 750.

[8] Et ossi tous les seigneurs et gentils hommes ne vaulrent nient avoir mils de leurs gros varlets peu ou nient, Ruisseauville, 140; n'avoient volu mener avec eulz nuls de leur varles pour ce que entre eulx gentilz hommes voloient avoir l'onneur de la dicte bataille, Cordeliers, 229; cf. nec alius ex plebe procreatus concurreret in hostem, Blondel, i. 260; sans ce que leurs gros varlets de guerre y meissent les mains, ibid. i. 442, 443; cf. cur populare praesidium robustum spernis, ibid. i. 262; cf. "a system which reproduced on the battlefield the distinctions of feudal society," Oman, 102. This seems to disprove the contention in Daniel, Milice, i. 217, that they usually fought in the rear apart from the men-of-arms.

[9] Though called 3000 yards (1500 toises), or 1½ miles from the battlefield in Mazas, Cours, ii. 175; not "Ronsianvile," as First Life, 50. The plan in Adams, i. 226, places the third line at Ruisseauville. It is copied from Barante but is not to be found in the editions of 1825 or 1835. Mazas (Vies, v. 606; do. Cours, ii. 175) places them at Caulers; also Fromentin, 122; Belleval, 81; Jähns, Atlas, Pl. LXIII. For its position a little to the east of Ruisseauville, see Harbaville, ii. 217. Called "in a less encumbered field" in Yonge, 280.

[10] Peu de gens de traict, Le Fèvre, i. 248; on usoit plus de lances que d'archiers, St Paul, 52. For French king's order to practise archery countermanded, see Schmidt, ii. 246. Yet cf. Douet d'Arcq, i. 395, where a man goes out on Sunday in May 1417, pour voir traite de l'arc au papegant.

as they had were contemptuously crushed out to make way for the glitter of the lances, while great stress was laid on the expected dash of some smart squadrons of horsemen[1] heavily mounted on either wing of the vanguard, whose duty it would be to charge and break up the English archers at the first brunt of onrush[2]. From wing to wing the whole force seems to have extended over a front of about two miles[3] across the narrow space[4] that lies between the woods of Agincourt, and Tramecourt[5], through which alone the English could force their way to Calais.

On the English side the king was up before dawn[6], and having donned his armour and his surcoat beaten with the three leopards[7] of England and the three gold fleur-de-lys of France, he bared his head and heard lauds and mass[8], and then put himself at the head of the main battle

[1] Equitibus hinc inde ex utroque latere praecedentibus, Wals. ii. 311; Hypodig. 464; Tit. Liv. 17; Vita, 62; Choisy, 323, 324. For supposition that these tactics were borrowed from the Scots, see J. E. Morris, 428; like unto two hornes which alwaye backward was broader and broader, Stow, 350.

[2] For to ovyr-ryde our meyne yn the first bront, Brut, ii. 378. Not that they "formed a forlorn hope," as Oman, Hist. 224; a phrase which he applies also to the cavalry at Poitiers, do. Art of War, 628.

[3] Omnes copias militares hostibus appropinquare per duo fere miliaria statuerunt, St Denys, v. 558, but the meaning is somewhat obscure. Called about 2000 yards in Woodford. Cf. in triplo superans Anglica rura viris, Lib. Metr. 120, which seems to mean that their front extended three times the length of that of the English. Rapin (iii. 446) thinks that their front was very narrow and only equal to that of the English; also Tindal, i. 513; Guthrie, ii. 463; Church. 77. In Viollet-le-Duc, Mobilier, vi. 385, they occupy from 7 to 8 kilometres from La Planque to Autricourt with Ruisseauville in their rear. Köhler (ii. 761) reckons the two miles to the rear at Ruisseauville.

[4] Trop estoit estroicte pour combatre tant de gens, Gruel, 17; la place estoit estroicte et très avantageuse pour les Englois, Le Fèvre, i. 252, 253; Waurin, ii. 210, 211; ractains (retenus) en enclos, Cordeliers, 228; campi latitudo non suffecit, Tit. Liv. 17; Vita, 62; locus multitudini inabilis, Pol. Verg. 444. Called "a narrow parallelogram," shut in on either side by the orchards and enclosures of Azincourt and Tramecourt, in Oman, Pol. Hist. 253, who places the English within the south end of it where the width is given as 1200 yards, and the French at the other end towards Ruisseauville where it had narrowed to 900 yards.

[5] In Viollet-le-Duc, Mobilier, vi. 381, the French vanguard battle is well in front of the woods, the second to the rear of the cross-roads. Oman (Pol. Hist. 254) places the French front at the far end of the "parallelogram" (i.e. towards Ruisseauville); also Vickers (28), who thinks that they were "confined within a narrow strip of open ground between two stretches of woodland and huddled together"; see also Historians' Hist. xi. 169, 171.

[6] Not that the battle lasted ab hora prima mane usque post transactum diei medium, as in Kingsford, Lit. 317, 326.

[7] Stant tribus Anglorum leopardis lilia Franca, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 154; the Englysche beste, the Fraynysche floure, J. Page, 34; jupel paint a lupars, Pastoralet, 778; some bare lebardes some bar flour de lys, Chron. Lond. 246. For libard, see York, 391; libdfell, Wylie, iv. 267. For l'etendart aux fleurs de lys et aux leopards, see Bouvier, 43, 44; Belleval, 104.

[8] Le Fevre, i. 244. This seems to Labitte (136) sufficient reason for calling him "le

which was formed up in one unbroken line[1], four deep[2] in front of the wood of Maisoncelles[3]. This done they brought him his basnet encircled with a rich gold crown studded with pearls, sapphires and balais rubies. He then mounted a grey palfrey[4] without his spurs[5], and gave orders that his men should gather in silence[6] in their allotted places with all their banners displayed, conspicuous among them being the king's standard-bearer with the royal standard blazoned with the royal arms, the arms of Our Lady, the Trinity, St Edward and St George[7]. The latter is usually supposed to have been carried by a Westmorland squire, Thomas Strickland, of Helsington (though his account shows that he returned

timide Henri." Mazas (v. 614) followed by Belleval (86), thinks that mass was said in the chapel at Maisoncelles by the Bishop of Bath (see page 136, note 3), who was really at Constance at the time. Macfarlane (33) thinks that three masses were said "for the better accommodation of all"; also Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 31.

[1] Non divisi sed insimul congregati, St Denys, v. 554; ung tropel le plus estroit et amassé qu'il peut, Waurin, ii. 203; Larrey, 812; E. M. Lloyd, 539, who takes this to mean the van, the main body and the rear; ex omnibus turmis *unum* consortissimum bellum instruxit, Blondel, i. 261, writing in 1449. Called "the first example of an English *line* against a French *column*," Fortescue, i. 59; also in the Book of the Army Pageant (1910), Episode 7; sagittarios ad partem unam et homines armorum ad aliam, Dynter, iii. 300; Pol. Verg. 444, who supposes that the archers were on the right, the equites on the left and the king's troops in the middle. Called two lines in Rapin, iii. 447; Tindal, i. 513; Villaret, xiii. 366, 370, where the front is supposed to retire for breath after a good deal of fighting, and the king comes up fresh with the second line; also Henry, v. 41; called diese Schützen-Ritter Phalanx, Delbrück, iii. 483.

[2] Vita, 62; 4 mens thicknes, First Life, 56, who calls the French "30 mens thicknes"; Niethe, 40, who takes this to mean a single row of lances with archers three deep in front of them. Ramsay (i. 216) gives them a frontage of "800 or 900 yards at the most"; called "not more than 1200 yards" in Oman, Art of War, 109; Airy, 144. Ramsay (i. 216) makes them withdraw 300 yards to the rear of the Azincourt-Tramecourt road which he calls "a weak movement," to be explained only by the nature of the ground which "rose very decidedly," though the Ordnance Survey shows that the ground actually falls 6 feet in these 300 yards.

[3] Jähns (859) thinks that they fronted to the north-west "hinter Maisoncelle."

[4] Le Fèvre, i. 251; Waur. ii. 209; candido equo, Tit. Liv. 26; nivei coloris manno nobili, Vita, 61; called "a goodly great horse with certain noble horses led after him" in Stow, 349; "a stately white courser," Guthrie, ii. 464, who gives him a number of led horses with embroidered equipages behind; "a fine white horse," Henry, v. 46; Belleval (87) brings in both the grey palfrey and the magnificent snow-white courser, thinking that he meant to mount the latter when the action began. For fancy picture of him *riding* leisurely in the fight and carrying a huge flapping banner in his own hand, see Low, 40. In the Army Pageant Book (1910), Episode 7, he rides a black horse at the head of his followers who are all mounted.

[5] Rüstow, 105; Niethe, 29, 37; Garnett (in Drayton, 114) thinks that this was probably to show his men that he entertained no thought of flight. For mediaeval spurs, see Jähns, 740.

[6] Sans faire sonner trompectes, Le Fèvre, i. 244; Waurin, ii. 202.

[7] Harflet, 322; Monstr. 374; Wylie, iv. 39.

to England[1] from Harfleur[2]), the wages for whose troops remained unpaid even after the king was dead[3]. The horses with the grooms stood saddled in the rear, and the baggage was packed with the sumpters, the king's pages and the sick[4] at the fringe of the wood[5] under a trifling guard of some 10 or 20 fighting men[6], and accompanied by the clerical army[7] of chaplains, who were charged to celebrate mass and offer unremitting prayer till the fortune of the day should be decided[8].

The king himself took command of the central portion of the main body, throwing out two wings[9] to right and left

[1] Nicolson-Burn, i. 87; Strickland, ii. 117. For his retinue at Agincourt (2+6), see Wylie, Notes, 139. For grant to him (£16. 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum) from funds of the Duchy of Lancaster, see Duc. Lanc. Accts. Various, 27 6. He was afterwards knighted, and made his will at Sandwich as he was crossing to France to attend the coronation of Henry VI in 1430, Test. Vet. 219, in which he prays his wife Mabel to think on Robert his second son and "hold him to the scole." Thomas Strickland had custody of the Lord of Berynger and his son the Lord of Braquemont up till 1417, when he handed them over to Bishop Langley on Oct. 23, 1417, Ewald, xli. 718; Nicolas, 117. For Lyard Strickland among the king's horses in 1415, see Hunter, 54. In the muster-roll of Duke Humphrey, Walter Strickland and John de Ashton, kt. have five archers between them. For their names, see Exch. Accts. 45/13. For receipt dated July 1, 1415, for pre-payment of his men for the first quarter, see Exch. Accts. 44/27, with his seal (i.e. a stag's head with antlers).

[2] Exch. Accts. 45/5 (7); though called ps' (i.e. present) à bataile in Nicolas, 361.

[3] i.e. in 1424, Rym. x. 319; Nicolas, 115, 171, 349, which shows that the king had given him some broken plate in pledge which had been sold when not redeemed within the stated time In the indenture for these pledges he is joined with William Assenhill, kt. (Hunter, 32, 41; called Asenhall or Assenhall in Exch. Accts. 44/27, 45/5 (7), 46/39, with fragment of a seal with the arms of England; not Aschull, as Nicolas, 375), showing that all of his retinue (2+6) except himself were actually present in the battle, and that they ultimately returned to England viâ Calais. For their names, see ibid.; also Exch. Accts. (46), 27, 39.

[4] Le Fèvre, i. 244.

[5] Not "in the village of Agincourt," as Henry, v. 40; Malcolm, 79.

[6] Paucorum custodiis, Tit. Liv. 16; Vita, 60. Called 80 men under Sir John Garrow or Garow in Mazas, Vies, v. 618, 631; "lackeys and boys," Redman, 47; "varlets and lackeys," Halle, 69; Grafton, i. 518; Holinsh. iii. 553; "pages and laundresses," Baker, 171; Sandford, 280; Trussel, 102; Echard, i. 186; "a fewe poor sutlers," Drayton, 88; "boys and scullions," Goodwin, 90; "servants of the camp," Guthrie, ii. 467; "waggoners," Martyn, 185.

[7] Clericali militiae, Gesta; Chron. Giles, 47; Tyler, ii. 163; Church, 75. Cf. Papal Letters, vi. 314, where it means the clergy.

[8] Tit. Liv. 19; Vita, 65. Ruisseauville (141) notes that behind the English army were deux hommes ensi comme religieux et avoient grans caperons a grande coquille et lisoient sur leurs livres et tous dis faisant croix seur les engles tant comme li bataille dura.

[9] Or "sleeves," Smythe, 29; hys bataile and weengys, MS. Lambeth 84, f. 194; not that they were composed entirely of archers, as Redman, 43; Halle, 67; Grafton, i. 516; Holinsh. iii. 553; Baker, 170; Sandford, 382; Hastings, 41; Bibl. Top. Brit. iv. 9, 93; Henry, v. 40; Church, 77. Called "billmen and pikemen," Oman, 109; Airy, i. 144; or "three divisions and two wings but in such close array that the whole appeared but as one body," Cassell, i. 531; three central divisions of Archers and such as were armed with Spears and Halbards and Bills, Tindal, i. 513. Hassell (225) thinks that the army consisted of three small bodies *each* flanked with two wings of archers; also Oman, Hundred Years' War, 108; or three central divisions and two wings, Henty, 343.

in echelon[1], which he placed under the Duke of York[2] and Lord Camoys[3] respectively. Spanning his whole front[4] and circling it from flank to flank like a crown[5] were placed the archers, clumped in triangular wedges[6], each block being ranged in masses of about 200 men each[7] in the usual open order[8] like a hearse[9] or harrow[10], with the apex trending

[1] Gesta, 50; Chron. Giles, 44; Tit. Liv. 19; Lloyd, 63, 71. Called ung avant garde et une grosse bataille, Fenin, 63; Devienne, Artois, thinks that there were two divisions under the king and the Duke of York respectively.

[2] Not the Duke of Exeter, as Halle, 67; Redman, 43; Grafton, i. 516; Holinsh. iii. 553; Dugd. ii. 126; Baker, 170 (where this portion consists of "all sorts of weapons"); Guthrie, ii. 465; Henty, v. 40. For story that the Duke of York went down on his knees and begged "to be before you in the feld, the foreward (or vaward) this day that ye graunt me," see Harflet, 321; Caxton, Chron. 145; Brut, ii. 378, 554, where the king "had a mystrust" in the Duke.

[3] Not "Canyse" or "Cannis," as Köhler, ii. 766. For his indenture of jewels (June 6, 1415), see Exch. Accts. 45/21 (70). For his retinue (30+60), see Nicolas, 374; Wylie, Notes, 128; with their names in Exch. Accts. 47/13; W. D. Cooper, 135. For his arms, see Ashmole, 710 (edition 1672). For his brass at Trotton, see Wylie, ii. 411; Macklin, 145, where his death is dated March 28, 1419, i.e. 1420; not 1421, as in Comp. Peer. ii. 508; nor 1424, as Purey-Cust, Collar, 24. For tomb of Isabel wife of Thomas Camoys (d. 1444) in the Grey Friars' Church in London, see Coll. Top. Gen. v. 280. His wife Elizabeth Mortimer died in 1417, Inq. p. Mort. iv. 28; Mayo, i. p. xlviii; called "an old and very slovenly list" in Comp. Peer. ii. 508, 512, where it is suggested that "Thomas" is a mistake for Roger.

[4] In fronte aciei regiae, St Denys, v. 560; tous ses archiers devant, Fenin, 63; au front devant, Monstr. 374; Waur. ii. 212, who adds "en deux hesles" (i.e. wings) or "elles," Le Fèvre, i. 253; J. E. Morris, Archers, 435; cf. aux deux costez des hommes d'armes, Waurin, ii. 203; Le Fèvre, i. 245; dextris et sinistris fecit anteire, Wals. ii. 312; Hypodig. 465.

[5] Ad instar corone, St Denys, v. 564.

[6] Intermiscuisset (or intermisisset, Chron. Giles, 44) cuneos sagittariorum cuilibet aciei, Gesta, 50; his intermisit turmas simul simul arcitentum, Lib. Metr. 120; dreieckige Unterstützungstruppe, Jähns, 859; Oman, in Traill, ii. 175, 323; Kingsford, 199. Not in one solid wedge in front, as Sat. Rev. (1883), lvi. 528; Macfarlane, 33; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 81; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 569; nor in a square, as Hauteclocque, 285; Capefigue, iv. 43 (who thinks that the superiority of the English archers consisted in their being exercés à se mouvoir en bons de lances while the French archers formed up anyhow); nor "two deep," as Airy, i. 144, who places them "in front and in the woods." For caution that "it is not safe to regard *cuneus* as decisive of the shape," see Lloyd, 539; Scott, ii. 543; e.g. Wals. ii. 311, where "inter utrumque cuneum" simply means "between both armies."

[7] i.e. from 20 to 35 in front and 7 or 8 files in depth, Smythe, 30; Lloyd, 65. Ramsay (ii. 214) thinks there were six wedges of archers, two to each battalion, or perhaps only four; Kingsford, 136, 146, who supposes 600 or 700 archers in each; also Strang, 89; Köhler (ii. 363) thinks there were 500 or 1000 in each group; called "wedges mixed between in three divisions," J. E. Morris, Crécy, 434; Scott (ii. 552) supposes there were only two and places them in front between the wings and the main body.

[8] Called "3 hollow wedges," J. E. Morris, 429; see illustration in Viollet-le-Duc.

Ses echeles trop bien compasse,
En y donnant certaine espasse,
En longe et en lé sans attente. Pastoralet, 768.

Nec a sociis nimium constipati, St Denys, v. 562. For supposition that there were at least two yards between each man, see George, Archers, 735. Called in geschlossener Ordnung doch mit Intervallen zwischen den Rotten um den rottenweisen Contremarsch ausführren zu können, Jähns, 846.

[9] En herse, Viollet-le-Duc, Mobilier, vi. 375, with diagram. For derivation from

[10] For note, see next page.

inwards[1], thus presenting broad volleying faces in every direction. Each archer carried his sharpened stake[2] as he had been trained to do since the day on which they crossed the Somme, and as he took his place he pitched one end of it a-slope[3] into the soft rain-sodden ground beside him, while the other end stood out knee-high to break the onrush of the mounted French[4].

A recent writer has noted that "unfortunately the tactics of the archers were not committed to paper by any scientific soldier[5]," but we know enough of their bearing and equipment to enable us to estimate the value of their services on that memorable day. Trained from their boyhood[6] by

hirpex (harrow) or herisson (i.e. ericius, hedgehog), see Lloyd, 65; do. Herse, 540; H. B. George, Archers, 737. For herce vollante (i.e. portcullis), see Amiot, 127; Lottin, i. 181; Du Cange, s.v. *Hersa*, *Hercius*, *Ericia*; en la maniere d'un escut, Chronicle of Valenciennes in Lettenhove, Froiss. v. 474; J. E. Morris, Crécy, 432. For the harrow-shaped formation at Créci and Poitiers, see Lingard, iii. 69, 84, 123. Called a herse or triangle, Long, lxxxiv, 316. For herse=a narrow, generally triangular or pyramidal instrument, upon the points of which candles are fixed, see Scott, ii. 546.

[10] For a contemporary picture of a harrow , see Delisle, Heures, 36 plates; Grande Encycl. vi. 420, from Chantilly, Hours; Durrieu, Très riches Heures, Plate x. "Not necessarily pointed but perhaps somewhat flattened," J. E. Morris, Crécy, 429. For herse=harrow, see Paradin, 225, 238; Niethe, 37, 40; Delbrück, iii. 470, who picture it as schachbrettfirmig, i.e. checkerwise or dambrod; see Jamieson, s.v.; also Czephan, 106.

[1] "Broad in front and narrow in flank," Smythe, 30; H. B. George, Archers, 735; Lloyd, 65; do. Herse, 540; Kingsford, 199; "with the broad end to the foe," Sat. Rev. 1883, lvi. 528; E. M. Lloyd, Herse, 538, quoting G. Daniel, Milice, i. 220. Called "wedges pointing towards the enemy," Vickers, 29; or "with their fronts thrown forward at an angle," George, Archers, 733; Kingsford, 200; Morris (429), who thinks that the heaviest volleys came from the apex of each wedge.

[2] See page 126; cf. ayant chascun ung picuchon (not peuchon, as J. E. Morris, 436) devant eulx aguisé et fiché en terre, Monstr. iv. 193 (i.e. at Verneuil in 1424); also chascun un pal planté devant eulx, Cummynes, i. 33, i.e. at Montlhéry in 1465; Lachauvelaye, ii. 122; see Godefroy, s.v. *Pauchon*.

Stakes he hewe down in a wood
Beforn our archers pyght them on hy. Harflet, 319.

Nicolas, App. 75; Peter, Chron. 487; unusquisque affigeret ante se a fronte palum suum et alii alios intermedios, Gesta, 42; Chron. Giles, 37, where the stakes are said to be 6 feet long; cf. Hard. 391; York, xxiii; J. S. Gardner, 47; called 3½ feet in Rüstow, 107; 2 metres in Delbrück, iii. 481; or 11 feet in Fortescue, i. 56; de sudibus quomodo ordinati sunt, Capgr. De Illustr. 116; eussent devant eulx les pels qu'ils ont accoustumé de porter, Clèves, 81. In a clever picture by J. Hassall in "The Sphere," April 1, 1911, the archers stand in a long irregular line in front of the lances each carrying an immense balk of timber from 7 to 8 feet long, their bows being of about the same length.

[3] Caxton, 226; Brut, ii. 378, 555; Speed, 779.

[4] Not the foot-charge, as Rastell, 249; peuchons pour faire haie, Godefroy, vi. 43 (1412); septis sive vallo, Pol. Verg. 444, who says that the English still follow this method (i.e. temp. Henry VIII) to keep off cavalry; "like an edge," Halle, 67, who fancies that the whole army was hedged about with the stakes, and calls it "a device then first attempted"; cf. Grafton, i. 517; Holinsh. iii. 553.

[5] Cockle, vi.

[6] i.e. from 12 years of age, Barrington, 61.

constant practice at the bowmarks that were fixed near every parish church[1], these quick-eyed clever longbowmen could hit the prick[2] or the oyster-shell[3] in the centre of the butt with the nicety of a Thames fisherman garfangling[4] an eel, while for nimble readiness[5] in the field they stood unrivalled in the western world[6]. These were no rich landlords or high-born squires[7], but unnamed rustic yeomen[8] who formed the strength of England's hardihood[9]. They wore no cumbering armour about the chest[10] but a loose-fitting jack belted at the waist, and nothing on their head but a wicker brain-cap stretched over with querbole or pitched leather and strengthened in the crown with two

[1] For statute of James I of Scotland (1424) "that elk man busk them to be archeres, and that there be made bowmerk' and specially nere paroche kirke," see Acts of Parliament of Scotland, ii. 6; Barrington, 61, also 1457, 1474, 1491. For proclamations of 1363, 1365, 1388, that archery and nothing else must be practised on Sundays and Feast-days to the exclusion of "idle games," see Rym. vi. 417; Stat. ii. 57; Grose, Mil. Antiq. i. 134, 135; Lingard, iii. 123. For similar proclamations of Charles V, King of France, May 23, 1369, see Wylie, ii. 144, note 2. For the statute of Cambridge, 1388, see Stat. ii. 57, 163; Rot. Parl. iii. 643; Fortescue (Plummer), 282; not 1389, as Kingsford, 202; with order dated May 4, 1414, Letter Book I, p. 125. It enacted que toutz servantz et labourers euent Arkes et sectes (i.e. arrows) et les usent le Dymenge et jours de Festes el lessent les Jeues as Pelotes si bien a main comes a pel et les autres Jeues appellez coites, Dys, gettre de Peer, Kayles, etc. of Cloishe, Kaylez [half-Kewle], Hondyn, Hondoute, Quekebord (i.e. quakeboard), Stat. ii. 57; Wylie, ii. 144; iv. 350. For closh or clash (i.e. nine-pins), see Stat. iii. 840; Barnard, 236; closheys of yvery, Archaeologia, xxvi. 277; Tighe and Davies, i. 368; Marshall, 210. For quoits and kettle-pins, see G. Daniel, iv. 141. For return to archery recommended in 1792, see Scott, ii. 110. For archers introduced by Edward I, see Delbrück, iii. 472.

[2] See App. L.

[3] See App. L.

[4] Halliwell, i. 392; Murray, Dict., s.v.

[5] Rades et apers, Pays-Bas, 353.

[6]
By bowe and Arwis sith the warr' began,
Have ynglysshmen as it is red in story,
On her enmyes had many gret victory. Pol. Relig. Po. 24.

Les Anglois qui sont la fleur des archiers du monde, Commines, i. 31; Capefigue, iv. 43; Loserth, Gesch. 550; Mazas (Cours, ii. 174), who believes (p. 175) that they were Gascons. Roujoux (ii. 176) thinks that some of them were Scotch; Lettenhove (iii. 89) that they were Welsh.

[7] England whereoff the myght stondeth most uppon archers wich be no rich men, Fortescue (Plummer), 137, 138; Kingsford, 201.

[8] Anglica rusticitas, Blondel, i. 261, 443; gens exercitez et adurez à la guerre, ibid. 318; in rusticos Angliae sagittarios in quibus Angliae ducum maxima victoriae spes est, Blondel, Reductio, 48; cf. zemen (i.e. yeomen) with bent bowes, Kail, 65; "une obscure soldatesque," Lachauvelaye, 122; "mostly peasants," Tyrrell, 291 [171].

[9] La defense de ceste terre estoise meult par archers, Stat. ii. 462, etc.; actez victoriousez ount estez faitz en defense du (*sic*) ceste roialme, ibid. ii. 472; the which shotyng in grete necessitees hath bee grete defence to this your Reame both inward and outward, Rot. Parl. vi. 156. In Bouvier, Descr. 119, England is fort peuplé de gens et sont bons archiers.

[10]
Ther men myzth men see archerys good,
Cast from them both gown and hood,
The better for to schote. Pol. Songs, ii. 155.

Perlevi armaturâ-tecti, St Denys, v. 562; legièrement armés, Trahisons, 129. Labitte (137) thinks that they were "seulement cuirassés," adding that they were "sans fusils"!

crossbands of iron, while for liberty of limb they went almost barefoot or with leathern hose rolled down and fastened with a point at the knee, and when they rode they had inferior mounts lest they should be tempted to spare their horses rather than risk the loss of them[1]. Each man carried a sheaf of from two to four dozen arrows[2] in his belt[3] either with or without a quiver, besides a hanger, a gisarme or a leaded club, to be used when his stock of arrows had run out. The arrow, which was of ash[4], was a cloth-yard long[5], barbed with an iron head[6] and winged with goose feathers[7] at the notch. The supply of them was enormous[8] and cartloads were always kept at hand in

[1] Que ce soient gens mal montés se que ils n'aient point de regret à perdre leurs chevaux, Commines, i. 31, quoted in Delbrück, iii. 471.

[2] Grose, Mil. Antiq. i. 138; Köhler, ii. 363. For 12 arrows in the girdle, see W. Scott, Tales, 226. For 24 or 25, see J. E. Morris, 88, 99; Ffoulkes, 107. For "brodarwes" (sagittarum largarum), see Rym. vi. 749; v. "shepearwes," ibid. xi. 838 (s. parvarum, ibid. vii. 415).

[3] Under his belt he bore full thriftily, Chauc. Prol. 104. In the Rous picture (circ. 1485) of the battle of Shrewsbury the archers carry arrows in their belts without a quiver, Gardiner, 294; Scott, ii. 88; see also De Witt, 213; Ffoulkes, 66; Brett, 107 (fancy).

[4] Stat. ii. 196, 416; Gallwey, 126. Cf. "his takle of ashyn wandes," Laud Troy Book, 378; i.e. 4 H. V, cap. 3, which forbids the use of ash for "patyns ne doggs"; Jähns, 757; Scott, ii. 104; Barrington, 65.

[5] An arrow that a cloth yard was long, Chevy Chase (R. Bell), 88; Bates, Northumberland, 189; Drayton, Bat. 97. For yard-shaft, see Wylie, ii. 325, 469, note 7; Bibl. Top. Brit. iv. 88; for "met wand" or mete wand, Gardiner, Hist. 361; Sir E. Coke, in Dict. Nat. Biogr. xi. 331; "meterod," Halliwell, i. 552.

[6] For sagitta acerata (i.e. tipped with steel), temp. Edward III, see Grose, i. 137. For saiettes barbues at Crecy, see Köhler, ii. 361; York, Plates XLIV, XLV, showing the turnip-shaped bulb, ibid. 121. For arrows 1 oz. in weight, see Barrington, 65.

[7] For "the crooked stick and grey goose wing" but for which "England were but a fling," see J. R. Green, 261. For order to sheriffs to have six tail feathers plucked from every goose except those that were breeding (reading "brode-ges" for "brodoges"), see Rym. ix. 436, 653; Archaeologia, vii. 48; Scott, ii. 105; Barrington, 52; though the best for flight were those that dropped of themselves, Archaeol. vii. 65; Barrington, 65. For the wing feathers, see Grose, i. 138. For 18*s.* 2*d.* paid for 6 doz. arrows winged with peacock's feathers, and 8*s.* 8*d.* for 6 doz. barbed bolts presented to Bishop Beaufort in 1415, see Kirby, Winchester, 177. For 1325 pennar d'oe qui bien doivent valoir 14,000 pennes d'oe, see Bréard, 77; chascun millier de pennes doit empenner j millier d'artillerie, ibid. 151.

> For fetherid Arwes as I reherse can,
> Goos is the best as in comparisoun,
> Except fetheris of Pekok or of swan.

Pol. Relig. Po. 24, attributed to Lydgate in MacCracken, p. xvi. Cf. a sheef of peacock arwes bright and kene, Chauc. Prol. 104; Grose, i. 139; Jähns, 845; gode quareles federed with po (i.e. peacock, Halliwell, ii. 633), Kempe, 19; Laud Troy Book, 204; supposed to be "for gaynes," Roger Ascham, Toxophilus, quoted in Ffoulkes, 107; culled the hard red feathers from the peacock's wing, Scottish Hist. Rev. vii. 189. Cf. "fetheris of pecok," Lydg. Troy Book, 435; plumés de plumes de paon ou d'aigle, Delisle, Agrie, 489; Scott, ii. 105; some arrows were winged with parchment, Fortescue (Plummer), 238.

[8] For order to sheriffs (Dec. 1, 1418) to supply 1,190,000 goose feathers by Michaelmas, see Rym. ix. 653; not 1,290,000, as Kingsford, 207.

readiness for refills, and when the archer bent his great six foot bow and brought the string full up to his ear, he volleyed into his enemy with amazing speed and deadly aim even at distances of 200 or 300 yards away[1], so that the air was darkened as with a cloud[2].

Having thus disposed his forces the English king stood waiting for attack and watching the movements of his enemy. But as yet the Frenchmen showed no readiness to begin. The ground had been of their own choosing and they could well afford to bide their time. Many of them had passed a sleepless night[3], and the near prospect of hard fighting inclined them to improve the hour by resting both in mind and body[4]. As they ate and drank their hasty morning meal[5] together, they besought each other's forgiveness for any grudges of the past, and one who was present at the scene records the tenderness with which they fell on each other's necks, and how all jars and discords of the past were changed to perfect amity and love[6].

It was now past nine o'clock[7] and the two armies had

[1] i.e. 8, 9, 10 or 11 scores, Smythe, 30. For 11 score + 7 = 229 yards, see Barrington, 64. Called 150 yards in C. R. L. Fletcher, 236; 200 or 250 Schritt, Jähns, 758; 220 yards, Froude, i. 67; 300 yards, Traill, ii. 173; 350 yards, Strang, 43; 300 or 400 yards, Kingsford, 201; George, Battles, 51; Delachenal, i. 219; "a prodigious distance," W. Scott, Tales, 226; more than 600 feet for heavy arrows and double that distance for light ones, Jähns, 848. For argument in the beginning of the 17th century that the bow was superior to the musket or harquebuze, the former on account of the smoke, see Smythe, 27.

[2] Cf. tyrer si dru et si espes qu'il estoit advis aux regardants que ce feust une espesse nuee, Waurin, ii. 63 (i.e. at Shrewsbury, 1403); al the Eyr with schot of arowis kene I shadewed was, Lydg. Troy Book, 376; began the shotte to be grette and thick as snow in the ayer, Melusine, 230; Marco Polo, i. 301, 305; the sonne vixith all darke whan they begynnyth to sote, Secreta, 176. For the Geschosshagel of the bowmen at Jaffa (1192), see Delbrück, iii. 422; wie die Schneeflocken, ibid. iii. 474.

[3] In Pays-Bas, 356, it is said that they had been in the saddle all night to keep their armour clean; also Sandford, 28; Michelet, vi. 29; Yonge, 277; for fear of spoiling their armour in the mud, K. Stephens, 130. Choisy (324) thinks they had had nothing to eat and had kept shouting all night to keep themselves warm with their feet in pools of water.

[4] Reposons icy les esperitz, Waur. ii. 207; Le Fèvre, i. 249; though not in Monstr. 374; cf. Halle, 65. For a story of some of them being surprised while yet asleep after the battle had begun, see Choisy, 325.

[5] Hennebert (iii. 326) thinks that they were bien refraichis. In Lingard, iii. 497, they are "sitting on the spongy ground."

[6] Mazas (Vies, v. 618) thinks that this "accolade" was a reconciliation brought about by the exhortations of Boucicaud.

[7] Inter horam diei nonam et decimam, St Denys, v. 560; Monstr. 374; apres huiet heures du matin, Juv. 520; l'eure de tièrce, Gruel, 17; a l'heure de X heures, Ruisseauville, 139; Rapin, i. 451; Tindal, i. 514; Henry, v. 41; sur les onze heures, Bouvier, 429; Martin, vi. 17; Pauli, v. 120; Masson, 242; Oman, 110; Bright, i. 295; Airy, i. 144; Dict. Nat. Biogr. xxvi. 48; cf. it is ny prime, Harflet, 321; App. 76; Powell, 302; "ner pryme," Brie, 71; Brut, ii. 378, 555, 596. Called "between 10 and 11" in

stood eyeing each other[1] for some three hours[2], neither venturing to be the first to move. To Henry such delay meant death[3]. His stock of food was long ago exhausted[4] and no threats of pillage could now avail him to replenish it. His forward march was barred, he had a hostile country in his rear[5], and his army could not live out another such night and day. Moreover his men's blood was up, for word had passed that the Frenchmen meant to give no quarter save to the king and his nobles, for whose captivity, as we have seen[6], they had already begun to make arrangements, while the rumour ran[7] that they would cut off every archer's right hand[8] and sell the best fingers[9] at a blanc a-piece[10] or the others at six a penny[11]. So in his desperation he resolved to force the attack, sending word to the priests and sutlers[12] to close up with the baggage and follow hard in the rear[13]. At this supreme moment we who read the story

Nicolas, 119; Jähns, 860; not "nearly noon," as Meyer, 246; Choisy, 324, 325; Wright, i. 472; Brett, 31; nor circa horam diei terciam, as Kirkstall, Chron. 286, where the battle lasts usque ad horam vesperarum.

[1] Cf. ayther was on other brym, Laud Troy Book, 503; i.e. in heat, Halliwell, i. 209; see Murray, Dict., s.v. *Breme.*

[2] Not "a great part of the day," as Carte, ii. 680; nor "einen halben Tag," as Delbrück, iii. 477.

[3] Anglis mora nocebat, Meyer, 246; he sawe he must nedes with theim make afraye, Hard. 375. Guthrie (ii. 463) makes the English continue in order of battle "for some days"; i.e. from Oct. 20 to 25, with the king encouraging his men on horseback "for whole days," ibid. 464.

[4] In commeatuum inopiâ summâ, Tit. Liv. 18; Vita, 64; infra triduum ante nisi panem pro cibo et aquam pro potu habuissent, Niem, 36; Raynaldi, viii. 438; trop fiblez pur defaute de vitaille, Rot. Parl. iv. 70, March 16, 1416.

[5] Oman (Hist. 224) adds that they had the flooded Somme in their rear. But it was more than 30 miles away.

[6] Page 139.

[7] Villaret (xiii. 363) thinks that the rumour was spread by Henry himself; also Devienne, Artois, iii. 43; "ajoutant lâchement," Labitte, 137.

[8] And stryke of every Archer is ryzt hond, Harflet, 318; vel membris irrestaurabiliter mutilaturos, Wals. ii. 310; Hypodig. 463; in mortes vel mutilationes eorum, Wals. ii. 312; Hypodig. 465.

[9] Called the thumbs in Goodwin, 86. Cf. "cut off the thumbs of every one of you," Halliwell, Letters, i. 85, from "a Latin contemporary history of the period, an early manuscript of which is in the Library of All Souls College at Oxford," i.e. MS. xlii or xlvii, Coxe, ii. 13, 15. This appears to be from the speech of Henry in St Denys, v. 554, translated in Laboureur, 1008, and much expanded in Halliwell who calls it a "Letter of Proclamation of Henry V."

[10] Chron. R. II–Henry VI, p. 41; every archer for a blank, Brut, ii. (378), 555.

[11] Waur. ii. 204; Le Fèvre, i. 246.

That sex all of the best bowemen,
All for a blanke of owre mone. Harflet, 318.

Nicolas, 107; Kabel, 8; not "won mone," as Adams, Battle Stories, 104; six for a peny of our monye, Harflet, App. 75.

[12] Goodwin, 90. Not "eine Wagenburg," as Rüstow, 106.

[13] Mandans posterius evectio curribus ut sit, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 120. Not that they

can yet feel the flutter of the chaplain's heart as he sat his horse amongst the carts and summage[1] and prayed that God would have compassion upon England and not suffer those prayers and tears to perish which her church at home had shed and still was shedding for their safety, but that her king's devotion to her increase and to God's service might in pity be spared in this his hour of peril. And even as the churchmen prayed, the king had signalled "Forward banner[2]! in the name of Jesus[3], Mary and St George[4]!" when to their great joy they saw that the French were moving forward too[5]. For a moment every man kneeled thrice[6] and kissed the ground[7], taking a pinch of the soil on his lips[8] as his last earth-housel[9] as the

were "in the village" which is quite surrounded by the wood; or in the farms and enclosures, as S. Turner, v. 440, 442; Schmidt, ii. 251; or "in the rear of the wood at Maisoncelles," as Church, 74, 78; or "in the village of Agincourt," as Hastings, 41.

[1] Melusine, 194. Cf. sommager, Normandie, 170; Speed, 780; inter evectiones, Gesta, 51; Chron. Giles, 45; cf. Du Cange, s.v. *Evectio*; equi et evectiones aliae necessariae, Gesta, 14; not "erectiones," as Chron. Giles, 14; cf. "sommage cartys charyotes and bagage," Melusine, 234; Cent. Dict., s.v. *Summage*.

[2] Avaunt baner, Harflet, 322; Gesta, 51; signa praecedant, Tit. Liv. 19; avaunt banere in the best time of the yere! Chron. Lond. 159; Kingsford, Chron. 119. Called Banners advance! in Brett, 31. For "baner" (i.e. banner-bearer), see Brett, 53; "avaunt baner! and Saynt George this day thyn helpe!" Brut, ii. 378, 555, 596.

[3] Cf. For the love of swete Jhesu helpe mayntene
Inglandes ryght this day. Pol. Songs, ii. 124.

[4] Waurin, ii. 209. For the English battle-cry of "Guienne St George!" answered by "Montjoie St Denys!" from the French at Valady in Rouergue in 1369, see Rouquette, 199. Cf. "Mountjoy St Dennis!" in Fam. Vict. 41. For personal names as cris d'armes, see Roger, 43; cf. St George! qui estoit le cri des Anglois, Juv. 558.

[5] Gesta, 51; Chron. Giles, 45; First Life, 59; after a little pause they both advance, Boyle, 4. Belleval (100) thinks that the French were surpris par un mouvement si brusque et inattendue; not that they "withdrew somewhat to the north," as Tout, 265. For supposition that the French left the English to begin, see Lachauvelaye, ii. 124. J. S. Gardner (48) thinks the French "seated themselves and refused to advance." Oman (110) thinks that the French both horse and foot were the first to attack, making them "pass the village of Agincourt" and then "find themselves between the woods" and on the ploughland over which they struggle for a few hundred yards before the English make any move at all. Vickers (30) makes the English advance to within half-a-mile of them and then halt.

[6] Trinâ vice, Kingsford, Lit. 317, 326.

[7] In Lambeth MS. 84, fol. 194, each man makes a cross on the ground and kisses it in tokenynge that "we wole radyr dye on this erthe than flee"; also Brut, ii. 596, written circ. 1479; Kingsford, Lit. 125; "a sign of consecration to the great duty of the day," Cassell, i. 532; cf. um sich so dem Siege oder dem Tode zu geloben, Jähns, 860.

[8] Harflet, 321; telluris particulâ in ore receptâ, Tit. Liv. 19; Vita, 65. For account of the battle of Courtrai, July 11, 1302, see Delbrück, iii. 439–447; Duruy, i. 332; Lloyd, 53; also in a mock chronicle headed "Passio Francorum secundum Flemings," see Usk, 107–110, who copied it out of a book that he saw in the monastery of Eeckhout at Bruges in Nov. 1406. Cf.

Eche man destrye his best frend,
So dede Flaundres how dull it wende,
Of nobley they have lost the town.

Kail, 53 (written temp. H. V). Probably refers to the battle of Courtrai and the Chaperons

[9] For note, see next page.

mediaeval soldier was wont to do when dying on the field of battle[1], and so they "put them in the mercy of God[2]." As they rose Sir Thomas Erpingham[3], who, though growing grey with age, had been marshalling the line[4] with two other captains and heartening up the men, flung his warder into the air[5] and the word rang out to the archers: "Knee! Stretch[6]!" drums and nakers beat, horns and pipes brayed, the clarioners and trumpers blew up, and the whole English host gave three wild whoops of their mingled battle-cries[7]

blancs at the battle of Bruges, May 3, 1382 (Duruy, i. 404), under Philippe d'Artevelde; cias uno prese uno poco di terra et la misse in bocca, G. Villani in Muratori, xiii. 385, of the Flemings at Courtrai, see Sponde, i. 471 (edition 1641); Lingard, iii. 246; Cassell, i. 532; Labitte, 141; Duruy, i. 332; Niethe, 48, who calls it an Analogiebildung transferred bodily from the story of Courtrai. For Sir Brian Tunstall at Flodden, see Archaeol. Oel. N.S. iii. 217, quoted in Scott, ii. 554.

[9] Comme indignes de recevoir le sacrement, Champion, Vie, 148; loco sacramenti, Aen. Sylv. Orat. iii. 193; do. in Panormita, 141; do. De dictis et factis Alfonsi, lib. 3; ob memoriam sacramenti Eucharistiae, Nauclerus, ii. 272 C (edition 1514); Sponde, ii. 223 (edition 1641), quoting Nauclerus, Gener. 48; in remembrance of the wholie Communion, First Life, 59; Stow, 349; Speed, 780; in lieu of the consecrated wafer, Long, lxxxiv. 466; in token of his desire to receive the sacrament of the Eucharist, Musgrave, 291; Airy, i. 144; in remembrance that they were mortal, Aubrey, ii. 48; pour montrer qu'ils étaient décidés à redevenir terre, Mazas, Vies, v. 623; Nicolas, 120, 240; Tyler, ii. 168; Yonge, 2; Knight, ii. 63; Historians' Hist xviii. 534; Adams, i. 227; in token that they were but as dust in the sight of God, Towle, 332; in token of their reconciliation to God, Kingsford, 150. Belleval (100) prefers to think that they did it to increase the saliva to moisten the notches of their arrows! (*augmenta la salivation*).

[1] For examples, see Athenaeum, June 7, July 19, 1902, quoting "Give me mood (i.e. mould) with thy hand," from Robin Hood his Death in Percy MS. Hales and Furnivall, i. 57, where it is supposed to mean "courage" (*Muth*). For the "housel of grass," cf.

Prist des herbes od tut la flur,
Issi le fist acomenger.

Gaimar, Lestorie des Englois, i. 270, in Chron. and Mem. of the death of William Rufus; cf. Freeman, Rufus, ii. 331.

[2] Brut, ii. 555.

[3] Cf.

Erpyngham he came hym with
Her manhod holp us welle that day.
Pol. Songs, ii. 126.

Sire Thomas Erpyngham that nevere dide faille. Harflet, 315.

[4] His batail ranged, Coudrette, 81.

[5] Wafting his warder thries about his head, Drayton, 58; called a truncheon in Biondi, 119; not his gauntlet, as Martyn, 184; nor one of the stakes, as Belleval, 91, 99.

[6] "Ne strecke," which perhaps betrays the Picard patois (see Blanche Tache); Nestraque, Bulletin Soc. Antiq. de la Morinie, vi. 79; Monstr. 375; "Nestroeg" or "Nestrongue," Waur. ii. 212; "Nestroque," Dupleix, ii. 173; usually interpreted as "Strike now!" Brut, 31; or "Now Strike," Strang, 93; York, xxiv; Champion, Vie, 148; or "now stretch!" Boulé, i. 422; or "now stricke!" as Niethe, 48; cf. "Do and bete on ffaste," Pol. Songs, ii. 124; Kingsford, Chron. 120. In Bull. Hist. Soc. Antiq. de la Morinie, vi. 78, "Nestroque" is said to be "la devise d'une famille anglaise," but no name is given. Halle (68) supposes it to have been a signal to the 200 archers whom he places "in the meadow"; also Holinsh. iii. 554. Cf. Clamavit "Bawes! Bawes!" i.e. to call up the bowmen, Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 287. For picture of an archer with arrows in belt, knee bent and string stretched, fr. Royal MS. 14 E. iv, see Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 682.

[7] "Huées," Boutaric, 301; cf. "hue et cri," Stat. i. 97. For war-cries of the French such as "Passavant," "Brose," "Au bruit," "Au feu," "Chevaliers pleuvrent," "Cans

with a frenzy that made the Frenchmen marvel[1]. The French plan had been to place 600 picked horsemen on either wing[2], who were to charge down upon the archers, trample them and drive them in[3] and then roll up the main body by mere weight of numbers[4]. But here as elsewhere French indiscipline prevailed. Only 300[5] of these horsemen were at their post on the right wing at Agincourt and less than half that number[6] at Tramecourt on the left. But when they launched across in answer to the English shout[7], they had not counted on clay furrows neshed[8] with rain[9],

(i.e. chants) d'oyseaulx," "Dieu aide au premier Chrétien," see Montfaucon, iii. 271; Bouvier, 46–49; "Monjoie sans blame! vive Bourgogne!" Rouyer, 31, 142. Cf. Que tu criassas "Monjoie!" par Liesse, Champollion-Figeac, Poésies, 173. For "Prény! prény!" as crie de guerre of the Lorrainers in 1407, see C. Pfister, i. 299; "Rouol (i.e. Rollo) au vaillant Duc!" (Normandy); "Malo au riche duc!" (Brittany).

[1] Commenchierent a braire a cryer et a huer par trois fois, Ruisseauville, 139; Le Fèvre, i. 253; Waur. ii. 122; grant noise et grant huée, ibid. iii. 112 [75] (Verneuil, 1424); ingens nostratum clamor, Wals. ii. 312; Hypodig. 466; jettans grands cris, Bouvier, 430; maximo clamore, Tit. Liv. 19; Vita, 65; clamorem satis horrendum tollentes, Basin, i. 22; se prendrent de trapper et de braire, Martial, 21; Champollion-Figeac, Louis et Charles, 298; cantu terrifico, Tit. Liv. 13, of the French at Corbie. For the Archeris and Criours with horribil voices, see Secreta, 215.

[2] Page 146, note 1; Bouvier, 430; Dynter, iii. 300, 750; Rymkron. iii. 216; Pauavels (243) places them in front. Gruel (17), who had his account from the Count of Richmond, says 1000 Lombards and Genoese. Monstr. (374) puts 1600 on one wing under the Count of Vendôme and 800 on the other under Clignet de Breban, with similar numbers in the 2nd line; called 200 in Impens. 356; also Le Fèvre, i. 218; Waur. ii. 206; Halle, 65; Lachauvelaye, 123; York, xxiv; Grafton, i. 516. Lingard (iii. 499) gives 800 altogether. Durienne (Artois, iii. 43) calls this the front line commanded by "Brebant et Savense" (see Waurin, i. 213), putting all the great nobles into the 2nd line. Called "Messire Clignet of Brabant" in Cassell, i. 533. Guthrie (ii. 465) puts them all in the front and calls them "2400 horse all covered over with a lobster-like armour."

[3] Pour brisier le trait, Ruisseauville, 140. For supposition that 1200 charged and only 160 reached the enemy, see Sismondi, xii. 485; Yonge, 279; or 120, Duruy, i. 421. Low (40) reduces the 160 to 3. Hastings (42) thinks that 2400 were killed or wounded "in the first discharge of arrows"; Towle (333), that they "advanced with 800 and fell back with 150."

[4] Wals. ii. 312; Hypodig. 465. Cf. in overrydynge of their adversaryes by force of speremen, Fab. 579.

[5] Norm. Chron. Hellot, 19; do. Williams, 170; Le Fèvre, i. 255; Waur. ii. 214.

[6] Called 80 in Le Fèvre, i. 255; 140 in Monstr. 375; Dupleix, ii. 713; or 150 in Nicolas, 121; or 40 out of 400 in Juv. 520; Montfaucon, iii. 164; sans doute il n'en y a la que un peu, Ruisseauville, 140; not 140 of the whole number, as Lingard, iii. 499. Ramsay (i. 220) thinks that only a small portion of them "could get to the front for want of room," which would certainly be the case if his plan were correct (p. 214).

[7] Carte (ii. 680) supposes that the English were within 20 paces of Agincourt before "the French gens d'armes on horseback" began to move. Belleval (100) thinks that only six Frenchmen were able to charge, all the rest being up to their knees in mud.

[8] York, 29, 73. Cf. both in neysshe and eke in hard, Dyboski, 83; made her bones nesche and souple, Laud Troy Book, 206; for hard or nesche, do. 514.

[9] Le Fèvre, i. 252; Waur. ii. 210; propter loci lutositatem, per campum lutosum, Wals. ii. 311; Hypodig. 464; boe et ordure, Pays-Bas, 356; terres labourables molles, Juv. 520; cf. St Denys, v. 558; entroyent moult parfont de leurs pies en le terre, Ruisseauville, 139; la ghasquière estoit molle, Cordeliers, 229; une terre argileuse, Duval-Pineu, ii. 198, 200; une sorte de boue liquide, Belleval, 94. The scene is represented in a picture in Guizot, ii. 257, but there is nothing distinctive about it except the

and as they stumbled up the archers caught them like a butt[1], the foremost of them topped over terve[2], got haunched[3] on the stakes, the horses flounced and plunged[4] and would not face the huzzing[5] arrows[6] but turned tail and galloped back in plumps[7], tearing huge gaps in the vanguard ranks[8] amidst the curses of the expectant French who split up[9] to make way for them in confusion[10]. To meet this first grave check the French had no reserve of power. For weeks past archers and crossbowmen[11] had been preparing

ploughed field in the foreground. Furent encauchiet seur les bles ou ils faisait bien mal, Ruisseauville, 139; "on evil footing," Capgr. 312.

[1] God and our archers made hem sone to stomble, Brut, ii. 378, 596.

[2] Caxton, Chron. 145; cf. Century Dict., s.v. *Terve*, i.e. a fall. Cf. Halliwell, ii. 860, s.v. *Tervee*; overterved, Kingsford, Hard. 745; cf. made hem over-terve ich over other, Brut, ii. 378, 555, 596; top over tayle, Laud Troy Book, 202, 273, 397; or tayle over top, do. 493; over his cropere, ibid. 201; over her hors arsoun (i.e. saddle-bow), do. 402, 412, 497; overterved, Lydg. Nightingale, p. 8.

[3] Bercanda par son trait les entrailles, Blondel, i. 443; cf. Bersant, Bercel-Murray. Called "a crowd of *standing* Frenchmen" in Ransom, 147.

[4] "Flounced and plunged," Echard, i. 186, who invents harrowing scenes about tortured riders hanging by an arm or a thigh, etc.; cf. Brougham, 390; "flounced and flung about," Goodwin, 90; "disordered by the flouncing of their galled horses," Carte, ii. 681.

Stedes ther stumbelyd in that stownde,
That stode there stuffyd under stele,
With gronyng grete thei felle to grounde,
Here sydes federed whan thei gone fele.
Pol. Songs, ii. 125.

But whan an Arwe hath perced through his side,
To ground he goth (i.e. the horse) and cast his maister down.
Pol. Relig. Songs, 24.

For an early fifteenth century picture of mounted men-of-arms with horses unprotected with armour, see MS. Reg. 1 E. ix. f. 235, 306.

[5] Smythe, 31.

[6] Pour le trait que leur chevaux ne povient plus endurer, Ruisseauville, 140.

When oure arowys were a flyzht,
Anon the Frenchman was a wel sory schere.
Lydg. Po. 322.

[7] Precipites corruere, Wals. ii. 312; Hypodig. 466; se misdrent en fuyte, Gruel, 17;

Die Fransoyse daden van hen rennen,
Alle die scatteren. Rymkron. iii. 215.

Oman (in Traill, ii. 323) thinks that they were "nearly all shot down before they got near the stakes"; "ran in plumpes without order," Halle, 69; Grafton, i. 517; "disordered troops and plumps," Martyn, 184; "fell in plumps," Speed, 780; not that they fled to the woods, as Turner, v. 445. G. T. Warner (72) thinks that "a few managed to crawl up" but that "the great mass stuck."

[8] Vindrent rompre la bataille de noz gens en telle maniere que a peine se peurent jamais rassembler que les Angloys ne fussent tousjours près d'eulx, Gruel, 17; Norm. Chron. Hellot, 19; do. Williams, 90; et fut l'avant garde toute fendue en plusieurs lieus, Ruisseauville, 140.

[9] "Suddenly formed themselves into 3 divisions," Nicolas, 122; not that they suddenly altered front and formed in 3 columns, as Musgrave, 298; Scott, ii. 556; Kingsford, 151; or changed from line to column, as Ramsay, i. 214.

[10] En ce desarroy, Bouvier, 430; Gaguin, Mer, 141.

[11] Dont ils avoient grand foison, Monstr. 374. Called 8000 archers and 3000 crossbowmen including 1000 Genoese hired by Marshal Boucicaut, St Denys, v. 560. For Genoese balisters, armés de bonnes brigantines (i.e. quilted jacks), salades et

but at the last moment they had been told that their services would not be wanted[1]. Thus 4000 of them failed to be at their posts and such as came were badly placed owing to lack of room[2], their aim was hurried, and with their mechanism of cumbrous stirrups, crankins, clinches, gaffles, ratchets and winders, their vires and quarrels were from the first wholly outclassed, and they were driven out of range by the swift and unerring skill of the English archer who shot never arrow amiss[3]. That Henry had no guns may be taken as a certainty seeing that his army was equipped for forced marching, while it is equally certain that the French not only had guns but used them, for we have a record of at least one English archer who was killed "with a gun[4]."

arbalestres bien garnier de viretons, see Juv. 532. For 50 balisters sent from Tournai with 25 pavisers who were ready by Sept. 17, 1415, see Pays-Bas, 354; J. Meyer, 245. For arblasters from Brabant, see Dynter, 298, 748. For archers and crossbowmen from St Omer who n'ayant pas se mettre en bataille pensèrent garantir leurs corps et laissèrent là tout, see Piers, 353, from Archives of St Omer; also Piers, Therouanne, 70. For archers with the Duke of Brittany who came up too late for the battle, see Lobinea, ii. 903. For Jean de Hangest, grand maitre des arbaletriers, see Roger, 172; also David, Lord of Rambures (see page 91, note 5), N. Lambert, 416. For the duties of the maitre des arbaletriers who was set over the enginers, carpenters, miners, gunmasters, etc., see Boutaric, 272. For Hugues de Lannoy, Master of Cross-Bows, see Lannoy, Survey, 305.

[1] St Denys, v. 560; Trahisons, 129; ce trait de Franche ne fut pas employés ce ne trairent pas les archiers, Ruisseauville, 140; many of them did nothing in their daies work but run away, Biondi, 120; ne tirerent flesche ne vire, Juv. 520; Montfaucon, iii. 165.

[2] Assez avoient archiers et arballistriers mais pas ne les voldrent laissier tyrer pour la plaine qui estoit si estroicte qu'il ny avoit place que pour les hommes d'armes, Le Fèvre, i. 253; Waur. ii. 211; Niethe (44-47) thinks that they were at the rear with the reserve; cf. arbalisteriis et sagittariis, Dynter, iii. 300, 301, 750; Pauwels, 243; Impens, 356. Villaret (xiii. 365, 367) thinks that they had 4000 archers but that they were "absolutely useless" because they were placed among the men-of-arms. Called 4000 crossbowmen in Oman, 109, who supposes that they were placed between the first and second lines; also Airy, i. 144; Schmidt, ii. 251. Vickers (29) thinks that they were "put behind and thus rendered useless." Mazas (Vies, v. 604) says that they should have been at the front but that the nobles sent them to the rear; also Belleval, 95; Kingsford, 148. In Caxton, Faites d'Armes, Book I. chap. 23 (i.e. Christine de Pisan), the usual French practice was to place at the side of the vanguard two wings, i.e. "all manner of shooters as well gunners as balisters," quoted in Eng. Hist. Rev. x. 539. Oman (Art of War, 111) gives them 15,000 archers and crossbowmen. Called "a large force of archers and crossbowmen," J. S. Gardner, 48. Niethe (30) believes that their number was "sehr gering."

[3] Nusquam cassa manus sine vulnere fugit missile, Wals. ii. 312; cf. shot never arowe a-mysse, Caxton, Chron. 145; Brut, ii. 378, 596.

[4] Occisus fuit apud bellum de Agincourt cum uno gune, Exch. Accts. 47/32, i.e. Roger Hunt an archer in the retinue of James Harington, kt.; cf. Hunter, 36; Beamont, 244. Oman (in Traill, ii. 181) thinks there were no guns on either side. Kingsford (148, 203) thinks that the French had "some small field guns." Lord Dillon in Shropshire Archaeological Society's Transactions, 3rd Ser. iii. 152, thinks that they (the French) "certainly had none." Köhler (ii. 768) thinks that both sides had artillery though probably neither side could make use of it (quoting Godefroy, Life of Bouchicaut, 1697, 1699), where the English place their artillery "on a height" (by this he appears to mean Pilham), who however thinks (p. 264) that the English had quelques pieces de canons which struck terror into the French to whom such things were "entirely unknown"; also Archaeologia, v. 148. Adams (i. 227) thinks that the French had posted "some clumsy

Up till now the Frenchmen had borne themselves with reckless confidence, and as they raised their answering shout of "Montjoie," they had pressed forward in the firm belief that one sudden rush[1] would sweep the position clean before them. But when they saw their horsemen routed and their crossbows driven in, their courage limped to fear and dread[2]. Ere they could reform the English were upon them and those who but an hour ago had boasted that they would just rush the lot and then come back to dine[3] saw with dismay these despised archers striding up[4] to smite them to the face each calling on his mate to think upon his oath and if need be to die at his post. Right as a line[5] they volleyed furiously into the advancing mass and smote the French through camail and visor and forced them to plunge their heads[6] as they pounded forward in their heavy armour ankle-deep in mire.

cannon" on their flanks. Villaret (xiii. 361, 365) thinks that they had une artillerie formidable which they did not use; also Historians' Hist. xi. 171, from Michelet, vi (q.v.); Pauli, v. 118, 121; "a train of artillery," Oman, Pol. Hist. 254, 379; Haggard, 121. Henry (v. 39) thinks that they had "a considerable number of cannon but no execution probably from want of room." S. Turner (v. 438) quotes Le Fèvre (ut sup.) to prove that the French had "guns and serpentines"; which becomes *grand nombre* de canons de serpentines, etc. in Lachauvelaye, 104, who thinks (p. 124) that they were posted in the rear and not used. In Gesta, 52; Chron. Giles, 46, the balistae are post dorsum armatorum et in lateribus; also (v. 443) that their lines were "crowded with balistae for the projection of stones on all sides on the English," but that "in vain the French artillery was discharged. It injured no one," ibid. v. 445. Fortescue (i. 59) thinks that "the artillery could not be brought into position *on either side* in such a sea of mud"; "whether they went off at all is not told us," Scott, ii. 554. For letter of Charles VI dated at Meulan, Sept. 26, 1415, calling upon towns to lend him engins, canons et artillerie, see Monstr. 370; Bonaparte, ii. 74; cf. toutes gens de trait tant a pouldre que aultres, Pays-Bas, 356; canons et ribaudequim, Monstr. 373; serpentines, Le Fèvre, i. 247; quadam saxivoma, Vita, 63; called balistas quam plurimas grandes parvos et mediocres lapides crebo facturas, Tit. Liv. 17. Jähns (859, 860) believes that *both* armies were "nicht arm an Feuergeschützen" giving "viele Kanonen" to the French but the English "wenig Artillerie." Duruy (i. 471) supposes that the English used guns. For a fifteenth century picture of the battle of Rosebecque, or Roosbeke (1382 A.D.), Historians' Hist. xi. 156 (Froissart), where the guns are mixed up with the men, see Montfaucon, iii. 84, an arrangement which is blamed in Duval-Pineu, ii. 199.

[1] Subitâ invasione et audaci, St Denys, v. 558.

[2] Terrorem et formidinem non immerito, St Denys, v. 566.

[3] St Denys, v. 558.

Go we and slee them in this tyde,
And come hom agen to oure dynere. Harflet; Kabel, 8.

[4] Magnis passibus, St Denys, v. 560; cf. praecurrentes of the archers at Neville's Cross, 1346, J. E. Morris, Archers, 433.

Loke thou be kept wel with good Archeerys,
To renne upon to destroye Arblasteerys. Lydg. Burgh, 77.

[5] Bent to the bowis right as any line, Lydg. Troy Book, 328; see vol. i. p. 170, note 3.

[6] Le Fèvre, i. 254; Waur. ii. 213. Cf.

Made hem plounge lowe
With caste of quarel and with schoote of bowe.
Lydg. Troy Book, 329.

At the first staggering shock[1] their heavier numbers told; the English battle recoiled[2] a full spear's length[3] and the onlookers felt that the end had come. But the lances rallied and recovered ground while their archers poured a fast and fearful hail[4] into the flanks and rear of the French, and when their arrows were spent[5] they flung away their bows and quivers[6] and with the despair and madness of rage[7] snatched swords, hangers, mauls and hatchets[8] from their belts and hacked into the dense medley[9] of heavy-weighted Frenchmen whose lances had been shortened to give them greater stiffness[10] and who were panting and stumbling in the helpless crush[11]. Heartened by their stand the English men-of-arms pressed their advantage home and thrust back the front ranks[12] of the French under the Count of Vendôme and Guichard, Dauphin of Auvergne[13], though at first the slaughter was but slight[14]. But the very depth of the French formation was the ruin of the mass. The hindmost ranks were pressing on and the foremost thrusting

[1] In primâ mixtione lancearum, Gesta, 53.

[2] Cf. his peple recule a lytel, Melusine, 231.

[3] Fere ad longitudinem lancee, Gesta, 52; fort reboutés, Fenin, 63. Niethe (51) thinks that this was to enable the archers to get to the rear.

[4] Continua et formidabilis emissio sagittarum, St Denys, v. 562; ipsos cum sagittis acutis jaculantium, Niem, Vita, 36; Raynaldi, viii. 438.

[5] Lackid on arowes and layde en with stakes, Brut, ii. 379, 596.

[6] "Trousses," Waur. ii. 214; better than "flesches," as Le Fèvre, i. 256; or "sagettes," as Monstr. 375; not "slinging their bows behind them," as Lingard, iii. 499; Brougham, 119; Pauli, v. 122; Sat. Rev. (1883), lvi. 528; Macfarlane, 38; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 32; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 562; Tyrrell, 292 [170]; Ransome, 147; Airy, i. 145; Kingsford, 152; Strang, 96. Cf. jeterent les archers leurs arcs sur, Frois. i. 494; i.e. at Auray, J. E. Morris, Archers, 433. Zech (299) compares "die Schotten bei Quatre-Bras und Waterloo"!

[7] Vesans impetu, St Denys, v. 562; leoninam rabiem, ibid. 564; as ferce to fyzt as eny leone, Lydgate, Po. 323; debachantur in hostes, Blondel, i. 261.

[8] Ils frapperent sur eux de bonnes haches, Juv. 520. Not that they had "only hatchets and axes," or were "men who were not well armed but had come together hastily," as K. Stephen, 130.

[9] Cf. fyers medlee, Melusine, 200; horryble medlee, do. 202.

[10] Le Fèvre, i. 253; Waurin, ii. 211. Mazas (Vies, v. 624) thinks they had been reduced to half their original length; also Strang, 91, who thinks that they broke their lances and they were so crowded that they could not handle them; also Lachauvelaye, 108, who applies this to the *English*; also Labitte, 141; Belleval, 95; or from 16 or 18 feet to 5 or 6 feet, Rüstow, 105; Scott, ii. 571; Traill, ii. 177, 332; Lloyd, 64. Cf. son glaive (i.e. lance) retaillé à la mesure de cinq pieds, i.e. at Auray, 1364, see Frois. i. 494; W. Scott, 225; Jähns, 753, who reckons the length at 4 mètres or about 13 feet from Spitze to Schub.

[11] Juv. 518, who represents that the French foresaw that this would happen.

[12] Not their right flank, as Choisy, 327.

[13] St Denys, vi. 666, though not recognised in Mas-Latrie, 1549. Cf. "the Daulphine of Auernay (or Davernay) called of some the Daulphin of Aragon," Drayton, 54, 66, 67.

[14] Modicâ strage factâ, St Denys, v. 562.

back[1] till all got so jammed together[2] that none could raise an arm to wield sword or club[3]. The archers snatched up lance-heads or any snapped and broken weapons[4] and butchered them like sheep[5] or dinged[6] and hammered them like lumps upon an anvil[7]. The English king fought like the rest on foot[8] with his banner borne before him[9]. He had his own body-guard of archers and wherever they cleared a way he thrust in with his men[10], and on his return to England the Londoners counted up the earls that he had slaughtered like dice in a row[11]. In later accounts much is

[1] Bacward to him fruschedd, Laud Troy Book, 232; cf. in a frosche, Lydg. Troy Book, 422; cf. upon a ffrusche, do. 184; Lydg. Troy Book, 382; on a closter (i.e. cluster), do. 203; Halliwell, i. 384, s.v. *Frush*; upon a frape, do. 474; on a throme, do. 390, 433, 434, 438; Halliwell, ii. 869.

[2] Omnes sine nomine passim ordine confuso, Blondel, i. 261. Jähns (860) supposes them by this time to have been over 80 deep; compressione mutuâ se invicem suffocantibus, Basin, i. 22.

[3] Le Fèvre, i. 253, 254; Waur. ii. 211, 213; St Denys, v. 562; Meyer, 246; without eny stroke, Brut, ii. 555; nunc mille nunc plura millia non educentes gladios vel sagittas, Niem, Vita, 32; Raynaldi, viii. 438. Niethe (34) is quite certain that this is not true and so he calls it a "Märchen," p. 56.

Car enferrez,
Naurez, batuz, et aterrez,
Furent tous pris et enterrez.
Chascun happa,
Sa hache et oultre se frappa,
Mais fortune les atrappa,
Des royaulx nul s'en eschappa. Chartier, 666.

[4] Waur. ii. 214; Le Fèvre, i. 256; Juv. 519; cum omni genere armorum, St Denys, v. 560; inusitato armorum genere, ibid. v. 562; pro suâ consuetudine, J. Meyer, 246.

[5] Wals. ii. 313; Hypodig. 466, where they snatch axes out of the hands of the French. Cf.

Ther poll axis owt of her hondys they twyzt,
And laid ham along stryte upon the grasse. Harflet, 324.

Ubi pecora misere trucidantur, Blondel, i. 167; tuez comme pour ce aulx, ibid. 443; trucidabantur vel gregatim ut plura, Basin, i. 22; slue the French like sheep and cattle, Hales-Furnivall, ii. 597. It is not clear why Köhler (ii. 771) should consider this an exaggeration. Trebuchet (79) thinks that it ne fut pas une bataille, ce fut une boucherie.

[6] Denters of deth men myzt well deme,
So fercely in felde theye gan fytte. Harflet, 322.

[7] Sembloit que ce fussent enclumes sur quoy ils frappassent, Juv. 519.

[8] The kynge and alle othyr men wente on hyr foote apasse, Greg. Chron. 111.

[9] Le Fèvre, i. 253.

[10] Le Fèvre, i. 256; Waur. ii. 215; Monstr. 376; "au dessus de ses archiers," Cordeliers, 229; not that he attacked the French from their rear, as Pol. Verg. 446.

[11] Oure gracious Kyng men myghte knowe
That day he faught withe his owne hond,
He spared nother heighe ne lowe,
Ther was no man his dynt myght stond,
The Erlys was dyscomvited (?counted) upon a rowe,
That he had flayne (?slain) I understond. Harflet, 323.

Warton, iii. 41; Oxeford, 362; at Achyncourt feld he faunth manly, Fuller-Maitland, 15, 43; tanquam alter leo, Usk, 126.

Owre lord the Kynge he foght ryght wele,
Sharply che on hem his spere he spent,
Many on seke he made that sele. Pol. Songs, ii. 125.

made of the heroism of individual leaders. The Duke of Orleans is supposed to have done "prodigies of valour[1]"; the Duke of Bourbon is credited by his own people with fighting like a lion[2]; the Count of Harcourt is said to have shown great courage[3]; while the Constable Charles d'Albret is supposed to have rushed on the English with frantic fury[4] and Hector de Magnicourt, Lord of Verchin, to have died desperately holding the village of Agincourt[5]. But though some writers have worked up the whole struggle into a Homeric series of hand-to-hand encounters, it must in reality have been too sharp and swift to have allowed of the deeds of prowess so dear to the literary embellisher[6]. At any rate neither Elmham nor the French chroniclers know anything of these supposed deeds of romantic bravery, though there is one episode that is substantiated by eye-witnesses from which we know that 18 French gentlemen[7] had banded themselves together to knock off King Henry's crown or die in the attempt—"which they did" say the chroniclers[8], for they were all cut to pieces in the fray

Towle (335) thinks that he slew more Frenchmen than any one else. Daniel (Trinarch. iv. 155) after avowing his purpose to "soberlie deliver modest Truth and keep a Pen just to the storie" declares that the king "cuts a thousand lives," "o'ercrowds the air with souls enfranchised," "tramples the mud of mixed Brains," and much else; set on rowe echeon by other, i.e. together, Laud Troy Book, 527; for "arowe," see Pol. Songs, ii. 146; Halliwell, i. 86; "in a row," Skelton, 33; rewe on rewe, Laud Troy Book, 446; alle on a rawe, or rowe, ibid. 87, 240; on a res, ibid. 250, 439; res by res, do. 273; called "race," in Stratmann, s.v. *Raes*. Cf. together upon a rase, Laud Troy Book, 408, 432, 458; on a pas, do. 490; upon a route, do. 415, 439, 453.

[1] Jeanroy-Félix, 296; se conduisit en en heros, Beaufils, 24.

[2] En soy monstrant hardy plus qu'un Lyon, Pierre de Nesson in Godefroy, Charles VI, 751; avec l'intrépidité la plus rare, Barante, ii. 65. Cf. "par sa valeur," La Mure, ii. 129, but his annotator (p. 130) is probably far nearer the truth when he says that the Duke played "un rôle très secondaire" in the battle.

[3] La Roque, i. 407, who says that he was reported dead though really taken prisoner.

[4] Andrews, ii. 20, who compares him to "an Indian intoxicated with opium."

[5] This is recorded in the Chronique de Tramecourt (see App. N). His family erected a cross on the spot where he is supposed to have fallen which remained till 1789, Mazas, Vies, v. 616.

[6] Ille praelucidus Titan regum personae propriae preciosum thesaurum exposuit, Vita, 66; Tit. Liv. 20. Drayton's poem is called "a Sisyphian Epic," in which the battle "seems always ending and always beginning anew," Garnett, p. xx; see also Echard, i. 186; Lay, 75, 81; avec une valeur comparable a celle des héros les plus fameux dans l'Histoire, Rapin, iii. 449; Tindal, i. 513, who supposes that the king did not enter the action till the Duke of York's men had broken up the first line of the French. Guthrie (ii. 466) thinks that "the boldest man seemed but his apprentice in the work of death" and that "his progress might be marked through lanes of destruction which his sword had made." Cf. "des efforts de bravoure extraordinaires," G. Daniel, iii. 874; "unprecedented intrepidity," Nicolas, 76; "leur heroique bravoure," etc. Labitte, 142. Haggard (127) thinks that "there was no space for anything of the nature of a duel."

[7] Headed by the Lord of Croy, Cassell, i. 533.

[8] Comme ilz firent, Waur. ii. 207; Le Fèvre, i. 250.

though one of them got near enough to drive home a blow at his basnet and snapped off one of the fleurons[1] from the crown. In after days when prodigies of valour were wanted to season the hard sad fact of the defeat, this hero was supposed to have been the handsome[2] young Duke of Alençon[3] who was also credited with having first cut down the Duke of York[4] with his own hand and done other marvellous titanic feats[5], and it is not of course surprising that the story of King Henry generously holding out his hand and trying to save his noble assailant's life[6] should still continue to be believed[7] long after it had been rejected

[1] Cf. whan stones and floures on cercle is bent, Kail, 51. These are shown in two pictures of Henry V wearing a crown, Strutt, Manners, Plates XLIV, XLV; fleurets, Oman, Pol. Hist. 255; fleur de lys, Strang, 90; "i pece of his crowne," Brut, ii. 555, who adds that it was afterwards found and brought to him; "broken and depeased," First Life, 65; Piers (383) makes the crown "vole en éclats." In Bright, i. 295, it was "cleft in two"; in C. R. L. Fletcher, 321, "half the crown of his helmet was shorn away."

[2] Qui caeteris principibus corporis elegantiâ et divitiis excellebat, St Denys, v. 570; que jonèce osta son (? sans) soussy, Pastoralet, 846. He was born May 9, 1385 (Cagny, 15; Odolant-Desnos, i. 458), at the castle of Essey near Seez and was contracted in marriage to Marie eldest daughter of the Duke of Brittany in the castle of l'Hermione at Vannes on June 26, 1396, Anselme, i. 272; Thévédy, 331; Roujoux, iv. 127; Wylie, ii. 425; not January, as Mas-Latrie, 1659; the actual marriage taking place at the castle of St Aubin du Cornier near Fougères, Hommey, ii. 242. Their first child was born on Oct. 4, 1407, Bry de la Clergerie, 311, 314; and his wife died on Dec. 18, 1446.

[3] i.e. the first Duke Jean le très sage, son of Pierre II, who died Sept. 20, 1404, Mas-Latrie, 1659. For his seal, 3 fleurs de lys in a bordure, see Zeller, Armagnacs, 57. For his truce with the English Sept. 7, 1412, see Hommey, iii. 246. He is called "der Gröfe von Albenson" in Twinger, ii. 916; "Launson" or "Lamson," Harflet, 318, 320; Nicolas, 258, translating Lansdowne MS. 1054, f. 53; "Lauson," Capgr. 312; "Alanzon," Macfarlane, 39, quoting Drayton. For Alençon created a duchy Jan. 1, 1415 (not 1414, as Anselme, i. 272), published in the Parliament of Paris, May 3, 1415, see Bry de la Clergerie, 317.

[4] "Where Alençon and myself were down together," Henry V, IV. 7. 161; "which might Alanson's quarrels fierce withstand," Harbert, 49; "though Alanson did stupendous things," Boyle, 5.

[5] Monstr. 379; fit merveilles de son corps (? Duke of Alençon), Juv. 520; fit tant de fais d'armes et si vaillamment, Norm. Chron. 171; Nicolas, 123; also Odolant-Desnos, i. 490 (from Arundel MS. xlvii. f. 239, ? same as Normandie); Gruel, 18. Cf. Halle, 69; Grafton, i. 517; Redman, 46; Holinsh. iii. 554; Goodwin, 89; Choisy, 326; Villaret, xiii. 372; Devienne, Artois, iii. 46; Le Vavasseur, xlvii. 535; Mézeray, ii. 567 (reading "couronne" for "coutonne"); rien ne resista à sa fougue tout plia devant lui, Mazas, Vies, v. 628; Bérand, ii. 66; un incroyable courage, Barante, iii. 164; wie ein Löwe, Pauli, v. 122; Jähns, 860; Trébuchet, 78, 84; Trévédy, 333; "prodigies of valour," Masson, 243; Depeyre, 236, who thinks that his "mort heroique" largely saved the honour of the French; renverse comme la foudre tout sous son passage, Labitte, 143; Lambert, 421; Duval-Pineu, ii. 202; cf. Köhler, 773; Ramsay, i. 221. Niethe (52) thinks the story is modelled on Homer, but still calls Alençon der tapferste Franzose.

[6] Martyn, 185; Tyler, ii. 182; Lingard, iii. 495; Belleval, 165, who thinks that Henry refused to take the Duke's proffered gauntlet. In Drayton, 73, Henry cuts the Duke into small pieces. For imaginary pictures of the incident with the king and the Duke both mounted, see Barante (edition Gachard), i. 351; Henty, Frontispiece, 350; Macfarlane, 27, where the Duke is mounted and the king on foot.

[7] e.g. J. R. Green, 262; Oman, Pol. Hist. 255.

as "an embellishment[1]." But the prosy fact appears to be that Alençon, like the rest, got separated from the front rank, and was hit in a mixed medley[2], none knowing whose hand had cut him down[3]. His own biographer, Percival de Cagny, who was a squire in his household[4], knows of nothing to distinguish him from the other dead but simply files his name together with a long list of others who "ended their days" in the battle[5], and so strange does the omission seem to his modern editor that he thinks that Cagny "ought to have put the story in[6]," though it is incredible that he could have overlooked it if it had been true, for his master's doings form the principal topic in his account of the whole campaign[7]. Moreover Jean de Beuil[8] who afterwards served in the company of the Duke's son[9] and was with him when he was captured at Verneuil[10] and whose own father was killed in the battle of Agincourt[11] has nothing to say of any heroic death of the Duke, the real

[1] Michelet, vi. 35.

[2] Inter caeteros se audacter immersit relictâ acie principali, St Denys, v. 570.

[3] Du Conte d'Alençon ne scavoit on nouvelles mais il fut depuis trouvé mort. Juv. 521. For story that he was taken prisoner by John Fastolf, see Anstis, Reg. i. 136, quoting "G. 6, p. 286 penes me"; Scrope, 172. It is really a confusion with the surrender of his son at Verneuil in 1424, D. Turner, Caister, p. 8. In 1420 when the bastard of Alençon killed many English prisoners who had been captured at La Rochelle he said that he did it to revenge the death of his brother par *eux* occis, Circourt, 353, quoting Godefroy, Hist. de Charles VII, p. 474 (q.v.).

[4] Ecuyer de l'Ecurie. He was master of the household to his son Jean II, Cagny, pp. iii, xv, xvii. The chronicle which ends abruptly in 1438 was consulted by Bry de la Clergerie, circ. 1620, who says nothing about any heroic death. The original appears to be lost but a copy made by André Duchesne (d. 1640) still remains in the Bibliothèque Nationale (collection Duchesne, no. 48, ff. 63–110), see Grande Encycl., s.v. *Caigny*. Portions of this (relating to Joan of Arc) were published by J. Quicherat in Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, vii. 143 (1845–6), and Procès, iv. 3–37, but the whole text has recently been published by H. Moranvillé for the Société de l'Histoire de France (1902), see Roncière, ii. 215. For reference to a chronicle (1472) by a squire of Jean II, Duc d'Alençon (MS. 95743, now 4794, fonds français), see Quicherat, Procès, iv. 38. I am assured by M. Omont that this has no connection with Cagny's Chronicle.

[5] Et à icelui journée finirent leurs jours les ducs d'Alençon de Brebant et de Bar, etc. et plusieurs autres grans barons, Cagny, f. 80.

[6] Aurait dû ajouter, Cagny, 18.

[7] Cagny, 18, 98.

[8] For Jean de Bueil maitre des arbaletriers killed at Agincourt, see Anselme, vii. 849; viii. 52; Le Fèvre, i. 248; Waur. ii. 206; Nouv. Biogr. Gen., s.v. His son Jean de Bueil, Lord of Nancerre and Admiral of France, was the author of Le Jouvencel. He was made Captain of Cherbourg on its recovery by the French in 1450, Bouvier, quoted in Stevenson, Expulsion, ii. 367; Cosneau, Connétable, 421. For picture of him, see Montfaucon, iii. 276. For his seal (April 14, 1437), see Demay, Inventaire, i. 180; also Steycot, Aperçu, Fig. 14, p. 40 (circ. 1410); Forbes-Leith, i. 24. For story that he was a natural son of Charles VII and Agnes Sorel, see Éc. des Chartes, xx. 437.

[9] i.e. Jean V, Duke of Alençon, born May 2, 1409, died 1476.

[10] Beuil, I. p. x.

[11] Beuil, I. p. v; II. 269.

truth evidently being that no one had any chance of a theatrical death, and the French writers whose accounts are nearest to the actual event admit that they would not have blushed so deeply for their proud nobility had they been able to show that they had fallen by the hands of gentlemen and not been knocked ignobly on the head by a parcel of varlets and unvalued knaves[1].

Into the flanks and rear of this broken and disheartened mass of Frenchmen the archers let drive with axe and club. Basnets were riven to the teeth[2] and cries of "surrender" went up on every side[3], some yielding ten times over, but there was no time to halt the work, and as they were felled they were ruthlessly despatched without respect of persons[4]. As the front ranks sank stunned and stupefied beneath the blows[5], and as the throng thrust on them from behind, the living stumbled on the dead and on to these stifled heaps[6]

[1] Adauget ignominiam ab indignis et vilibus obtenta victoria, St Denys, v. 564; cf. mechanicis et infimi status viris, ibid. 568; Le Laboureur, 1010, quoted in Beaufils, 25; superba nobilitas agrestium jaculis obruta vulgi confederis sagitis, Blondel, i. 262; les hurons et varletz de leur pays, ibid. i. 443; les vilains d'Angleterre te suffocquerent, ibid. i. 443; called "armed varlets" in Turner, v. 458. Cf. valet! lacquay! Henry V, IV. 2. 2; "lackeys," do. IV. 1; IV. 2. 26.

[2] Cf. rent and cleffe don the theth unto, Coudrette, 81, 82, 110; basnetès bryzt they crasyd a to, Harflet, 323. Cf.

Helmes were holed and scheldes cloven,
With grete strokes here hedes hoven.
Laud Troy Book, 24.

That his helm al to-roffe. Ibid. 46.

When with his Axe he at his Foe let drive,
Murrion and scalpe down to the teeth did rive. Drayton, 23.

[3] "Ie me rende" they cryde on every syde,
Our Englys men they understod nozt aryzte. Harflet, 324.

Strang, 99; Villemain, ii. 229. For "criaunt, criaunt" as the cry of the vanquished, see W. G. Benham, 12; still surviving in the words "recreant" and "craven," see Murray, s.v. *Creant*. Cf. the coward champion recreant that seith creant withoute nede, Chaucer (G.), iv. 614, where there is no need to suppose that it is shortened from "recreant," as in Glossary, s.v. Twinger (ii. 916) states that Henry had given an order before the battle that no quarter was to be given (so sollten sii denne alle schiessen so sii beste möhtent und sollent ouch der franzosen keinen gefangen nemen) but spared prisoners when he saw that the French were flying and overcome (flühent und underligen).

[4] They sparyd nother Deuke, Erle ne knyzt, Harflet, 324; capitur nullus, caeduntur multi, Tit. Liv. 19; victus reddi desiderat, victorum impetus redditionis tempora non expectat, Vita, 66; cruellement sans mercy, Waur. ii. 215; Le Fèvre, i. 257; Monstr. 376; not that "the slaughter fell chiefly on the cavalry," as Hume (1854), ii. 358.

[5] Cf. "Horses and riders all appeared *enchanted* (i.e. under a spell)," Historians' Hist. xi. 171, from Michelet, vi. (q.v.); immobiles et sine sensu, Wals. ii. 313; Hypodig. 466; comme immobiles, Waur. ii. 211; nunquam ictum dederunt, Pluscard, 351.

Et maint en y a tout pour voir,
Qui moèrent sans un recevoir. Pastoralet, 773.
Et la sans lit en ordre hautre,
Sont les mors couchiés l'un sur l'autre,
Par mons partas souvins envers. Pastoralet, 773.

the English leaped and climbed[1], hewing[2] their way with axe and sword[3] to finish the "promiscuous killing[4]" of the struggling mass. In half an hour[5] from the start the English had pierced right through the solid mass of men-of-arms and had them at their mercy, and ere three hours had elapsed[6] they had crushed and pounded them to death[7]. The rear line meanwhile having no orders to advance[8] had stood idly watching the slaughter and now began to break up and disperse without a blow[9].

They lay on hepes 2 speres length of hyght, Caxton, Chron. 145; Brut, ii. 378 (of the first cavalry charge).

This Frenchman falling, by his very weight
Doth kill another strucken down before. Drayton, 61.

One man's Trunke becomes another's Tombe, do. 70; cumulus super cumulum extincti sunt per millia, Pluscard, 351; opprimitur vivis plebs mortua, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 122; catervatim occiduntur, Blondel, i. 261; ita a suis suffocati acervum valde mirabile componebant, J. E. Morris, Archers, 430, quoting Bridlington Chron. in Stubbs' Chronicles, of the reigns of Edward I, II, ii. 1883, cf. the battle of Dupplin Moor, temp. Edward I.

[1] Scandunt congeries Francorum caetibus Angli, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 122. Cf.

That thei were meet togedar on hepis,
Every man on other lepes. Laud Troy Book, 41.

Cf. on hepes, do. 271, 393; on an hepe, do. 420.

[2] The Lord Valen hewyd that was so stowte, Lydg. Po. 324.

[3] Inter vibratos mucrones lancias et scueres, Gesta, 59.

[4] Boyle, 5.

[5] Et ne dura pas le bataille demi-heure qu'elle ne fut toute de confite ou tout tuet ou tout pris, Ruisseauville, 140; ne dura gaire la bataille, Cordeliers, 229; facile devicta, Blondel, i. 167.

[6] Duas vel tres horas, Gesta, 55; J. Meyer, 246, quoting from Anglorum scriptor, i.e. from 9.30 to 12.30; ultra diei horam dimidiam, St Denys, v. 566; ad tres horas, Tit. Liv. 19; bien iiij heures, Le Fèvre, i. 259 (i.e. including the second attack); cf. Waur. ii. 217; en peu d'heure, Gruel, 18; called 5 hours in Rapin, iii. 451; Tindal, i. 514; parvo post labore et multo paene negotio victoria Anglicis cessavit, Basin, 22.

[7] Perforata et contrita, Gesta, 55; in multis locis penetrabilem reddiderunt, St Denys, v. 562; les engles entrerent ens et passerent l'avant garde, le bataille et l'arrieregarde, Ruisseauville, 140.

Ther Dukes and Erlys, Lorde and Barone
Were take and slayne *and that wel sone.*
Nicolas, App. 67.

Tyler, ii. 202; Fuller-Maitland, 15, 43, 61; Adams, i. 234.

[8] Cum non haberent principem qui id possit precipere, St Denys, v. 564; sans chief, Fenin, 64; par quoy il n'y eut point de gouvernement ne entretenement en leurs gens, ibid.; though Monstr. (374) places them under the Dukes of Bar and Alençon and six counts, all of whom are supposed by H. Martin (vi. 16) to have abandoned their posts in order to join the front fighting line.

[9] Juv. (520) pictures them as only two spears' length away. For Henry attacking the second line after the Duke of York with the archers is supposed to have broken up the first, see Lingard, iii. 499. Mazas (Vies, v. 624–627) thinks that every man of the French first line was killed and that their bodies filled the whole width of the "defile" in which he supposes them to have been posted, that the English then climbed over this pile of bodies "with the precision and calm" that you might expect from such disciplined troops, put their archers in front again and began another battle against the Duke of Alençon and the second line who were waiting for them 300 yards away in the same narrow defile. Here both sides pushed each other about for about an hour like the waves of the sea till the English somehow got past the French in column and turned their line which fled "with a cowardly precipitation"; also Belleval, 103. Called the third line in Guthrie,

The day seemed practically won and the victors turned to sort the heaps of prostrate bodies, picking out the dead and saving such as were still alive for future ransom. The Count of Richmond was pulled out alive from below two dead bodies little injured[1] and was recognised by his coat-armour which was covered with blood. The Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon and many other leaders were also found to be alive, and the prisoners were being parted out to their various captors when suddenly a cry was raised that fresh forces had come up to help the French[2], that the fugitives had rallied and were forming up to bear down upon them ere they could pause for a much needed rest. Some said that the Duke of Brittany had come up with 5000 men[3], others that it was the Duke of Brabant[4] or the King of Sicily[5], or that Clignet de Breban had effected a grand rally[6], while others again declared that it was an entirely false alarm[7]. This last statement however is quite contradicted by two Frenchmen who were actually present in the battle, both of whom roundly blame this "cursed re-assembling of wicked men[8]" for daring to face the English after the great lords were captured, and light is thrown upon the problem by the episode of the adventure of the Duke of Brabant which comes to us on unquestionable authority[9].

ii. 467, who thinks that they "retired without doing anything that History can recount." In Choisy, 329, both the corps de bataille and the arrière-garde fly without being engaged. Tyler (ii. 172) thinks that "they were advancing from the quarter where the [English?] baggage was stationed." Towle (338) thinks they "probably made greater havoc with the English than any other division"; Crowe (i. 127), that when the first line was broken the second and third "instantly fled"; Ransome (147), that the second line was attacked like the first and that the third line was disposed of by "a charge in flank." In Dict. Nat. Biogr. (xxxvi. 48) the third line make "a desultory and disorganised resistance."

[1] Ung peu blecié, Gruel, 18.

[2] Called 20,000 men-of-war under Sir William Tyboniulle, Lord of La Riviere (or Tybonville, Nicolas (edition 1827), p. 78), in Ralph Brook (Harl. MS. 782); Nicolas, 367; Delort, 177.

[3] Page 123; Cassell, i. 533. Called some Bretons and Gascons in Historians' Hist. xi. 173.

[4] Lannoy, 32; Trahisons, 129, who adds the Count of Nevers with 1200 combatants. Adams (i. 230) supposes the Duke of Burgundy.

[5] Norm. Chron. 171.

[6] Une grant recoeuillette, Ruisseauville, 140; pour cause d'un estandart qui vint a cuider rallier les Franczois, Chron. Brioc. 891.

[7] St Denys, v. 564. Brougham (434) considers it "a pretence," "a supposed fresh attack."

[8] Ceste mauldite compaignie rassemblée de meschants gens, Le Fèvre, i. 258; Waurin, ii. 216.

[9] i.e. Dynter, iii. 299, 749, who had been told to follow the Duke, but did not leave

Anthony, Duke of Brabant[1] was a younger brother of the Duke of Burgundy[2]. The summons from Peronne[3] had reached him at Louvain at 8 o'clock in the evening of Oct. 21[4] and he at once set out with about a dozen followers[5], having sent notices to his lords and others to meet him with all possible speed at Cambrai. After visiting Tervueren he started from Brussels on Wednesday, Oct. 23, travelled through the night by Mons[6] to Valenciennes where he stopped for a while to bait. Posting hard he reached Lens at 10 o'clock in the evening of the 24th, and starting again at 4 o'clock in the morning he reached Pernes[7] about 15 miles[8] from the spot where it was understood that the battle would be pitched on the morrow. Few of his men had been able to keep pace with him so he paused to hear mass and make his shrift. Scarcely was the service done when a messenger came hurrying up with news that the battle would be fought before noon that day, and at once the little party fastened crosses to their arms, remounted their horses and tore on to join in the expected triumph. Arrived on the field with a few of his knights[9] the Duke dismounted beneath a thorn and as his own armour had not

Brussels till Oct. 24. He spent that night at Braine-le-Comte, heard midday mass at Mons on the 25th, rode on to Valenciennes the same night, was at Douai on Saturday, Oct. 26, where many of the Brabanters were still hurrying up, and as they sat at dinner came the fatal news that the battle was lost and their Duke was dead, Dynter, i. xxii.

[1] Not Charles, as Mazas, Vies, v. 606. He was born in Aug. 1384, Belleval, 161; Thibault, 296. For picture of him with dogs, see Verhaer, i. 375; Awans, 319. For fancy picture of him, see Loyens, 67. For his institution of the Chambre des Comptes in 1406 as distinct from the Conseil de Brabant, see Lamure, xxxix, xliii; Guillard, 6. For a letter written by him at Bapaume, July 18, 1408, see Coussemaker, 207.

[2] Les deux frères Leonet, Pastoralet, 775.

[3] Page 124.

[4] Clam noctu, Rymkron. iii. 210; not Oct. 19, as Dieve, Ann. 41.

[5] Juv. 521.

[6] Berghen in Henegouwe, Rymkron. iii. 212. Mazas (Vies, v. 618) thinks that he started from Lille, eluding the vigilance of the Duke of Bourbon who wanted to prevent him from joining.

[7] Van Even 22 or Oct. 21, Dynter. Not "par Fruges," as Mazas, Vies, v. 618; Belleval, 96.

[8] Called 2 leagues in Dynter, iii. 299.

[9] A pau de gent, Ruisseauville, 140; a bien pau de gens de son hostel seulement, Cordeliers, 229, who names two sons of the lord of Lens (near Mons) in Hainault who were brothers to the Bishop of Cambrai qui pour lors estoit (i.e. probably some suffragan bishop in the absence of Cardinal d'Ailli). Called 11 in Juv. 521; Köhler, ii. 773; or 12 in Goodwin, 75; moult-hastivement et à peu de compagnie, Le Fèvre, i. 256; cum paucis nobilibus secum existentibus, Dynter, iii. 301; met eenen zeer cleinen hoope smal, Rymkron. iii. 217. Low (40) supposes that he "charged with 1200 horse" and was apparently killed, but he charges again on p. 41.

arrived[1] and the battle was already well nigh over[2] he borrowed that of his chamberlain Goblet Vosken[3], poked a hole through a trumpet-blazon[4] and wore it round his neck as a coat armour[5], fixed another to a spear to serve for a banner and plunged forward[6] with his men shouting "Brabant! Brabant!" to rally the second line. This was the shout that struck on the English ears[7] when they thought their work was already done, while at the same time came news that swarms of plunderers[8], who had been gathering round from Hesdin and other places[9], had fallen on the baggage and captured the royal beds and stuff[10] which had been carelessly left unprotected with the sumpter-

[1] Si n'estoit encore nient bien armés, Ruisseauville, 140.

[2] Praelio iam paene confecto, Basin, i. 23. Not at the beginning of the battle caeteris principibus nondum subsecutis, as Zantfliet, 406.

[3] Who was himself killed in the battle, Rymkron. iii. 224.

[4] Een blasoen van enen trompette, Rymkron. iii. 218. Cf.

I wil the banner from a trumpet take,
And use it for my haste. Henry V, IV. 2. 61.

For ii. bannières pour les trompettes, see Laborde, i. 94; Pannier, i. 220, where they are made of demi-cendal. Called a pennon in Kingsford, 152; cf. pennonceaux à trompe, Pannier, i. 99; cf. revêtu de son blason, Gough, I. i. cxlii; Heyert, Aperçu, 44. For bannière de trompette made of scarlet, white, black and yellow sendal at Sluys in 1406, see La Fons-Mélicocq, 13; for pignon de trompette at Lille 1350, ibid. 7. For payment (1419) for buckram à faire une banière à la trompette de la ville (St Jean d'Angely), see Aussy, iii. 297. For illustrations, see Strutt, Manners, ii. Plate XL; Vigne, ii. 7, 31, Plates XVII, LXXVIII; do. Recherches, 21; Humphreys, Froissart, i. Plate XXIII; René, Plate XIV; Quatrebarbes, iii. Plates X, XIV; Cutts, Middle Ages, 418; Prost, 158; Wallon, 364; Sarrazin-Cauchon, 189; Craik-Macfarlane, i. 875; Berant, Survey, i. 324; Froissart (Johnes), iv. 229.

[5] Not "in default of armour," as Towle. 337. For a sleeveless surcoat with a hole for the neck, see figure on the left in picture of Charlemagne in C. Louandre, Planches, vol. ii.

[6] Se fourra dedans, Juv. 521. Mazas (Vies, v. 618) thinks that he placed himself in the centre of the front line.

[7] Dynter, iii. 302; Basin, i. 23.

[8] Vespiliones, Monstr. ii. 313; brigauntis, Capgr. 312; 600 peasants, Le Fèvre, i. 257; Waurin, ii. 217; aucunes (*sic*) gens de petit estat, Fenin, 64; gens a pie et a cheval, Norm. Chron. 170. Dynter (iii. 300, 758) says that they were led by Clignet de Brebан after he had failed to break the archers; cf. Rymkron. iii. 216; Pauwels, 243; Impens, 356. Towle (340) supposes there were two separate attacks on the baggage; Musgrave (297), that the *prisoners* were said to be attacking the baggage which he calls a "false and purposely misguiding message." Rapin, iii. 451; Tindal, i. 514, makes the king run to the top of a little hill before he could see what was the matter; cf. "sur une eminence," Villaret, xiii. 373; but no such hill exists. Boyle (5) says that "Bondile assauted the unguarded baggage, i.e. Sir William Tyboniulle, knight and Lorde of Delarivere," in Harl. MS. 782, f. 48 b; Nic. p. 78, where he is said to have "gathered of the ennemyes route the number of xx (20,000) men of warr under the white pennon to have given a newe battell."

[9] Chil de Hesdin et du pays d'entour, Ruisseauville, 141, who says that they were forts assez pour deconfire tous les angles apries la bataille; cf. Danvin, 119. For plunder found at Hesdin, see Juv. 522.

[10] Bona Anglorum, Vita, 69; Tit. Liv. 21; cf. counceiled to set not be no tresure praies ne juelx and vesselle of golde and of silver as welle of *tho that were his there lost*, ne of the juelle that he wonne, Noblesse, 31.

men in the rear[1]. Amongst the plunder was a sum of money amounting to £209. 16*s*. 0*d*.[2] which would have been used to meet the expenses of the royal household on the march, also a coffer containing many jewels together with the Chancery seals, the state sword and the crown[3], the discovery of which caused a great clanging and shouting of Te Deum among the captors who took it as an earnest that they would soon get the king too[4]. The seals were afterwards recovered and the jewels which were deposited in the Tower of London, while the sword came into the hands of the Count of Charolais[5], by whom it was given up to pacify his father the Duke of Burgundy[6], who afterwards imprisoned the leaders of this raid for causing the rumour which led to the hideous massacre of the prisoners on the battlefield[7]. At any rate when the alarm was raised the prisoners were ranged waiting for distribution amongst their captors. There had been no time to strip them of their armour; their basnets alone had been removed[8], and as they stood bareheaded the king suddenly[9] gave orders that in face of the new danger every man should kill his prisoners on the spot saving only the dukes, earls and other such high-placed leaders[10] as fell to the king's own share. For the moment the captors showed some reluctance in view of their prospective ransom-money and both English and French uttered loud cries of remonstrance[11], but the king

[1] See page 148. Ex desidia clientelum regalium, Gesta, 50; Chron. Giles, 45; Redman, 47, who thinks that their shouts caused the English to massacre the prisoners.

[2] Lesquelx deniers furent perduz a la bataille de Azincourt, Exch. Accts. 406/29, where the money had been handed to John Feriby at Harfleur before starting on the march.

[3] See page 89.

[4] Sine mora venturum, Wals. ii. 313; not that the king was dead, as Capgr. 312. For story that this crown was taken to Paris where it was carried about in procession, see Brut, ii. 597; Church, 84.

[5] Echard (i. 186) thinks that the "base surprisal of the king's carriage was generously resented" by the Duke of Burgundy.

[6] Not Brittany, as Stow, Chron. 350.

[7] Fenin, 64; Monstr. 376.

[8] Sinon l'armeure de teste seullement, Waur. ii. 216; Le Fèvre, i. 258; E. Gaillard, 155; cf. à debaciner leurs prisonniers, Chron. Brioc. 891. Trussel (103) supposes that they were tied back to back.

[9] Though Baker (171) thinks that he first "caused all Arrows and Stakes to be plucked vp," etc.

[10] Sinon les seigneurs, Norm. Chron. 172; servatis nobilioribus, Aen. Sylv. Comm. 152.

[11] Adont peust on buir grans cries et merveilleux tant des engles comme des franchois par les bons prisonniers que ils avoient, Ruisseauville, 140; though V. Fréville (95) thinks that the carnage was "rendu plus horrible par *la furieuse rapacité* de ces Anglais."

threatened to hang[1] any man that disobeyed and told off 200 of his ever-handy archers[2] to begin the bloody work. This threat was in itself enough and each man faced about and slew his captives in cold blood[3]. Their throats were cut, their heads bashed[4], their bodies paunched[5] "in fell and cruel wise[6]," and even the houses to which some wounded had been lifted for shelter were deliberately set on fire in order that no captive might escape alive. This last frightful fact is known on the authority of the famous traveller Gilbert de Lannoy[7] who was shut up in such a house with 10 or 12 other prisoners all alike helpless[8]. He was wounded in the head and knee, but he managed to drag himself out on all fours just in time to escape the fire, and was sold on the same day to Sir John Cornwall who guessed that he must be a great master (*ung grant maistre*) because he was so gentlemanly dressed (*assez honestement en point*). Thence he was taken to Calais and so crossed over to England but was released within a year on paying 1200 gold crowns and a horse valued at 100 francs as ransom, his "master[9]," John Cornwall, giving him 20 nobles to buy harness on his departure.

It is doubtless to this hideous order[10] that a large part of the enormous butchery of Agincourt is chiefly due[11], for

[1] Sur peine de la hart, Monstr. 276; i.e. the halter, Cotgr., s.v. *Har*; cf. Ordonnance, xi. 113 (for phrase). Called "an osier twig from which ropes were made" in Godefroy, s.v. Not sous peine de *mort*, as Tyler, ii. 180; Trébuchet, 79; cf. sous peine de la hart, Felibien, iv. 567; Garnier, 52; Mirot, D'Orgemont, 204; seur le hart, Ruisseauville, 137; Finot, Paix, 19; Lhomel, Edits, 45.

[2] Not 300, as Church, 83. Guthrie (ii. 467) calls them "200 ruffians the most hardened of his army."

[3] Du troit sang, Le Fèvre, i. 258; Waur. ii. 216; licet nobiles, Tit. Liv. 20; Vita, 68.

[4] A les tuer par les testes de leurs haches et jusarmes (i.e. gisarmes), Chron. Brioc. 891; in capite et in gutture vulneratus, Dynter, iii. 302, 751; and with a Poleaxe pasheth out his braines, Drayton, 89.

[5] "Sticked with daggers, brained with poleaxes, slain with malles," etc. Halle, 70; Grafton, i. 518; Holinsh. iii. 554. For "paunched" = evacuare, see Boys, 501.

[6] Hard. 375.

[7] Lannoy, 32; do. Oeuvres, 50, 187.

[8] Tous impotens, Lannoy, 32.

[9] "Mon maistre," Lannoy, 32.

[10] Cet ordre barbare, Petitot, Collections, vi. 332; in Nicolas, 125; Labitte, 143; Martin, vi. 20; Hauteclocque, 286; Trébuchet, 79; cette resolution inouie, Belleval, 109; "a harsh and as it proved unnecessary order," Oman, Hist. 226; do. Hundred Years' War, 111; E. Hardy, 170; this cruel order, Haggard, 128.

[11] Aen. Sylv. Orat. iii. 193; ainsi fut faite la grande occision, Chron. Brioc. 891; cladem plurimum auxit, Meyer, 246. Mazas (Vies, v. 631, 632) thinks that 1200 nobles and 2200 knights were thus killed; cf. killed "une infinité de seigneurs," Devienne, Artois, iii. 47; Hauteclocque (286) and Belleval (109) give 1000; Hanotaux (254) gives 2000; and Wade (81), 14,000, thinking probably of Juv. 519.

when the massacre had once begun it was impossible to discriminate or stop it, and when the Duke of Brabant was captured after all possible danger was at an end he was removed with others to some little distance from the fray, his basnet and gorget were taken off, and his throat was cut, his captor not knowing from his eccentric blason what a precious life he had thrown away—for his followers had not dared to look towards their chief lest the English should recognise his value and force up his finance[1]. The whole frightful episode has naturally exercised the minds of many modern critics of our king, whether as defenders or opponents. Of the former one thinks that the massacre proves that Henry cannot be called "positively humane[2]," while others take refuge in the altogether gratuitous supposition that when the mistake was discovered the king immediately ordered that the slaughter should be stopped[3], and showed "extraordinary grief and sorrow" for what he had done[4]; another can only leave it "to the generous mind and feeling heart to acquit King Henry of barbarity[5]"; while yet another, refusing to believe that he was actuated by "any deliberate or revengeful inhumanity," pleads in extenuation that physical exhaustion of mind and body may be admitted as his apology for a precipitate act into which the general excitation and alarm of his wearied countrymen combined to urge him[6]. But the present temper of English historians inclines to sweep aside all such paltering excuses[7] and to call it "a cold-blooded wholesale murder[8]," "a cruel

[1] Dynter, iii. 302, 303, 751, 752; a celle deconfiture (i.e. the massacre) fu tue li duch de Brabant, Ruisseauville, 140; though Monstr. (376) supposed that he rushed into the vanguard and was at once killed; also Le Fèvre, i. 256; Waurin, ii. 215; Michelet, vi. 36.

[2] Goldwin Smith, i. 255.

[3] Hume (edition 1854), ii. 358; Andrews, ii. 20; Tyler, ii. 172, 173; Courtenay, i. 204; Macfarlane, 40; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 33; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 563; Tyrrell, 293 [171]; Cassell, i. 534; Low, 41; Bearne, 276; Aubrey, 11 (who calls it "an unfortunate occurrence"). Carte (ii. 681) thinks that the English began to kill some captives of their own accord but were soon stopped by Henry's order. Lingard (iii. 500) thinks that "the order was unfortunately executed before the mistake could be discovered"; also Dict. Nat. Biogr. xxvi. 48.

[4] Martyn, 186, who thinks that he "lamented it with mony teares."

[5] Guthrie, ii. 467. Echard (i. 486) calls it "an Action so contrary to his merciful and generous Temper that he could but resolve upon it with the highest Regret"; also Goodwin, 90.

[6] S. Turner, v. 455, 456.

[7] Not that the king himself offered any excuses, as A. Beckett, 244.

[8] Tyrrell, 293 [171]; Vickers, 31; cf. ein abscheuliches Morden, Niethe, 53.

butchery[1]," which "cannot be defended[2]," though a large section with varying degrees of thoroughness still plead that it was a "dire necessity[3]" dictated by "the hasty instinct of self-preservation[4]," and that the king's "laurels cannot with justice be deemed to be sullied[5]." French writers on the other hand quite naturally approach this "question" without a trace of any such mitigating tenderness. To them this "cold-blooded order" is like that of Bajazet at Nicopolis[6], a hateful and inhuman crime[7] prompted by a sudden fit of rage[8] which no colouring can palliate and no reasoning excuse[9], leaving an indelible stain[10] on England's honour which dripped out at every pore[11]. But surely we are wasting sentiment in all these biassed comments of to-day. A generation later an English chronicler goes out of his way to tell us that however unwilling our people were yet the order was absolutely necessary because a new and fresh French army had appeared on the field[12]. The living writers of the time have no such passionate judgments to record. In Italy it is true a writer called it "a hostile and inhuman deed," but in

[1] Ramsay, i. 222; cf. "a cruel deed," Gardiner, 303; cf. ce massacre était inutile, E. Hardy, 170.

[2] Adams, i. 229.

[3] Zech, 301; Nicolas, 124; Tyler, i. 169; Church, 82; Towle, 339; "a presumed necessity," S. Turner, v. 455; "let us hope it was unavoidable," Reed, 138; cf. a "Rational Apprehension," Echard, i. 186; nothing could give assurance of safety but their slaughter, Baker, 171; this necessary precaution, Carte, ii. 681; par la crainte de quelque tentative de la part des prisonniers, Anquetil, i. 557.

[4] Knight, ii. 63; Gairdner, 98; Yonge, 281; cf. "a cruelty which his judgment took from Safeties Laws," Boyle, 5.

[5] Long, lxxxiv. 466.

[6] Belleval, 107.

[7] Mazas, Vies, v. 631.

[8] Un mouvement subit de colère, Anquetil, i. 557; but "ordonné froidement" in Hanotaux, 254. R. Baker (171) supposes that the sight of the Duke of York's body induced the order for the massacre, see Archaeologia, xx. 27.

[9] Qu'on a vainement tenté à justifier, Villaret, xiii. 374; un trait inhumain de quelque manière qu'on le colore, Hennebert, iii. 330; aucun raisonnement ne peut excuser un pareil crime, Roujoux, Bretagne, ii. 173; une des actions les moins justifiées et les plus odieuses, Roujoux, Histoire, ii. 244; un acte d'inhumanité, une cruauté sans excuse, Duval-Pineu, ii. 203, who contrasts Henry with Duguesclin who released his prisoners at the battle of Cocherel or Cochrel (near Evreux), May 16, 1364; St Foix, iii. 191; though no such episode appears in the account of the battle in Luce, Du Guesclin, 441–451.

[10] Belleval, 109.

[11] Depeyre, 237, who refers to a "memorable discussion" at the end of the eighteenth century. Ardouin Dumazet (xix. 100) thinks that the prisoners were massacred malgré la parole donnée.

[12] Coacti necessario licet inviti, Kirkstall, Chron. 286

the same sentence he admits that with prisoners outnumbering his men by more than 2 to 1, Henry "feared of the perils of the dark[1]"; while in France even his most furious critic who railed at him with the fiercest invective for the carnage in the streets of Caen[2] vents not a syllable of blame for this massacre on the battlefield. For given the circumstances in those days the French would have done the same themselves[3] had they been in so perilous a case[4]. And so while Englishmen regretted it as a "mighty loss" of ransom money[5], or watered down the story by saying that heralds were sent to warn the "new army" of the French that the prisoners would be slaughtered without mercy if they did not at once draw off[6], the French reserved their wrath for those "wicked men[7]" on their own side who would not recognise that they were beaten by the rules of the game and whose useless rally made this dreadful slaughter a necessity.

Freed from all danger in his rear the English king was ready to face the new adventure full in front. His men soon hewed their way into the second throng[8] where the disheartened French made little stand[9]. Such as had horses in reserve soon mounted them and fled[10] in hot earnest,

[1] Vetitus nocturna pericula, Aen. Sylv. Comm. 151; do. Orat. iii. 193; in duplo esse plures quam victores.

[2] Blondel (Stevenson), 218.

[3] Juxta morem patriae, Wals. ii. 287 (of the prisoners at Dourdan in 1411, Wylie, iv. 62); Musgrave, 297, who calls it "an incident characteristic of the barbarity of the period"; Froissart, i. 211 (1346), quoted in Scott, ii. 499; cf. the Burgundian at Roye in 1420; ceux que les Picards avoient pris et créancés eux-mesmes les tuérent car ne les eussant osé mener avec eux, Chastellain, i. 99; also page 53, note 10; and before Nicopolis, Köhler, iii. Pt. II. 233, who gives similar examples of the Germans and Italians; cf. ou massacrés *par économie* ou mutilés, Lavisse, 81. For the Portuguese killing their prisoners at Aljubarrota, see Lachauvelaye, ii. 112. For the hanging of prisoners from walls and windows, see Melusine, 96; cf. tout rigeur délaissiez *sauve a l'eure de bataile* (Philippe de Mezières in pleading for better treatment for Saracen prisoners), Jorga, 513.

[4] Moult perilleuse adventure, Waur. ii. 216.

[5] That was a myghty losse to Engelond, Brut, ii. 597, Lambeth MS. 84, f. 194.

[6] Kingsford, Lit. 326.

[7] See page 168, note 8. Towle (338) still blames their "miserable temerity."

[8] Waur. ii. 215; Monstr. 376.

[9] Ce rien n'y valut, Monstr. 376. Oman (in Traill, ii. 324) supposes that they "pushed forward on to the laboured ground." C. R. L. Fletcher (321) thinks that the fiercest fighting took place "in the 2nd wedge."

[10] Mist toulz les aultres francois au fuer? Add. MS. 17716, f. 102; flühent und underligen, Twinger, ii. 916, see page 166, note 3; omnesque equites qui evaserant campo cessere, Wals. ii. 312; Hypodig. 466; caeteri de exercitu Francorum fugerunt, Bec. Chron. 82.

as onlookers had all along believed they would[1], leaving the English undisputed masters of that bloody field strewn with lances, bows[2] and swords and the abandoned carts and waggons of their broken and defeated foe. Retracing their steps they turned over the piles of carnage[3]. Any that were found to be still alive they kept as prisoners, or if badly injured they despatched them as they lay, scarring and gashing their faces with nails and iron picks till they were past all recognition[4]. They stripped the bodies of their surcoats, their armour and their hose[5] which they carried by horse-loads back to Maisoncelles. But when the king heard that they were gorged[6] with plunder he sent a herald through the field proclaiming that no man should burden himself on the morrow with more spoil than he really needed for his own use as they were not yet out of danger for the road. Many of the wounded crawled into the woods at night[7] or straggled painfully some distance from the field to lurk in hedges and thickets in hope of escape from their own compatriots who dragged them out when they found them defenceless and killed them for the sake of their horse or kit or cash[8] or anything they might have about them. For what the English left half-done was finished by the peasants of the neighbourhood who with their wives and children prowled around all night and made a great picking[9], as they stripped the dead stark[10] to the air as naked as they came forth from their mother's womb[11],

[1] Quasi parati ad fugam potius quam ad moram, Gesta, 49.

[2] Gesta, 56, i.e. chiefly those that the English had themselves thrown away.

[3] S'embesongoient de retourner gens morts, Waur. ii. 217.

[4] Deciperent tous les morts *et les vivanes* en leur visaiges afin que on ne les reconnut point et ossi bien tous les engles qui la estoient morts comme les aultres, Ruisseauville, 142; Belleval, 117; E. Hardy, 171; out of 500 or 600 Breton dead only 18 could be recognised; car touz les aultres estoient si decoupez que on n'en congroissoit nul, Chron. Brioc. 891.

[5] Desarmerent les mors, Norm. Chron. 172; cf. grant cop d'armeures, Ruisseauville, 142.

[6] Qu'on etripeloit, Waur. ii. 208; cf. entripaillait, Godefroy, i. 489.

[7] Trahisons, 130.

[8] Tant de chevaux, de males, et de chevanche, Ruisseauville, 142, who lays this to the charge of the Ternois and Boulenois; or to the men of St Pol, as Boulé, i. 232.

[9] Grant acquest, Trahisons, 130; cf. that wel could pike a male, Skelton, i. 35.

[10] Cf. "starke dede," York, 27; Halliwell, ii. 799; ded sterk, Laud Troy Book, 404.

[11] Waur. ii. 218; Le Fèvre, i. 260; "naked like those who are born of nothing," Haggard, 129; nuda et penitus spoliata, Vita, 70; linges, draps, brails, chausses et tous autres habillements, Monstr. 380, on the authority of heralds and other persons dignes de foi; leving theim nether shirte nor cloute, Halle, 71; Grafton, i. 519; Rabbe, 13.

and when the English army moved out on the morrow they passed through ghastly heaps of blood and loyalty[1] whose hideous deaths and grisly wounds[2] would melt a heart of stone[3].

Cf. Bleven ligghende tien tide,
Op toelt doot (? dort) al moeder naec.. Rymkron. iii. 226.

Not that the bodies were buried tout habillés, as Mazas, Vies, vi. 374, who thinks that à cette époque dépouiller les morts était regardé comme une profanation; cf. so nakid as tou were borin, Halliwell, ii. 570.

[1] Per aggerem illum pietatis et sanguinis, Gesta, 60.

[2] Laud Troy Book, 178, 194, 201, 407, 416; woundes grym, ibid. 193, 403.

[3] Diras mortes et amara vulnera, Gesta, 56.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE DEAD

When all resistance was at an end the king gathered his men about him[1], and calling silence with uplifted hand thanked them for the valour they had shown on that glorious field which would be to all men a proof that their cause was just[2]. Yet let them not attribute their success to their own might but solely to the grace of God[3], who by the means of his little band had humbled this great host of Frenchmen in the dust.

He then sent for his heralds together with Montjoie the French king-of-arms[4] who was among the prisoners and asked what castle that was that he saw yonder in the rain[5], and when they told him that its name was Agincourt[6], "then," said he, "let this be called the Battle of Agincourt," and so it has been to this day. For though some neighbouring titles such as Rollencourt[7], Hesdin[8], Ruisseauville[9], Maison-

[1] Mazas (Vies, v. 632) thinks that he sat down in the centre of the defile et se livra comme un enfant aux transports d'une joie immodérée. For picture of a conqueror with visor up kneeling to thank God for victory on the battlefield amidst a heap of dead, see Durrieu, Très riches Heures, Plate XXXIII.

[2] See App. L.

[3] Juv. 520; Ruisseauville, 142, but doubts sometimes crept in about the theory; cf. albeit that at some tymes God suffrethe the partie that hath right and a trew title to be overthrow, Noblesse, 42.

[4] Le premier heraut du roi de France; roi d'armes des Franchois, Bouvier, 14; do. Description, p. 1. He took his title from "Montjoie St Denis!" or "Nostre Dame Montjoye St Denys au très Chrestien roy!" (Bouvier, 44; do. Descript. pp. 1, 28; Debat, 132; Rouyer, 31) which was the French king's war-cry, Bouvier, 5, 13, 14, 20; do. Armorial, 39, 41; see page 121, note 5. For "Montjoie" over pictures of the Duke of Orleans and the Counts of Richmond and Angoulême, see Montfaucon, iii. 268, 274; all called "pure fantaisie" in Bouvier, 50. For "Montjoye-Saint Denys" as the French war-cry at the battle of Val-ès-Duney in 1047, see Freeman, ii. 258.

[5] There is no need to suppose that he was feigning ignorance, as Hennebert, iii. 331.

[6] See App. L.

[7] Rolandcourt, Caxton, 226.

[8] Es partiez de Hedine, Cochon, 274; prope oppidum de Hesdin, Basin, i. 23; près de Hesdin, Verneuil, 8.

[9] La battaille de Roussaville, Pastoralet, 768, 851; or Roussiauville, Wauquelin, in Dynter, iii. 746, 749, 753; called Rousseauville in Lannoy, 32; do. Oeuvres, 49;

celles[1], Blangy[2] or even Thérouanne[3] held the field for a while and in some quarters the battle was at first known as "the Artois day[4]" or the "Picardy affair[5]," yet all other claims have long since given place and the name of the little village of Azincourt is now for ever immortalised while that of Tramecourt[6] its neighbour has been completely forgotten.

The battle will always be remembered for the enormous slaughter of the vanquished especially among their high-born leaders. The French had lost the bulk of their nobility[7] and amongst their dead were numbered the Dukes

Lelewel, 30; Leroux de Lincy, Chants, p. vi; Cordeliers, 229; Barante, iii. 157; Boulé, i. 419; Church, 76; Köhler, 759, 761, 768; juxta locum dictum Rosseauville, Zantfliet, 406; près de Rousseauville, Bourgeois, 64; Bearne, 272. Called Rousiauville, S. Turner, v. 431; Rouceauville, Roye, 168; Russeauville, Daniel, iii. 872; Roussainville, Nicolas, 140; Russelivilla, Gall. Christ. x. 1589, 1606; Ruisauville, Scott, ii. 550; Ruissanville, Henty, 340; not Buisseauville, as Labitte, 135.

[1] Chron. Brioc. 891.

[2] Francos Crispini mactat rex Anglie Blangi, Pauwels, 244; ad Blangium, Emilio, 323; Rosières, 430; Raynaldi, viii. 438; la bataille d'Azincourt ou Blangu, Vinchant, iv. 50; circa Blangium, Barland, Rerum, 16; Blangiaci, Dreve, Ann. 41; apud Blangy, Leyden, 343; in campis Blangianis, Verhaer, i. 381, quoting "Leodiensis"; Blangiana clades, Gaguin, Ann. 203; Blangiana pugna, ibid. cxi; do. Mer, 141; Meyer, 247; in bello de Blangys, Roye, 169; Impens, 355; Barland, 63; en la bastaille d'Agincourt de lez Blangy en Ternois, Prioux, 87; bataille de Blangy, Le Petit, i. 349 (where it is called la journée des esporans dorez, apparently a mistake for Courtrai?); in pugna Blangiacensi quae Agincourt vulgariter appellatur, Le Tort, 90 (written circ. 1523); ad un luogo chiemato Blangium, Sanuto, 898, where his original (i.e. Morosini, ii. 70) has Artoxe (i.e. Artois) tra la Franza Pichardia; a Blangy près d'Azincourt, Duchesne, 823; ad Agincurtiam prope Blangium, Vignier, Burgund, 175; atween Agyncourt and Blangy, Fabyan, 579; betwixt the townes of Blangie and Agencourt, Martyn, 182. Dreux du Radier (iii. 145) confuses it with Blangies near Mons and the battlefield of Malplaquet (1709).

[3] "The batle of Turwyne," Pol. Songs, ii. 124; or "Tyrwyne," Kingsford, Chron. 119, unless this means Ternois (Tervana), i.e. the district around St Pol; devant Terouane, Bourget (Pillet), 385; "at Terouene," Bourget, 55; entre Hesdin et Therouanne, La Mure, ii. 129; Plancher, iii. 438; see p. 129, note 5. For description of Thérouanne, see Desrues, 122, note 8; Harbaville, ii. 176; Ardouin-Dumazet, xix. 104. For picture and plan, see Piers, Azincourt, 387. On Oct. 24, 1415, Louis Bishop of Thérouanne wrote from St Pol explaining that it was impossible at present to make his formal entry into Thérouanne causantibus periculis imminentibus ex exercitu regis Anglorum in confinibus et locis satis propinquis et adjacente (*sic*) civitatem nostram Morinensem (i.e. Thérouanne) existente, Duebet-Girg. 284; Bled, Reg. ii. 1; do. Inventaire, 135.

[4] "La piteuse journée d'Artois," G. Dupont, ii. 512, from Archives du Département de Calvados.

[5] "La besogne de Picardie," Acad. des Inscr. xxxiv. 306, 360 (written in April 1416); Luce, ii. 100. At Bordeaux the victory was announced officially on Nov. 23, 1415, as "victoria de Piquardia," Jurade, 288; "zu Pikardien," Twinger, ii. 916; "la malvese journée de Picardie," Cochon, 339; "la male journee en Piquardie," Blondel, i. 126; Picardie campus, ibid. 262; belli in Picardia, ibid. i. 261; en lo pays de Picardia, Petit, Thalamus, 463; called "la journée de la bataille des françois contre les anglois," Brièle, Doc. iii. 56; der gross Streit in Frankreich, Nürnberg Chron. iii. 369.

[6] Entre Azincourt et Tramecourt, Waur. ii. 204; Le Fèvre, i. 246. Mazas (Vies, v. 633) thinks that the château de Tramecourt ought to have given the name because it was much nearer; also Labitte, 145.

[7] Omne decus, Wals. ii. 313; fut tuee la grande partie de la chivalrie de la partie

of Alençon, Brabant and Bar[1] (with his brother John[2]), the Constable of France, Charles d'Albret[3] (to whose weakness

Franceis, Rot. Parl. iv. 94 (Oct. 19, 1416); tota la major partida de la nobleza de Fransa, Petit, Thalamus, 463.

[1] i.e. Edward, second son of Robert Duke of Bar (d. 1411), see vol. i. page 170; Anselme, v. 513, 515. For his will dated at Louppy near Bar-le-Duc, Oct. 7, 1415, see Calmet, iii. 530; Clouet, iii. 554; Renard, 71, in which he leaves legacies to his brother the Cardinal of Bar. Not "Barrye," as Harflet, 318; Lambeth MS. 84, 194; Brut, 379, 555, 597; nor "Baver," as Capgr. 312; nor "Bavaria," as Ralph Brook in Nicolas, 367. Bar was made into a Duchy in 1354 to include Bar, Bussigny (or La Marche), St Mihiel and Clermont-en-Argonne (Longnon, 527), from boundaries drawn up by the Cardinal de Bar for King René, Aug. 13, 1419, of which the first two acknowledged the suzerainty of the King of France. Edward had succeeded to the dukedom by virtue of an arrangement made at Sens, Sept. 19, 1409, which set aside the claims of the children of his elder brother Henri to the title, Sauley, 16, 17; Servais, ii. 298; Clouet, iii. 532; Renard, 70; called April 8 or 16, 1409, in Duchesne, 63; Preuves, 58. For 5 fr. 1 gros. 10 d. paid an Englishman named Edward and 100 archers in the service of Edward Duke of Bar at Etain near Verdun, till Nov. 17, 1415, see Clouet, ii. 555. For 1 drap vermeil and 1 drap vert semendriet d'oiselles d'or given to the cathedral at Thérouanne in 1422, see Bled, Invent. 136, 138.

[2] i.e. Jean, Viscount of Pulsaye (not Puissaye, as Hookham, i. 118), Aluye Brou and Montmirail, Roman, 183; Wassebourg, 460; A. Duchesne, Dreux (Bar-le-Duc), 59; Preuves, 62; des herczogen pruder vom Pery, Nürnberg Chron. iii. 369. Not that "two Dukes of Bar" were killed, as Towle, 200, 341.

[3] Not John, as Hassell, 225; Oman, Hist. 223; do. Hundred Years' War, 108; Lecesne, 257, who calls him "l'incapable"; not that he was taken prisoner, as Low-Pulling, 553, 653. He is called "Le Breth" in Kittredge, 7; cf. Deschamps, iii. 376; or "De Brut," Hist. MSS. Rept. Var. Coll. iv. 195; not "d'Arbre," as Beamont, 243. He is called the son of Charles d'Albret Vicomte de Tartas in the Laudes, Anselme, vi. 211; or of Arnaud Amanieu, Count of Albret, Guiffrey, i. 134, where he is born in 1369. For his Hostel de Dreux (formerly Hostel de Bourbon) near the Halles in Paris, see Picton, 256, where the name is spelt Leporetum, Lepretum, Albretum, etc. and is connected with rabbits, see Mas-Latrie, 1533; Wylie, ii. 319, note 10. For Dreux granted to him by Charles VI in 1407, see Raymond, iv. 37 (E. 155); Grande Encycl. xiv. 1083. For list of his books in the castle at Dreux, see Raymond, iv. 15 (E. 59). These include a romance of Artus, son of Jean, Duc de Bretaigne, a Livre des Propriétés (i.e. Bartholomew), a livre de Christine, roman de Lusignan, de Brut que Gautier Archidiacre de Holscot translata de Breton en français (not mentioned in Leroux de Lincy, Le Roman de le Brut, 1836); Faits des Roumains, gran roman, beginning: "Apres que j'ay leu et releu"; Pelerinage de vie de Jesu Christ et de l'Ame, beginning: "Jadis ot ung Empereur a Romme qui ot nom Dno decianus"; also beginning: "Ou tamps de may que tint ly oisillon et do di filosophe fut moult saye"; la vision de Christine; de de la Rose; ballades motés (? notés) en français; Brut; Renouart; Antine (?); a Pelerin. For inventory of the marbles of Marie de Sully, 1409, see Raymond, iv. 14 (E. 58), including romances of Challemaine (*sic*), Emery (i.e. Aymery) de Narbonne and Tristan, together with 2 silver groats for her parrot. He became Lord of Sully and Craon by his marriage on Jan. 27, 1400, with Marie de Sully, widow of Guy de Trémoille, see Anselme, ii. 859; iv. 164; vi. 211; Bouchet, 731; Sainte Marthe, 127; Raynal, ii. 421; Trémoille, i, iii, with his accounts till 1406, where he is called Monseigneur de Lebret (pp. 139, 140, 215). For the marriage contract, see Raymond, iv. 14 (E. 55), where the date is given as 1406 in which year he was at the Hôtel de Petit Muce in Paris, Trémoille, 141. Charles d'Albret was born in 1369 (Trémoille, 221; Anselme, vi. 206), and was made constable when he stood sponsor for Charles VII at his baptism in 1403 (Raoulet, 104; not 1402, as Mas-Latrie, 2181). For his seal, see B. Zeller, Louis, 71. For marriage of his daughter Jeanne with Charles son of Jean de Montaigu maistre de l'hôtel to the King of France, and his daughter Marguerite with Gaston son of Archambaud Count of Foix, see Raymond, iv. 15 (E. 59). Called tige des Comtes de Canaples in Ponthieu between Amiens and Doullens, in Mas-Latrie, 1603. For a houppelande of black velvet given to him by the Duke of Orleans, Oct. 10, 1395, see Roman, 71; also Add. Ch. 2292, 2305, Oct. 26, 1398, etc. For a letter to him dated

and mismanagement the chief blame for the disaster must always attach[1]), the Admiral Jacques de Châtillon, Lord of Dampierre[2], together with Philip, Count of Nevers[3], another brother of the Duke of Burgundy[4], Terry, Count of Vaudemont[5], Robert, Count of Marle[6], the Counts of

Perpignan, May 30, 1400, from Raymand de Palou or Ramon Cagarriga, governor of Roussillon, see Vidal, 355, 357. For ring with a diamond cut like a cross, given by him to the Duke of Berry, Jan. 1, 1411, see Guiffrey, i. 134, who shows 500 liv. per month granted to him by the Duke on Aug. 25, 1411, as long as he was in his company. For receipt by him for 500 liv. tourn. for the month of Feb. 1412, for expenses of gens d'armes in Guienne, see Gironde, iii. 64. For the city of "Lucques in Lombardie" (*sic*) granted to him by Charles VI, King of France, see Raymond, iv. 15 (E. 59), 1410–1412. The only explanation that I can suggest as to this singular entry is that at this time the possession of Lucca was disputed between Florence and Milan. There is no reference to any such transaction in Mazzarosa, i. 266. For his visit to London to conclude an alliance for the Orleanists (? in 1412), see Maulde la Clavière, i. 30, who refers to a letter written by him in July 15, 1415, concerning his jewels entrusted to Nicolas Corny, silk mercer in Paris and sold by his son Cosme Cosny who had failed heavily (*grièvement failli*), from Inventaire des Titres de l'Hotel de Nevers.

[1] Villaret, xiii. 361. Cf.

Charles de Labret qui par l'aire,
Chochoit pour sa fourme contraire. Pastoralet, 846.

Je ne scay qui Antidon tua, ibid. 775. Ruisseauville, to whom he is a bête noire, reports a rumour that he was killed by some lords of Picardy in the beginning of the battle in disgust at his treason; cf. par la traison de aulceunz de ceulx de France, comme l'en dit, Chron. Brienc. 891, one of several indications of the connection of this chronicle with the so-called Chronicle of Ruisseauville.

[2] Monstr. 377.

[3] Not Jacque, as Yonge, 276. Called "Navarne" in Lel. Coll. ii. 472; "Naverne," Brut, ii. 379, 597; "Douers," ibid. 555; or "Onguersa," Morosini, ii. 72. For his seal, see B. Zeller, Armagnacs, 35. For views of Nevers (i.e. Place Ducal and Cathedral), see Touchard-Lafosse, ii. 654, 696.

[4] Juv. 521; St Denys, v. 570; Harflet, 325; Monstr. 377; Bourgeois, 64. For letter written by him on Oct. 22, 1415, at "Luthen," see Dynter, iii. 299, 749; called "Affers" in Windecke, 87; "Ennevers" or "Danvers," i.e. Antwerp, in Norm. Chron. 170; do. Hellot, 19; though Ramsay (i. 210) supposes that he had been with his sons at Rouen. He was the third son of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (Wylie, i. 441), and was born in Oct. 1389. He married (1) at Soissons on April 23 or 25, 1409, Isabel, daughter of Enguerrand VII, Lord of Coucy (La Caille, 582, 587; Barante, ii. 324); she died without issue in 1411 (Higgins, ii. 295) and he afterwards married (2) on June 20, 1413, Bonne of Artois, daughter of Philip, Count of Eu (Lefils, 133; Mas-Latrie, 1649; Vatout, iii. 136). She is called Mademoiselle de Nevers on Jan. 1, 1415, Guiffrey, i. 302. She afterwards married on Nov. 30, 1424, Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, Mas-Latrie, 1569, 1596; Barante, iv. 119; vi. 409; Leroux de Lincy, Femmes, 377; La Tort, 90. She died at Dijon on Sept. 17, 1425 (Anselme, i. 241), and was buried in the Carthusian church just outside the town, Morillot, 8.

[5] Mas-Latrie, 1695; Monstr. 374.

[6] i.e. Marle near Laon; not "Marles," as Renard, 71. Called "Morelle" in Harflet, 324; Hearne, Vita, 377; not Charles, as Roussel, i. 353. For his seal, Sept. 14, 1415, see Demay, Inventaire, i. 605. He was the son of Henry de Bar who was present at Nicopolis, made his will on Aug. 1, 1397 (Baudot, 194), and died at Venice in October following (Servais, ii. 250). This Robert, Count of Marle, was thus a nephew of Edward, Duke of Bar, Cordeliers, 223; St Denys, v. 570; Juv. 579; Monstr. 374, 376; Vita, 68; Duchesne, 824; Belleval, 142; Clouet, iii. 554; Morosini, iv. 352, where he is married to Jeanne, daughter of Robert de Bethune, Vicomte de Meaux (Fenin, 128), who in 1418 married as her second husband a strong Burgundian, Jean de Luxembourg (Longnon, Paris, 32) (called Louis in Finot, Paix, 18, where Jeanne is called the *daughter* of Robert, Count of Marle). The county of Marle was created for him in Aug. 1413, Longnon,

Blamont[1], Grandpré[2], Roucy[3], Dammartin[4], Fauquembergues[5] and Vaucourt[6], together with 90 lords[7], over 1560 knights and between 4000 and 5000 men-of-arms[8]. These were all "worthy men[9]" or "gentlemen in coat armour[10]" and some record of them was said to have been made by the heralds[11], while the nameless herd was never even counted up[12]. In England the gross total of the French killed was set down roughly at from 10,000 to 15,000, though the belief was certainly current with the man in the street that 11,000 would cover the total loss both of killed and prisoners, and with this calculation the soberest French estimate[13] is not seriously at variance, though in the first shock of their distress their writers likened their losses to the ears of corn in Beauce or the

Limites, 519. The title included La Fère, Monteornet (Aisne), Soissons, Dunkerque and Oisy-le-Verger, Fenin, 128; Duchesne, Dreux Bar-le-Duc, 57, 61, 65; Belleval, 142; Finot, Paix, 18. For picture of him and his father-in-law, Enguerrand de Couci in the White Friars' Priory (St Pierre) at Toulouse, see Servais, II. Frontispiece; he had married Enguerrand's daughter Marie in 1383, Maulde la Clavière, i. 12 (or 1384, Baudot, 325). She died in 1405. The supposed picture of her in St Stephen's Chapel at Westminster, circ. 1350, is really that of her mother Isabel, daughter of Edward III, see J. T. Smith, 158; Topham, Plate XVII. For Jean IV de Beuil killed in the battle, see Gautier, 166, where he is governor of Loches in 1387.

[1] i.e. Henry III, Count of Blamont near Montbeliard (Doubs), Belleval, 151; called "Blawmont" in Martyn, 186; not "Beamont," as Trussel, 103.

[2] In Champagne, Mas-Latrie, 1610, where Edward is the Count from 1374 to 1417. Called "Grawnté" in Harflet, 324; "Grauntpré" in Monstr. 377; Vita, 6; not "Grandfer," as Trussel, 103.

[3] Near Rheims, Mas-Latrie, 1671. Called "Rossey" in Harflet, 324; "Rousey" in Trussel, 103.

[4] Called "Danmartyne" in Harflet, 324; or "Danmartinis" in Vita, 68; possibly Charles de la Rivière who married Blanche de Trie, heiress of Dammartin near Paris, Mas-Latrie, 1591; who is said to have died in 1427 in Bourgeois, 105, note.

[5] Near Fruges, Le Fèvre, i. 265; called Fauquenberg in Vickers, 29.

[6] Near Luneville (Meurthe), Le Fèvre, i. 265; Monstr. 377; Capgr. De Illustr. 117.

[7] Quorum nomina describuntur in codice Recordorum, Gesta, 57; Chron. Giles, 51; lordes of name an hundrede and mo, Pol. Songs, ii. 106; for 111 names of "the lordes and the states of name," see Brut, ii. 555; 126 "princes and nobles bearing banners," Henry V, IV. 8. 92; Baker, 171; Sandford, 281.

[8] See App. M.

[9] Kingsford, Chron. 70; Chron. Lond. 101.

[10] Caxton, 227; Capgr. 312. For "gentilman" as a class designation, see Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 8, 13.

[11] Secundum computationem heraldorum, Hard. 391. Ruisseauville (142) says that the heralds counted 1600 or 1800 cottes d'armes sans les aultres gentils-hommes qui nulles n'en avoient.

[12] Wals. ii. 313; Hypodig. 467; vulgus quasi innumerabile, Kirkstall, Chron 286; maxima multitudo populi, Hard. 391; praeter alios innumerabiles, Otterbourne, 277.

[13] i.e. 10,000, Waurin, ii. 229; Le Fèvre, i. 268; Monstr. 379 (including 1600 varlets).

grains of sand in the Loire[1], so great that no man could number them[2].

On the English side the casualties were wholly insignificant[3]. Elmham[4] indeed will own to the loss of no more than 13 or 15 "persons[5]," though some will go as high as 16[6], 20[6], 25[7], 26[8], 27[9], 28[10], 30[11], 33[12] or even 40[13], and though we may try to make sense of this by interpreting persons as "personages" or "men of name[14]," yet it is certain that the writers who used the word meant to include all ranks[15], while the apparently official report still preserved at Salisbury[16] which gives the number of the English dead

Belcica quas nutrit cicius numerabis aristas,
Impete vel bibulas Ligeris quas versat armas.
Blondel, i. 33, written in 1420.

Plus tost de Beaulce les espis,
Et de toute Loire les goutes,
Savois tu raconter et dire. Ibid. i. 127.

[2] La perte est si grande qu'on ne pourroit estimer, D. Godefroy, 680 (April, 25, 1417).

[3] Sanz grande perte de les Engleys, Rot. Parl. iv. 62 (Nov. 2, 1415); n'y firent pas grant perte, Le Fèvre, i. 260; Waurin, ii. 218.

Foible ennemi en grand deconfiture,
Victoriex et peu débilité. Baye, ii. 220.

Monstr. 381; les desconfirent très aisement, Bouvier, 430; sans leur perte, Danvin, 120, from Bibl. Nat. MS. no. 8311-2621; victor sine laesu, Pol. Songs, ii. 127; Curteys, f. 166 b [125], i.e. Register of William Curteys, Abbot of Bury St Edmunds (1429–1446). For this reference I am indebted to Mr J. A. Herbert of the British Museum. For an abstract of the contents of the Register, see Monast. iii. 129, where it is called "a book of general entries."

[4] Vix fuerunt interfecti ix viri, Kingsford, Lit. 278; i.e. 9 or 10 killed besides the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk and two newly created knights, i.e. Kighley and D. Gam, Gesta, 58; Chron. Giles, 51; Durham, 53.

[5] Decem alie persone, Hardyng, 391; called 10 archers, R. Brook, in Nicolas, 367; or 10 private soldiers, Paulus Omilius, quoted in Baker, 171; sont tuez forsq' xvi persones de Engloiz, Add. MS. 17716, f. 162; Romania, xxxii. 49, meaning all ranks.

[6] Not "20 persons," Caxton, Polychron. 227; quindecim de aliis personis valetterum, Lansdowne MS. 1054, f. 53; other persons to the number of 18, Chron. Lond. 101.

[7] Henry V, IV. 8. 104.

[8] Not pussyng 26 bodyes, Brut, ii. 379, 598; Lambeth MS. 84, f. 195; Caxton, 146; Godstow, 243; Lel. Coll. ii. 472; Fabyan, 580.

[9] "Tantum xxvij," Usk, 126, 308.

[10] xxviij persons atte most, Kingsford, Lit. 294, 317; 28 persons of all estates, Chron. Lond. 159; Greg. Chron. 112; othir moo zemen to the numbre of 28, Brut, ii. 557; called 28 milites, Parker, 277 d; do. De Antiq. 415.

[11] Vix Angli reliqui ter decas ense ruunt, Elm. Lib. Metr. 122; Sat. Rev. 24. 8. 1912, p. 232.

[12] i.e. 4 knights, 1 squire (i.e. Davy Gam) and 28 de communi populo, Wals. ii. 313; Hypodig. 467; Capgr. 312; do. De Illustr. 117; Otterbourne, 227; Kennett, i. 370; cf. "not exceeding 40," in Baines, i. 130, who considers this to be "much underrated." Tyrrell, 293 [171] quotes "some old chroniclers" for 40, which he regards as a "vain and idle boast." Zech (301) thinks this should be 400. Not that the lowest estimate is 40, as Aubrey, ii. 49.

[13] Kirkstall, Chron. 286 (ut dicebatur); Hume, ii. 358 (edition 1854).

[14] "Hommes de nom," Waurin, ii. 229; "lordes of name," Pol. Songs, ii. 126; "none else of name," Henry V, IV. 8. 104.

[15] e.g. in Add. MS. 17716, f. 102, the killed are 11,000 "persones dez Fraunceys" and 16 "persones des Englès," see also Romania, xxii. 49; see note 5 *supra*.

[16] See App. H.

at "about 15" expressly calls them "varlets," adding "of lords no more than the Duke of York and the young Earl of Suffolk." Much ridicule has been cast upon these curious figures by later writers[1] who rejected them as "beyond belief[2]," because they are so "inconceivably small[3]," and they certainly seem to reach their climax of absurdity in Elizabethan times when the public were told that the English losses were "not above 5 or 6 and no common soldiers[4]," or in the ballad where "thousands of Frenchmen fall to *one*[5]." But the figures undoubtedly found acceptance with well-informed contemporaries on both sides and were so absolutely accepted in England that in a Conversation Manual of the period written to teach French to Englishmen, where two travellers meet on the road near Rochester and talk over the latest news from France, the recent battle supplies the theme and the English loss is given as "16 persons" besides the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk[6]. In criticising these figures it is to be remembered that there are other instances of heavy engagements with enormous losses on the one side and almost none on the other[7], while previous experience has shown that English

[1] Qui miracula scribunt, Pol. Verg. 447; J. Meyer, 126; a miracle rather than a victory, Baker, 171; let who will believe miracles, Biondi, 121; could we tell the number 't might appear a Prodigie, Daniel, Trinarch, iv. 162.

[2] Goodwin, 92; ce qui ne paroit hors vraisemblable, Villaret, xiii. 377; Church, 86; "an almost unexampled degree of exaggeration," Brougham, 121; "absurdly stated," Gairdner, 98; cf. "quite incredible but not a bit the less incredible on that account," A. Beckett, 244; "absurdly small," Historians' Hist. xviii. 536.

[3] Ramsay, i. 223.

[4] Fam. Vict. 42.

[5] Hales and Furnivall, ii. 596; cf. "they killed *one* Englishman so free," ibid. ii. 598; Tyler, ii. 199, who reads "our" for "one."

[6] Add. MS. 17716, f. 102; Romania, xxxii. 49. This maniere de langage (Add. MS. 17716, ff. 101–106; MS. B. 14. 39, 40, Trin. Coll. Camb. with large extracts in Romania, xxxii. 47–58) is believed by Stürzinger (Orthographia, xiv) to have been written in Nov. 1415, because the French prisoners are said to have arrived ("sont arrivez," not "armez") at Dover and "servunt amesnes" envers Loundres on Nov. 14, but this only means colloquially that they "are reported to be," e.g. ou serra il (i.e. Henry IV in 1401) a nouvel? si *serra* en Erosse (Stengel, Anleitungsschriften, 15). The treatise is evidently very nearly contemporary but contains one or two obvious mistakes, e.g. that the prisoners were to be brought to London on Nov. 14, though they did not land at Dover till the evening of Nov. 16, and that the men of *Essex* (cf. "Kent and Essex") were to muster on the road between Canterbury and London, Orthographia, xiv; Romania, xxxii. 50.

[7] e.g. the slight losses of the French (i.e. 30 or 40 men-of-arms) at the fierce battle of Cocherel (1364), Luce, Du Quesclin, 451; add Battle of Fresnay, 1420 (B. B. Troyes, 15). Cf.

Of 4 and 40 thousand Scots
Went but 18 away. (i.e. at Otterburn, Bell, 102.)

For 28,000 Liégois killed at Othée, Sept. 23, 1408, see Wylie, iii. 181; the loss on the other side being from 70 to 80, Würdinger, i. 141, who gives the losses of the Liégois at

archers when they had heavily armoured men at their mercy could dispose of them in crowds with absolute impunity[1], and even the French believed that the English army suffered almost no loss at all but returned to England "whole and entire[2]." Such statistics as I have found show four archers killed in the retinue of James Harrington[3], one man-of-arms (Henry Strete) in the retinue of the Earl of Huntingdon[4], while several names are struck out from the retinue of the Duke of York with the side-note "some captured, some dead[5]," though even here the word dead (*mortui*) is distinct from killed (*occisi, interfecti*) and does not prove that they were killed in the battle. Thus though the English losses were as nothing when compared with the numbers of the French dead[6], there is no reason to doubt the French statement that they lost heavily in the first onset[7], while the mixing of the dead made it quite impossible to ascertain the exact number[8] with any certainty. In Germany the number of English killed was believed to be 80[9], while with

from 25,000 to 36,000 killed. For 25,000 Flemings killed at Rosebecque, Nov. 27, 1382, where they were outflanked in one dense mass, see Frois. (Johnes), ii. 641; Barante, i. 193; Duruy, i. 406; Haggard, 24, from Frois., where a large number were killed by suffocation. For Tannerberg, July 15, 1410, see Wylie, iv. 16, with other estimates of the killed, e.g. 40,000, Langius, 1228; F. Voigt, 262; Zeller, vi. 471; 80,000, Wusterwitz, 71; Staindl, 528; 100,000, Janike, 329; multa millia, Aen. Sylv. (in Panormita, 136). For 5000 Moors killed at Ceuta (1415) and only 10 Portuguese, see Neale, 82.

Of 1500 archers of England
Went away but 50 and three,
Of 20 hundred spearmen of Scotland
But even 5 and 50. Chevy Chase (Bell), 89.

[1] At Homildon in 1402, 1000 prisoners were taken and "grant foison" of Scots killed with a loss of only 5 on the English side. Sanz aucune perde de noz genz exceptz cinque persones qui illoeqe furent tuez, Cal. Doc. Scot. iv. 129, 403; Lang. i. 288.

[2] Sain et entier, Blondel, i. 445; cf. victoriex et peu débilité, Bay, ii. 220; Monstr. 381; Felibien, iv. 560.

[3] Page 159, note 4; Exch. Accts. 47/32; viz. Wm. Bullour, Wm. de Donourdale, John de Sonkey and Wm. Wilson, Hunter, 36; 4 out of 18 in the retinue of Richard Kyghley, page 188, note 3, from Exch. Accts. 46/5; 1 archer out of 56 in retinue of Sir Thomas Erpingham, =Stephen Gering (p. 356); also 4 Lancashire archers in the retinue of John Southworth, kt. killed and 2 more wounded in the battle, both of whom died at Calais, L. T. R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 6/4; +4 with Richard Kyghley, ibid. 6/4 (see page 188, note 3); i.e. Wm. Holand, John Greenbough, Robt. Bradshaw, Gilbert Howson (? Hauson) from Lancashire, Hunter, 37; and 4 archers, Beamont, 245.

[4] Hunter, 25; Wylie, Notes, 134.

[5] Aliqui capti, aliqui mortui, Exch. Accts. 45/19.

[6] Non mie a comparer, Juv. 519.

[7] Non sine suorum magnâ clade, St Denys, v. 562; Zantfliet, 406; moult d'autres, Gruel, 18; multis alii magnam et nobiles, Dynter, iii. 302, 751; mench men, Rymkron. 222; y fue muy crudamente herida *por ambas partes*, Guzman, 61.

[8] Parceque touz les mors estoient ensemble, Norm. Chron. 17; aultres grand nombres que lon ne pouvait saveoir bonnement, Norm. Chron. 171.

[9] Twinger, ii. 916.

such French and English contemporaries as have committed themselves to details the numbers range from 100 to 600, with the notable exception of Monstrelet who gives the total of all ranks at 1600[1], and modern writers having a large field of choice have fully exercised their privilege of picking where they like. It is of some interest to note that 25 of the king's horses were lost in the battle, of which 6 were palfreys and 19 trotters[2].

Of the English captains who certainly fell in the fray the most famous was the Duke of York[3], who had devised the stake[4] by means of which the archers broke the charge of the mounted French. He had crossed with a retinue of 100 men-of-arms and 300 archers[5] and had taken charge of the rear-guard[6] in the march through Picardy. There were stories that he had been cut down by the Duke of Alençon[7],

[1] Waurin, ii. 217; Le Fèvre, i. 258; Monstrelet, 376 (hommes de tous estats; not all men-of-arms, as Choisy, 329); the figures are rejected by Köhler, ii. 775, who thinks that the English loss was "ausserordentlich gering"; also Loserth, Gesch. 550; also by Kingsford, 154, who calls 1600 a "palpable exaggeration."

[2] Exch. Accts. 106/24 (1), which shows that 20 more (i.e. 7 coursers, 12 palfreys and 1 genet) died in partibus Pycardie cum rege (i.e. on the march). These are details of John Waterton's account as Keeper of the king's horses from Sept. 29, 1414, to Sept. 29, 1416, a summary of which in For. Accts. 6 H. V, 19, shows that 79 horses died altogether during that period, the remainder having died in morina. The total is made up of 2 bastards + 11 coursers + 35 trotters + 3 jenets + 27 hackneys + 1 mule. The account shows that the number of the king's horses fell in 1415 from 233 to 98, among the names of the horses being Lyard Strikland (i.e. Strickland), do. Gloucester, Coke and York; Bayard Chaucer, Morell Kene; Sorell Tawstock; Gray Cornwell, etc.; see also vol. i. page 537.

[3] Gesta, 58, who calls him illustrem et sapientissimum principem; Chron. Giles, 51; Tit. Liv. 20; Vita, 67; Redman, 47; Stow, 350; not Exeter, as Gruel, 18; or Estré, as Argentré, 730; nor "Evreux," as La Mure, ii. 130; nor "Langlie," as Herbert, 49; nor Clarence the king's brother, as Gruel, 17; Dynter, iii. 302, 751; Ruisseauville, 142; Anquetil, i. 556; Belleforest, Hist. 278; nor the king's uncle, as Gilles, ii. 61. He is called "Duc de Dier" in Bouchet, Aquitaine, 237.

[4] Page 126.

[5] For names of his retinue during the first quarter, i.e. till July 29, 1415, see Exch. Accts. 45/2, consisting of 1 duke, 1 baron, 3 knights and 95 squires (or 1 + 6 + 92, in Nie, 374) + 252 varlets (called 300 archers in Nie, 374) + 88 varlets de l'hostel. For his indenture of jewels dated June 16, 1415, see Exch. Accts. 45/22 (3). For their names for the second quarter, see Exch. Accts. 45/19, where their numbers are totalled as 80 lances (i.e. 1 duke (i.e. himself), 1 baron, 3 knights and 75 squires, though Nicolas (373) has 1 + 1 + 4 + 64 = 70, which does not agree with his total of 100 unless 64 is a misprint for 94) and 300 archers (see Nicolas, 373, but the names on the roll yield 217 only + 79 varlets of the Duke's household = 296, 4 having been struck off for inefficiency, quia non fuerunt suffie' sagitt'). Many names both of lances and archers are struck out with side-notes such as "capti" or "mortui" or "infirmitatis causa" yielding a total of casualties = 121, of whom 16 are amongst the varlets of the household. If these be deducted from the gross total on the roll, viz. (80 + 296 =) 376, the remainder should be (376 − 121 =) 255. The endorsement shows that 369 recrossed to England, 329 of them from Calais, though in Exch. Accts. 47/40, the number present in the battle is 370 (i.e. 77 + 293) out of a total of 400, of whom 283 reshipped (i.e. 1 baron, 3 knights and 279 squires and archers) to Dover and Sandwich with 329 horses.

[6] Page 89.

[7] Page 164; Ling. iii. 247; Cassell, i. 533.

that his basnet was cleft to the brain[1] and his body miserably hacked and defaced[2]. But these are most probably only fables, the truth being that like hundreds more[3] he was stifled in the crush[4], his chance of escape being lessened by the fact that he was now very fat[5]. There fell also Michael de la Pole the young Earl of Suffolk[6] in the opening prime of his manhood[7], whose father Michael had died at Harfleur only a month before[8]. The Duke of Gloucester[9] was wounded in the *mêlée* but the king rushed to his rescue and strode his prostrate body[10] till he could be dragged to a place of safety, and his wound had healed before they

[1] The Duke of Zorke per dé,
Fro his kyng no fate would he flee,
Till his basonet to his brain was bent.
Pol. Songs, ii. 125; Kingsford, Chron. 120.

[2] Trussel, 101, who supposes that the sight of his mangled body caused the massacre of the prisoners; also Sandford, 382.

[3] Plusieurs y furent estouffés, Juv. 519.
That mo were dede through pres,
Than our menne might have slain that tyme no lese. Hard. 375.

[4] Smouldered, Lel. Itin. i. 6; oppressus, Godstow, Chron. 243; premitur dux turbine belli, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 122; also Wylie, ii. 43, note 7.

[5] "A fatte man," Lel. Itin. i. 6, where this touch seems first to appear. Called "a man of a stout habit of body," Oman, in Traill, ii. 324.

[6] Rot. Parl. v. 176; Pol. Songs, ii. 123. Not Surrey, as Mon. Francisc. iii. 165; nor Oxford, as G. Daniel, iii. 875; Hennebert, iii. 331; Mazas, Vies, v. 633, 634; Sismondi, xii. 489; Kausler, iii. 92; Barante, iii. 165; H. Martin, vi. 21; Knight, ii. 63; Historians' Hist. xviii. 536; Boulé, i. 425, 430; Labitte, 145; Duthillaeul, 58 (who also kills the Duke of Gloucester); Lachauvelaye, ii. 124; Roger, Bibl. 186, quoting Pigault de Beaupré de Calais in Revue Anglo-Française (1835), p. 148.

[7] Juvenis tertii septennii, Gesta, 31; proved to be over 23 years by inquisition at Donam (? Dunham near Retford), Oct. 18, 1415, Inq. p. Mort. 3 H. V, no. 48; Dugd. ii. 186; Comp. Peer. vii. 305. In Stow, 350, he is said to have been buried at "New Elme" (i.e. Ewelm), but this is probably a confusion with his brother William who succeeded to the title, see page 48; Exchequer Accts. 46/24, where he is "interfectus ad bellum de Agingcót." For his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk (Doyle, iii. 435), see Pat. 3 H. V, 2. 17; Claus. 3 H. V, 2. 3, Feb. 1, 1416. She died in 1419, Inq. p. Mort. iv. 42. For three little girls, his daughters Katherine, Elizabeth and Isabel, see Comp. Peer. vii. 305; Pat. 4 H. V, 13, where their marriage is granted to their uncle William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. His executrix was his mother Catherine (see page 44, note 2); ibid.

[8] Page 44.

[9] The Duke of Glowestte also that tyde,
Manfully with his mayne,
Wonder he wrought ther wonder wyde.
Pol. Songs, ii. 125.
Called the Duke of Clarence in Roujoux, ii. 243; Wright, i. 473; Lingard, iii. 247; Cassell, i. 533; Roujoux-Mainguet, i. 459; Brett, 32; E. Hardy, 171, who supposes that two of the king's brothers were killed; see also Larrey, 812; Church, 81; Oman, Hist 225; Vickers, 31. In Stow, 350, he is "sore wounded in the hammes." Towle (336) thinks that he was stabbed in the stomach by the Duke of Alençon and fell with his feet towards the French.

[10] Cruribus infra suos pedes repositis, Tit. Liv. 20; Vita, 67; Harpsfeld, Hist. 587; Kingsford, Biogr. 76; au devant de lui, Devienne, Artois, iii. 47; not that the king "rushed between the Duke of Gloucester's legs," as Nicolas, 126. Belleval (105, 113,

sailed for England. Amongst the English slain the names of six or seven knights[1] are known. Two of these, Thomas Geney and John Calthorpe, were in the retinue of Sir Thomas Erpingham and had been just knighted at the landing[2], and the others were Richard Kyghley[3] from Inskip in the Fylde of Lancashire[4], Walter Lloyd[5] from Brecknock and his father-in-law[6] David ap Llewelyn, better known as Fluelin or Davy Gam[7]. He came with a retinue

129) thinks that the Duke of Gloucester covered the king with his body and was killed by the Duke of Alençon; also Hautecloque, 286. In Vickers (31) the king stands between Humphrey's legs, which seems a better translation.

[1] Pauci et quasi nulli ex suis accincti baltheo militari, St Denys, v. 568; aucuns autres gentilz hommes en petit nombre, Cordeliers, 229.

[2] Hunter, 35.

[3] Mort al Bataile, Nicolas, 343, though not so noted on muster roll in Exch. Accts. 47/13; W. D. Cooper, 126, 135. Not "Ketley," as Henry V, IV. 8. 109; Low, 42. Called "Kykelley" in Nicolas, 367; "Kyghlé," Pol. Songs, ii. 125; Kingsford, Chron. 121; "Kychlay," Usk, 126, who adds "Skidmore" to the list; also Strang, 103; "Keghley," Tyler, ii. 184; "Kyghlay," Kirkstall, Chron. 386. For John Kyghly de Com' Ebor' in comitiva of Duke of Clarence, see Fr. Roll 8 H. V, 7, May 22, 1420. For £20 p. a. granted to John Kyghlay, Esq., see Memoranda Roll K. R. 3–4 H. V, 44, Oct. 18, 1415. For John Keghly, knight, Admiral of Ireland, see p. 26. Called Richard Kighley, kt. in the Inquisition held at Warrington on Jan. 28, 1416, where his death is dated Oct. 25, 1415, and his son and heir Henry Kighley is 24 years old, Langton, i. 116. For Gilbert and John Kyghley, kts. see Wylie, iv. 74. For John Kygley at the siege of Sorey, April 17, 1430, see Cochon, 314.

[4] Fishwick, 169, 174. He was one of 10 Lancashire captains who together covenanted to bring 500 Lancashire archers between them, Exch. Accts. 45/5 (8), (10); Nicolas, 385. For their names in groups of 50, see Exch. Accts. 46/35, the indentures being signed at Winwick near Newton-le-Willows on June 27, 1415, instalments of payment having been made on June 20, 21. The others were Thomas Tunstall, William Butler, Richard Radcliff, Nicholas Longfrid, John Southworth and John Kyghley, kts. and Jas. Harrington, John Stanley, Ralph Stoneley and Robert Taverner, esquires, L. T. R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 61; all of these bringing also their own separate retinues, Nicolas, 380, 381, 383, 384. For his own retinue (6+18), see Exch. Accts. 45/5 (4), 47/31; Hunter, 37, 50; Nicolas, 381; Beamont, 245; though in Brook (Nicolas, 353) he is himself entered as an archer. Of the 6 men-of-arms 1 died at Harfleur 3 days after the surrender, 2 were invalided home (licentiat' causa infirmitatis, L. T. R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 6/4) and 2 returned safely to England with 5 horses. Of the 18 archers 4 were killed in the battle and 14 recrossed to Calais with 12 horses of their own (del ditz vallets)+6 belonging to their dead leader, Exch. Accts. 46/5. He also brought 50 Lancashire archers whose names are all given in Exch. Accts. 44/29, of whom 19 were in the battle and returned safe to London, 7 were captured the day before the battle, 6 died at the siege of Harfleur, 8 stayed in garrison at Harfleur and 10 were invalided home, Nicolas, 353 (i.e. Brook). For 50 names of Lancashire archers with Robert Laurence, see Exch. Accts. 46/7; also 50 with James Harrington, Exch. Accts. 47/32; with Robert Urswick, kt. Sheriff of Lancashire. In Duc. Lanc. Accts. Various 27/6, Urswick is Master Forester of Quernmore and Amoundernen in North Lancashire; cf. Baines, iv. 547.

[5] Or Watkin Lloyd, Tyler, ii. 185. He came from Marchogtir (now called Ynis y Marchog) near Trecastle in the upper valley of the Usk above Brecknock, Th. Jones, 247.

[6] Not his brother, as Gesta, 58. Cf. p. 189.

[7] Called Gamme in his indenture of jewels dated Winchester, July 14, 1415, in Exch. Accts. 45/23 (1), with a broken seal attached looking like some tailed animal such as a fox erect on its hind legs in front of a post. Called "Game" in Nicolas, 379; cf. O'Weli (or Gweli) di wr coch Cam, T. Thomas, 111; David Game de Breconia, Usk, 126, 323; not "Gaw," as Murray, Handbook to Worcester and Hereford, 142; see

of three archers only[1] but was knighted on the field[2] for his services rendered to England, possibly as the betrayer of Owen Glendower, and is still remembered by his cheery jest of "enow to be slain and enow to be ta'en and enow to be chievied away[3]." With him is said to have been slain another of his sons-in-law, Roger Vaughan of Tretower near Crickhowel in Brecon[4].

No wonder that such trifling loss against stupendous numbers was everywhere received with amazement[5]. Friend and foe alike saw in it not the prowess of England's arms but the arm of God[6] alone who stood for her and turned His face away from France[7]. He it was that had given this victory to Henry as his Christ[8], and for this cause England should drive out all heresy and sedition and praise Him more perfectly for the wonders He had done. Next God she must thank her patron saints Our Lady and

Roll, p. 7, where he is among the retinue of John Merbury. His name does not occur in connection with the force that came from Brecon, in Exch. Accts. 46/20. In Meyrick, ii. 56, he is called the ancestor of all the Games of Brecknockshire. In Th. Jones, 247, he is "a squinting red-haired knave." He was of Peytyn (not Pentyn, as Wylie, ii. 298, note 7) Gwyn Garthbrengy on the Honddu near Brecknock, which his father Llewelyn bought (?) from William Peyton, Th. Jones, 245, 250. In E. Hardy, i. 292, Davy Gam's house is called Gyrnigwen, i.e. Cyrnigwen; Wylie, ii. 298, note 7. For marriage of his widow with William ap Thomas, kt. who built Raglan Castle, see Morris-Jordan, 244.

[1] Sloane MS. 4600, ff. 265, 266, 268, 272, 280 (April 29, 1415); Nicolas, 379; not "a numerous party of stout and valourous Welshmen," as Powell, 322. For his indenture of jewels dated Winchester, July 14, 1415, see Hunter, 44.

[2] Gam is one of the two *milites noviter insignitos*, Chron. Giles, 51; de novo insigniti, Hard. 391; Nicolas, App. 60, quoting Dr Meyrick. Not "in the moment of death" or even after his death, as Powell, 323; Echard, i. 186; Guthrie, ii. 467; Long, 84, 460; Gifford, ii. 433; Yonge, 280, 281; called "a tradition" in Nicolas, 174; cf. "respirans encore," Rapin, iii. 449; Tindal, i. 513; Andrews, ii. 20 (who calls him "a blunt Briton"); S. Turner, v. 454; "when dying," Dict. Nat. Biogr. xx. 392. For supposition that he saved the king's life, see Taylor, 96.

[3] Which seems to appear first in Raleigh's History of the World (1614), vol. II. Book v. p. 451; cf. Rapin, iii. 445; Tindal, i. 512; Guthrie, ii. 464; T. Thomas, 109; Goodwin, 81; Kennett, i. 318, quoting "Dr Parnel's Chronicle" (? Thomas Parnell, 1679–1718); Villaret, xiii. 360; Zech, 297; Devienne, Artois, iii. 42; Dict. Nat. Biogr. xx. 392; Hennebert, iii. 323; Belleval, 99.

[4] Cothi, 9. He married Gam's daughter Gwladis, Nicolas, App. 60. Her second husband was William Thomas of Raglan (d. 1446), who is also said to have been knighted at Agincourt. She died in 1446 and is buried with him in the Priory Church at Abergavenny, Th. Jones, 247.

[5] Miraculum grande, Gesta, 58; inopinatam victoriam, Wals. ii. 314; tantum triumphorum splendorem quantum nulli alteri regi Catholico nostris temporibus concessum vidimus, Clamenges, Ep. 348; tiele gloriause et merveilleuse victorie, Rot. Parl. iv. 62, 106 (Nov. 2, 1415, Nov. 16, 1417).

[6] Colluctantes respexit summus judex, Anjou, Lett. 3.

[7] Si fuisset deus cum illis, Gesta, 56; mens animosa sibi (i.e. Henry) datur et tibi (i.e. France) desidiosa, Usk, 127; mutatio dexterae excelsi, Vita, 69; contra rebellem Gallorum populum, Gesta, 107; Francorum *fatalis* obstabat casus, Pol. Verg. 448.

[8] Gesta, 59; see vol. i; victor erat Christus laeta tropaea ferens, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 123.

St George[1], and some had even seen the latter above their host sent down from Heaven to give their king the victory[2] as he had done to the crusaders of old[3]. French moralists regarded the disaster as God's judgment on their nation to punish them for their lying, word-breaking, disloyalty and other sins[4], or for not confessing to their priests the night before the battle[5]. Politicians said it came upon them for consenting so long to submit to be led by Armagnacs[6], and very early a rumour was circulating throughout Europe that the Constable d'Albret and the Duke of Orleans had turned against their own side and helped the English to win[7]. But before all else it was ever miracle[8] and divine intervention that came up as the first

[1] Che avoit tout fait Dieu et Notre Dame et Monseigneur St George, Ruisseauville, 142; Brut, ii. 379, 597; Henry V, VIII. 12. 6.

[2]
Saynt George was sene over our hoste,
Of very trouthe this syght men dyde se,
Downe was he sente by the holy goste,
To give our Kynge the victory.
Harflet, App. 76; Pyne, 105.

The Frenschmen seyde al be dene,
Seynt George all over our Kyng they se. Harflet, 322.

Cernitur in campo sacer ille Georgius armis, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 123; Saint George which helpe hym to fighte and was seyne aboven in the eyre, Brut, ii. 557. For picture of an angel helping besiegers to repel an attack, see Schultz, 362.

[3] Heylyn, 247; Milner, 53; Fleming, 85–93; que le benoist Dieu l'avait inspiré pour chastier les subjets, Juv. 544.

[4] Propter peccata sua, St Denys, vi. 288; cf. des ordonnances de meurs, meprisement d'autray, force, ingratitude et decongnoissance de benefices de Dieu, etc., Blondel, i. 444; propter injustitiam, Delachenal, 133; peccatis nostris exigentibus terram sanctam saraceni detinent occupatam, Hagthonus de Tartaris (1307), quoted in Lannoy, Survey, 289, printed in Grynaeus Novus orbis regionum, Basle, 1537; est a doubter que a ceste occasion nostre créateur est permis à venir en ce royaulme plusieurs afflictions et tribulacions (i.e. on account of the frequency of blasphemous oaths), Ordonnances, xi. 103. Called "a convenient sort of morality quite in accordance with the ideas of those times," Tyrrell, 293 [171]; tout par vos pekiet, Ruisseauville, 142; pour les péchés des François, Monstr. 376; Masseville, iv. 49, who thought that the debauchery was only equalled by that of his own day, i.e. temp. Louis XIV.

Autres dommages,
Des loyauté, faultes d'ommages,
Perte d'amis et d'eritages,
Faulses parolles, faulx langaiges,
Blames tissus,
De mensonges luit courant sus. Chartier, 677.

For a similar explanation of Nicopolis, pour leurs péchés, car ils firent en allant moult de maux et avoient toujours ribaudes et jouoient a jeux dissolus, Juv. 399.

[5] Pluscard, 351.

[6] Quy tousjours avoient soustenu l'Ermaingnacrie, Trahisons, 129.

La defaute des Lupalois (Armagnacs),
Fera gaignier les Panalois (English). Pastoralet, 774.

[7] Hulfin den Engelischin und schlugin hindin an dy geste und an ere eygin lute, Posilge, 359, evidently a Burgundian rumour circulating at Constance.

[8] Miraculose, Gesta, 61; Pauwels, 243; Otterbourne, 277; rather miraculously than otherwise, Grafton, i. 517; une espèce de miracle, Hennebert, iii. 334, admitting however that nos Cévnes (?) ont facilité ses succes.

necessary solution in the mediaeval mind. Harfleur was the lightning flash and Agincourt the thunderbolt[1] and all His judgments were just[2], but God for some wise purpose had done it all. He could save by many or by few[3]. The modern mind is more inquisitive but equally determined to catch some restful hypothesis in spite of faulty or even contradictory information even on such essential points as the lie of the ground, the position of the forces, their numbers, equipment, formation, plan of attack and every detail of their strategy. Some blame the French for not attacking first[4], others see in this "an impressive proof of their improved discipline[5]."

Twenty years after the event the Count of Richmond, who had himself been captured in the fight, passed over the battlefield again[6] and pointed out to his friends where he himself had been posted with his banner and each of the great French lords with theirs, and where the English king had lodged at Maisoncelles. This knowledge was in the mind of his biographer[7], but neither he nor anyone else thought it worth his while to set it down in detail.

It remains therefore to look as narrowly as we can into such scattered evidence as has come down to us from eye-witnesses or at least contemporaries. The usual plan has been to call out everything that is picturesque in the accounts of the various writers who narrated the events any time within the succeeding century and blend them together into a patchwork whole, provided that they do not carry contradiction on the face of them. My own effort has been to depend for essentials only upon the statements of those who saw the battle with their own eyes or had good means of information at the time, and we have seen that at least on the question of numbers most of these were obviously unfit to tell us anything that will bear examination. Foremost among the former group is the chaplain, Thomas Elmham, who was on the field from the beginning to the end of the

[1] Mont St Michel, I. vii.
[2] Trahisons, 129.
[3] St Denys, v. 554.
[4] Dupleix, ii. 713.
[5] S. Turner, v. 442.
[6] i.e. in 1436.
[7] Gruel, xxxi, 126 (who had his account of the battle from the Count of Richmond himself), pp. xxiii, xxx, 232; Cosneau, Richemont, 257.

fight and wrote down his account within two years of the events[1]. Except in regard to his estimate of numbers his statements are quite exceptionally worthy of trust. John Hardyng[2] was there in the service of Sir Robert Umfraville[3], but a long time elapsed before he wrote his Chronicle[4], and from the strangeness of his account[5] his impressions must by that time have become much obscured. The same may be said of Jean Le Fèvre[6] and Jean Waurin[7] who were both present in the battle, one on the English and the other on the French side. But they were almost boys at the time[8], and when they wrote long after[9] they had Monstrelet's[10] chronicle before them and had compared notes with each other, Le Fèvre's memory being apparently the original

[1] i.e. before Dec. 1417, Gesta, 59; see page 77, note 5.

[2] His name occurs among others not bound by indentures in Hunter, 53, 54. Oman (Pol. Hist. 502) calls him "a professional forger." See also Cat. of Lansdowne MSS. ii. 73; H. Morley, vi. 156; Kingsford, Hard. 464, 467, 468, who thinks this "throws some discredit on his trustworthiness as a historian." For John Hardyng, a "seller," i.e. saddler, see Exch. Accts. 46/3.

[3] For his retinue (20+40), see Nicolas, 385, from Sloane MS. 4600. For Hardyng's eulogy of him, see Kingsford, Hard. 476–478.

[4] For the first edition begun soon after 1437, finished 1457, see Kingsford, Hard. 465, 469, 471, 480; do. Lit. 140–149, who thinks that the account of Agincourt was based on the Gesta, ibid. 463, 481. Called "eine literarische Kuriosität" in K. Schmidt, 35. For the reigns of Henry IV, V, VI it is said that "compilator hujus libri audivit vidit et interfuit," Hard. p. xiv; Kingsford, Hard. 476.

[5] On ne peut rien imaginer de plus plat et de plus ennuyeux que son récit, Débat, xxxi.

[6] For account of him and his parentage, see Belleval, Lettres, 175–190.

[7] Called "Wavrin" in Oman (Pol. Hist. 504), who thinks that his work "has no value till about 1410." Not "Vaurin," as Trebuchet, 76, who calls him "l'historien *anglais*." For Jean Waurin (b. 1394, d. 1474), Lord of Forestal, Historiographer to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, see K. Schmidt, 114, who calls him "Frankreich's Fabyan" (p. 77). He wrote his Chronicle, circ. 1455. His father and brother were both killed in the battle, see H. Morley, vi. 154; Waurin, i. pp. xix, 3; J. E. Morris, 435; Niethe, 4. For his dependence on the Brut, see Kingsford, Lit. 136, which he calls (possibly from the name of the owner) the chronicle of Master Norham, doctor in theology, Hard. xiv; Stow, Summary of English Chronicles, 144, 152; Kingsford, Hard. 476; do. Lit. 148, 311.

[8] Emmerig, 8, 9; Niethe, 3; though Michelet (vi. 24) fancies that Le Fèvre was an agent for the Duke of Burgundy; also Beaucourt, i. 136. For somewhat far-fetched supposition that Jean Le Fèvre is the same as Jean l'Orfèvre, who was "sub-prior of the Church of the Scholars" at Mons in 1424, see Vickers, 144.

[9] More than 40 years after, i.e. circa 1460, when Le Fèvre was 67 years old, Quicherat, Procès, iv. 405, 429.

[10] Dupont, Notice, 2, 4, 16, who argues (p. 5) that he was not in the service of the English, but of the Duke of Burgundy en qualité de poursuivant d'armes, and supposes that Le Fèvre did not begin to write till 1463 and died in 1468 (Dupont, 15); je demouray avec les Anglais, Dupont, 4, quoting Le Fèvre, viii. 24. For view that Monstrelet copied from Le Fèvre, see Licquet, 175; though it is more usual to say that Le Fèvre "plagiarised from Monstrelet," Masson, 186, who considers all these chronicles as "tedious and drowsy" (p. 179), Monstrelet's being summed up as "singularly tame" (p. 180) and Le Fèvre as "slovenly and poor" and "nothing but an echo of Monstrelet" (pp. 188, 195); Belleval, Lettres, 190–192.

basis of such personal recollections as they specially contain[1]. Gilbert de Lannoy and his brother Hugh also took part in the fight, and both of them talked over their adventure with Le Fèvre[2], but in his own account Gilbert has little to tell beyond the fact of his own escape from being burnt alive[3]. Of first-rate importance, though based on second-hand information[4], on the English side is the account of Thomas Walsingham[5] which was written about three years after the event. Though it has an eye for stage effect and is embellished with quotations from Virgil and Persius, in its facts it is closely connected with Elmham's account[6], and the same may be said of the ballad on the siege of Harfleur[7] written about twelve years later still[8], and the narrative of the Italian Tito Livio[9] who was in intimate communication with the Duke of Gloucester who was wounded in the battle. On the French side Pierre de Fenin was a native of the county of Artois[10] and was connected with Beauquesne and Doullens all on the line of march, and when he died in 1433 he was buried in the church of St Nicaise at Arras. Thus all his personal interests were in the neighbourhood of the battle but his account of it has little local colour[11]. Guillaume Gruel in writing the life of his master[12], Arthur, Count of Richmond, had his material from the lips of the Count himself who was wounded and captured in the fight. The Count was 37 years of age when he gave his biographer the information, but

[1] Le Fèvre, i. 247; Waurin, ii. 205. J. E. Morris (435) thinks that Waurin wrote *much* later than Le Fèvre and set himself to record what he had previously told to Le Fèvre and partly to correct him.

[2] J'ai oui parler plusieurs notables chevalliers de la partie de France et plus especial a messire Hue et a messire Gilbert de Lannoy freres qui furent a la dite bataille qui me racomptaient bien au loin, Gilbert, Survey, 306, quoting Le Fèvre, ch. lxiv. p. 98.

[3] Page 172.

[4] Prout fertur, Wals. ii. 310, 311, 313.

[5] Köhler (ii. 750) pronounces him "unimportant" (*unbedeutend*). Not that he was an eyewitness, as Borély, i. 105. For account of him and his work, see Gairdner, Chroniclers, 268. For payment to Thomas Chaucer per manus Thomae Walsingham clerici, see Iss. Roll 1 H. V, Pasch., May 4, 1413; Kingsford, Lit. 12–21.

[6] Though Kingsford (Hard. 463) thinks that Hardyng's account is "perhaps the only instance in the 15th century of the use of Elmham's prose narrative."

[7] Köhler (ii. 750) thinks that it is "nicht ohne Werth."

[8] App. C[2].

[9] I take the Vita to be merely a rhetorical expansion of the same work.

[10] Fenin, p. xviii, where he is called "Artesius."

[11] His narrative was followed by the writer of the "Trahisons de France," who wrote circ. 1440.

[12] For Gruel as a squire to Count Arthur, see Quicherat, Procès, iv. 315.

by that time the battle was so remote an event that he did not seem to realise the need for accuracy; while Alain Chartier wrote his poem of the "Ladies" very soon after the disaster, but it deals rather with the sequel of the fight than the details of the fight itself. The Diary of the so-called Bourgeois reflects the bitterness of anti-Armagnac feeling in Paris and the poem of the Pastoralet is likewise a Burgundian lament. The Monk of St Denys gleaned the fullest information[1] from the neighbourhood of the court, but his sober narrative is taken up and spoiled with a strong Orleanist bias by the Armagnac, Jean Juvenal des Ursins, who wrote under the sting of exile at Poitiers some 15 years after the event. If the Monk of St Denys makes the Frenchmen ankle-deep in mud he puts them in up to the calf of the leg[2]; if the monk says straight out that the French horsemen turned tail and fled, Juvenal says that their horses swerved and so some people fancied they were running away; and if the monk avers that the English arrows pierced the Frenchmen's basnets, he says that they did no harm because the French were well protected, but that they broke down at close quarters because they were out of breath. He lays imaginary ambuscades in the woods[3]. He multiplies the number of prisoners by 10[4], and when eyewitnesses declare that the Frenchmen lowered their heads to escape the English volleys he says they did it to avoid the blinding sun, forgetting apparently about the pelting rain that plays so essential a part in all the earliest accounts. Much valuable first-hand information is contained in an account known as the Chronicle of Ruisseauville which was certainly written after the death of Henry V[5] and is remarkable for the writer's animosity towards the Constable d'Albret, Gaucourt and Clignet de Brebant[6], all three of whom he regards as traitors, while he has nothing

[1] Vera relatione didici, St Denys, v. 560.

[2] Jusque au gros des jambes, Juv. 518.

[3] Grande embusche à l'un des bois qui leur estoit a costé, Juv. 520.

[4] i.e. circ. 1440, Monstr. Pref. xxxii. He is called "the Molé (i.e. Mathieu Molé 1584–1656) or the D'Aguesseau (1688–1751) of the 15th century" in Jeanroy, Félix, 153. Niethe, 54, where Juvenal's estimate of 14,000 prisoners is nur ein Schreibfehler.

[5] It describes the return of Gaucourt et tous les autres from captivity.

[6] In Bourgeois, 622, Clignet de Breban (*sic*) is une mauvaise personne qui moult fit des mal en France comme il fut amiral.

to say against the English[1], but goes out of his way to blacken the French (i.e. the Armagnacs) for robbing the poor fugitives from Harfleur, and robbing towns, churches and monasteries. There is also an account known as the Chronicle of Tramecourt[2], but in spite of their titles neither of these yields any local information. Other condensed notices were written by Gilles Bouvier who as king of arms to Charles VII gives detailed particulars of the captains and their banners[3], by William Cousinot (the treasurer to Charles, Duke of Orleans), by Pierre Cochon the chronicler of Rouen, Bishop Basin in his life of Louis XI, and Robert Blondel the bitter satirist of Henry V, who was living when the battle was fought but did not describe it till 34 years after[4]. But by this time France was recovering from the deadly blow, and when Monstrelet wrote some 25 years after "the piteous day[5]," he tinged his story deep with the prevalent excuses of national vanity. Still his account is of incalculable service[6], for he was a Picard, born near the battlefield[7]; he was a grown man of 25[8] when the battle was fought though he was not actually present in it and he was a diligent *raconteur*[9] with a keen scent for armorials and heraldry and the deeds of the great baronial families[10] which made a cynical scoffer size him up as "more frothy than a mustard-pot[11]." His book was one of the earliest volumes selected by the French printers for publication for students of French history, and for good or for evil it gave the tone to every subsequent account of Agincourt in every part throughout the reading world[12].

[1] Belleval (55) calls him "un chaleureux partisan de l'Angleterre." In Monstrelet, vi. 38, the chronicle is "un bulletin du Duc de Bourgogne." For an account of it, see App. N.

[2] Page 163.

[3] He was followed by Gaguin.

[4] i.e. in 1449, Blondel, i. 261.

[5] See page 401.

[6] E. Hardy (154) regards him as "le mieux renseigné au point de vue militaire."

[7] i.e. at Montrelet near Domart-en-Ponthieu (Somme).

[8] He was born in 1390 and died circa July 15, 1453. For a picture of him from MS. 82995, temp. Louis XII, see Willemin, ii. 20, 182.

[9] For his dependence on the Chronologia regum Francorum for his early material till 1405, see Chronologia, III. p. xxxiv.

[10] Called "ce laborieux paperassier" in Jeanroy, Félix, 152.

[11] "Plus baveux qu'un pot à moutarde," Rabelais, quoted in Masson, Chron. 183. For une pierce pour faire un moulin a moutarde, see Arbois de Jubainville (1873), p. 98.

[12] e.g. Kingsford, First Life, pp. ix, xv, 3; Halle, Harpsfeld, 589; Holinshed; Stow, 349. Köhler (ii. 749) still regards him as the chief authority for the battle though he does not scruple to reject several of his details. Niethe (57) calls him "die

How then out of the mass of contradictory evidence contained in these various writers can we now construct a just estimate of the causes of the gigantic failure of the French on that "evil day[1]," stamped in their language as the "luckless, black, accursèd day[2]," "the dolorous venture[3]," the "piteous business" and "the ugliest that had befallen them for the last thousand years[4]"?

In the first place all are agreed that the honours rested with the English archers[5]. They formed the largest portion of our fighting force[6]; they foiled the French charge with their sharpened stakes; they followed up their first success with the utmost dash and courage[7]; and in breaking up the horse they struck a crippling blow at the outset that practically decided the day[8]. No wonder that it seemed to Henry that God had steeped his setts[9] in grace and

glaubwürdigste Quelle." Niethe (i) regards Monstrelet as "unsere Hauptquelle," eine der besten und zuverlässigsten Quellen (p. 2), quoting Dacier, Mém. sur la vie du Enguerrand de Monstrelet, Acad. des Inscr. vol. 43, 1886. For Monstrelet as "plus baveux (frothy, Cotgr., s.v.) que ung pot de moutarde," see A. France, I. xii, from Rabelais, Pantagruel, III. ch. xxiv. For picture of him from Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 2678, see Coudere, Album, Pl. CXVIII; also Willemin, ii. 182.

[1] La mauvaise journée, Mont St Michel, i. 20; la male journée, Blondel, i. 126; vallet de Veriville, Blondel, 175; Paradin, 593, 597; Mamerot, 272; A. Duchesne, 824; La Mure, ii. 130; Hauteclocque, 282; Gollut, 1011; Lambert, 422; Piers, 381; Le Petit, i. 349; Serres, i. 961; la mala jornada, Sveyro, ii. 127.

[2] La negra jornea, Guzman, 61; dies infaustus, infelix praelium o maledicta dies quem Francia devovet omnis, Blondel, i. 33.

Tres dure mauldite journée,
Doloureuse malfortunée. Chartier, 607.

Delaunay, 49; la piteuse journée, la piteuse bataille, Le Fèvre, i. 265, 269; Bourgeois, 134; Chron. Brioc. 891; G. Dupont, ii. 512, from Archives du Calvados.

[3] La malle aventure, Waurin, ii. 230; cette piteuse aventure, Baye, ii. 219; Monstr. 380; Mirot, D'Orgemont, 152; laquelle est très piteuse et de très grant dommage, Cagny, fol. 80; la douloureuse aventure, Monstr. 381; Le Fèvre, i. 269; ceste malheureuse et douloureuse journée, Le Fèvre, i. 232; Fenin, 67, 560; Cousinot, 134; Bulletin Hist. Soc. Antiq. de la Morénie, iv. 41 (written between 1467 and 1477); in dicto miserabili conflictu, St Denys, v. 748; dolorus jorney, Halle, 71.

O journée pleine de pleur,
Que maudit France l'exilliée. Blondel, i. 126.

[4] Cette piteuse besogne, Monstr. 377; la plus laide besogne et plus maloise que puis mil anz avenist au roialme de France, Cochon, 275; che may se a poldido tal fortuna trè sy gran rota, Morosini, ii. 72.

[5] Ceulx de France disoient que les Englois ne gagnoient les journées sinon par les archiers, Cagny, i. 20; Villaret, xiii. 367; Hallam (42) who ascribes the victory also to "the freedom of our constitution and the superior condition of the people"; Ramsay (i. 224), who regards it as a triumph for the system of fighting in line as against fighting in column.

[6] Englois avoient foison d'archiers, Fenin, 63; totum illorum robur situm erat in sagittariis, Meyer, 246; Pays-Bas, 356.

[7] Vinrent fièrement assaillirent, Bouvier, 430; ex humanitate et maximâ audaciâ, Hard. 391.

[8] A la cause des gens de cheval la bataille des Franchois fut rompue, Le Fèvre, i. 256; Waur. ii. 215; pource qu'ils avoient este rompuz des chevaulx, Norm. Chron. 171.

[9] See vol. I. page 465, note 2.

victory[1]. In an English army the archers were the "sovereign thing" and usually outnumbered the lances by three to one[2]; but with the French the proportion was all the other way[3], and there was only one archer to every two, three, four or sometimes even eight men-of-arms[4]. To meet the nimble English archer the French had only heavy arblasters[5] or crossbowmen posted out of range[6] who were easily swept away by the dash of the English, and while the Frenchman was stooping to work the gaffle with the stirrup and the winch or stretching the string either with the thumb[7] or with an iron hook over the nut at the tiller-end, the English longbowman was standing up and feeding from the quiver, making five or six shots to the Frenchman's one[8]. After the disaster, when the French chronicler[9] inquired about the English host and how their wondrous

[1] Rym. ix. 436 (Feb. 10, 1417); Neade, B. 4; Barnigton, 52; Scott, ii. 87, who reads "impetit" for "infudit." For the bow as "God's instrument whereby he hath given Englishmen many victories," see Latimer's Sermons, no. 70, in Scott, ii. 94. Cf. "God's especial gift to Englishmen," Stat. IV. pt. i. p. 548, 13 Eliz. c. 14. Called "one of the ordinary delusions of ambition," Historians' Hist. xviii. 537. See page 151, note 6.

[2] Gesta, 266; cf. every fourth being a horseman, Speed, 787; la souveraine chose du monde pour les batailles sont les archiers, mais qu'ils soient par milliers car un petit nombre ne valent rien, Commines, i. 31; Delbrück, iii. 471, who supposes (p. 482) that the English archers were 8 to 1. In 1385, Richard II's army in Scotland shows no fixed proportion of men-of-arms to archers, Archaeologia, xxii. 16; cf. duos sagittarios uni scutifero, Cotton MS. Calig. D. 5, f. 11 (11), Aug. 30, 1416; les deux parts d'archiers, Verneuil, 215, 219.

[3] e.g. 6068 men-of-arms to 4693 archers in the Duke of Burgundy's army at Beauvais in August, 1417, Plancher, iii. 472–475; Cordeliers, 237; i.e. about 3 to 2. For 300 archers to 500 men-of-arms, see Juv. 510; or 2000 to 4000, Plancher, iii. 494, 495, cccix; or 300 to 1000 (1405), Gaujal, ii. 268; or 1000 to 3000 (1414), Cosneau, Connétable, 32; or 100 to 500, ibid. 35; Dognou, 444, 498; or 50 to 200, Affre, Aveyron, i. 221.

[4] e.g. Melusine, 189, 218, 222.

[5] In the accounts of the Galley Close at Rouen in 1382, 1384, the stock includes 75,000 viretons (Bréard, 75)+2697 (p. 76)+54,700 (p. 76)+24,900 (p. 80)+9000 (p. 77) +47.990 (p. 151) but not a single arrow (sette, satte, sajette, sagitta). For 10,000 virétons pour servir à trait d'areglalestre, see Godefroy, s.v. *Vireton*; called "vireson" in Cotgr. who calls it "a little quarrelle," or "a fustion of arrow-head that's turned or made into a scrue." Cf. with bowe, turkeys and schot of arblasteris, Lydg. Troy Book, 328.

> Archeris and many arblasteris,
> That with her bowes filed sharp and rounde,
> With quarrellis whet and grounde. Ibid. 474.

Cf. bowe and arrow and arblast, ibid. 223; archeres, bowmen and arblasteres, Laud Troy Book, 463; arblasteres, bowes and quarelles, ibid. 469.

[6] Page 158. Lachauvelaye (100) supposes that they were not allowed to shoot because the ground was so wet.

[7] Though that your thumb over thart ye use to lay, Retrosp. Rev. i. 208.

[8] As at Crecy against the Genoese crossbowmen, see Traill, ii. 175; Gallwey, 7, 37; C. R. L. Fletcher, 261; called 3 or 4 to 1 in Lloyd, 65.

[9] St Denys, v. 556.

feat had been achieved[1], he learned that they had lived on scanty and hard-gotten fare[2], had kept all harlots clean away[3], and that every man was under discipline and did as he was ordered by his king[4]. In this last point the chronicler proved the mischief to the quick. It is idle to blame the cramped nature of the ground as some early writers very soon did[5], for the French themselves had deliberately selected it on purpose to force on a fight[6], and when English writers call it "a proper field[7]" for them to hew down the French, the description is undoubtedly a true one on the assumption that their archers had first mastered the enemy's horse. But had the French opening succeeded and the English archers been driven in, the field would have been all in favour of the French as the English would have had no open ground behind them for withdrawal had they been forced back on to the wood at Maisoncelles. Equally futile is it also to urge that the French were inexperienced[8] or taken unawares[9], for they had had abundance of time to

[1] Called "one of the marvels of History," Oman, in Traill, ii. 324.

[2] Rusticano alimento nutrita et deliciarum nescia, Blondel, i. 160; durement couchés et nourris de grosses viandes, ibid. 313. S. Turner (v. 450) adds their superior muscular force and intelligent activity.

[3] Ne monterent oncques sur nulles femmes, Ruisseauville, 142; cf. als ein offen Frowen in sollichem Heer haben, Aen. Sylv. Amores, 475; "no giddy girls," Haggard, 134. Not that "all impurity of conversation was banished from his camp," as Guthrie, ii. 462. For the women in the French camp at Nicopolis, see G. Köhler, 13; cf. lechurie neysshyth a manes herte, Secreta, 190.

[4] Cf. suis multum obeditus subditis, J. Chartier, in Bulletin de la Soc. de l'Hist. de France, Ser. II. tome i. page 217 (1857–8).

[5] La place estoit estroicte et très avantageuse pour les Anglois, Le Fèvre, i. 252, 253; Waurin, ii. 211, where it is urged that there was no room at all for the archers and cross-bowmen; trop estoit estroite pour combattre tant de gens, Gruel, 357; ubi vix standi paulisper vel progrediendi facultas fuit, Wals. ii. 311; Hypodig. 464; cf. défavorable à la cavalerie, Ferrasac, Sect. VIII. vi. 317; S. Turner, v. 466. Elmham regards the space as narrow for *both* sides alike; his *binis* campus per nemus arctus erat, Lib. Metr. 121. For statement that the French actually had the advantage of the ground galli et numero et *locorum positu* praevalerent, see Pray, ii. 262. Blondel (i. 261) knows nothing of any stratagem or any woods.

[6] Not that they "fell into the snare that was laid for them" by the English, as Henry, v. 39. Sismondi (xii. 471) thinks that the choice showed their ignorance of the art of war. Viollet-le-Duc (Mobilier, vi. 385) thinks that Henry choisissait sa position avec une grande intelligence des choses de la guerre; also Serres, i. 960 (281); Oman, 109; avec son habileté ordinaire, Lachauvelaye, 118.

[7] Facilem locum, Tit. Liv. 16, 19; tam aptum campum, Vita, 60. Called "a position of surprising strength" for the English who are supposed to be "on sloping ground," Cassell, i. 531.

[8] Cf. leur inexpérience des armes dont nos pères n'estoient que nouveaux apprentifz, Blondel, i. 313; l'armée de France non experte en armes, ibid. i. 314. Duval-Pineu (ii. 202) thinks that la victoire resta non aux plus braves mais aux plus habiles.

[9] Soudainement assaillirent, Gilles, ii. 61; à cause qu'ils n'estoient près à combattre, Belleforest, Hist. 277.

prepare, or that their armour was too heavy[1], or that they could not struggle through ploughed furrows soaked with rain, for in this respect both sides had to fare alike[2], though where the heavy lances stood at close quarters with the English archers the odds were doubtless desperately against them, or that they had the fierce sun in their eyes[3] in a late autumn season which was specially memorable for the constant rain[4].

King Henry himself attributed the French disaster to their insubordination and bad tactics[5], and both resulted

[1] Ils estoient pesamment armez, N. Lambert, 416; d'un poids énorme, Piers, 382; St Denys, v. 562; Franchoiz estoient fort armez, Fenin, 63; tant pesantement estoient armés, Le Fèvre, i. 252; Waurin, ii. 211; Cordeliers, 229; though in Wals. ii. 311, the English are armis onustos. Musgrave (293) thinks the French armour was "twice as cumbrous as any worn by the English." The French were armed with cottes d'achier (not coats of *mail*, as Church, 77) longues jusque aux genoulx ou plus bas, par desoulz harnis de jambes et par dessus blancs harnois et le plus balhines de carvail (?=camail), Le Fèvre, i. 252; Waur. ii. 211. Mazas (Vies, v. 609), followed by Nicolas, 111, thinks that the cuirass was worn longer than formerly both back and front to suit the new plan of fighting on foot, adding that the casque and cuirass of the Count of Vaudemont together weighed 96 lbs. Cf. French, 121, referring to those now in the Musée d'Artillerie in Paris as the "very casques that did affright the air at Agincourt" (Henry V, i. Prol. 14), but this is altogether a mistake and I am assured by the Director of the Musée (M. Bernadac) that the pieces of armour in question really date from the seventeenth century in spite of the mistake in the Catalogue, vol. ii, and that they possibly belonged to César de Vendôme, a bastard son of Henri IV (circ. 1609). For Catalogue of the Musée d'Artillerie, see Ponguilly d'Haridon. For suit of armour (1483) in the Tower of London, weighing 38 lbs., see S. D. Scott, i. 217. Cf. "crowded together in a small plain and powerless from their numbers and the weight of their armour," Nicolas, 130. Low (39) thinks they were "crowded in fields between 2 *roads* and that from the Seine to the Somme (!) there was scarcely a position more unfavourable, etc." On the other hand J. S. Gardiner (48) thinks that it was the *English* that suffered for the "almost unsupportable weight" of their armour, "often stopping to take breath," and that "only the front ranks with shortened lances could raise their hands" (cf. Monstr. iii. 167 (of the French)), quoting "the Chronicler" (? is this Juv. 518 or Bueil, ii. 62, both of whom attribute the want of breath to the "French knight present at Agincourt," quoted on p. 48 for the statement that the English men-of-arms wore "a long hauberk of chain mail reaching below the knee and very heavy with the leg armour, beneath and over this the plate or white armour"; but these are really the French and the reference is to Waurin, ii. 211 [210]; Le Fèvre, i. 252). For fatigue of dismounted men-of-arms at Termonde in 1452, where they had to be held up by their pages, see Olivier de la Marche, i. cap. 25, quoted in Delbrück, iii. 483.

[2] For salebras solique mollitiam, instanced as difficulties of the English, see Wals. ii. 311.

[3] For stock advice to avoid wind or sun in the face in choosing a battlefield, see Christine de Pison-Luire de Chevalerie, in Robineau, 262; Juv. 520; Nicolas, 122; Köhler, 769, quoting Gesta, 53, which does not appear to mention the sun; Kitchin (i. 520) thinks that "the day was warm and fine"; Vickers (28), that it "broke bright and clear"; Fortescue (i. 59) thinks they were dazzled by the *eastern* sun that shone full in their eyes though it was approaching midday (see page 153, note 7); Towle, 334, 335; Labitte, 141; Adams, i. 228; Dupleix, ii. 713. Vita (62) brings in the sun to tinsel the armour. Niethe (51), who is a disbeliever, calls it das Märchen von der Sonne.

[4] Cf. la pluie qu'il avoit fait icelle semaine, Juv. 520; fist fort temps de pluie, Cochon, 274.

[5] Ab inordinato eorum apparatu, St Denys, v. 570; cf. propter inordinationem exercitus Francorum, Blondel, i. 261; rudis et indigesta multitudo, do. 167; en petite

from the want of a strong man in command[1]. Leaders came up without their men[2]; troops stood to arms without their leaders; and in many cases neither troops nor leaders arrived at all[3]. Of the 1200 horsemen who should have ridden down the archers at the outset very few indeed were ready at their posts[4]. They straggled in at all hours, they strolled about as if it were a tourney[5] or a ball-play[6], they warmed themselves[7] or fed their horses to the very last moment[8] as if the English would not dare to attack[9], and then came tearing up at break-neck speed in fear of being late[10]. Burgundian would not serve under Armagnac nor Armagnac behind Burgundian. Each man must have a foremost place or he would not fight at all, and on the top of all this jealousy stood out the Frenchman's proverbial[11] arrogance and presumption[12]. They wanted no archers and

ordonnance, Bouvier, 430; ou priust mauvais pie en l'ost des Francois, Waurin, ii. 205; ne tendrent mesure in ordre, Martial, 21; Champollion-Figeac, Louis et Charles, 298; le desarray et inadvertence, Mamerot, 272; les fausses manœuvres de notre armée, Guizot, ii. 259; faulty manœuvres, Masson, 179; cf. disorganization and indiscipline without a parallel in the history of European war, A. Musgrave, 295; an undisciplined aristocracy, C. R. L. Fletcher, 318; an armed mob, Oman, 102.

[1] Faute de conduite, Raoulet, 155; "bad generalship," Gent. Mag. (1859), ii. 344; cf. page 181, note 1.

[2] Vinrent quasi tous seuls, Bouvier, 429; peu de gens, do. 430; e.g. the Dukes of Orleans and Brabant (page 169) and the Count of Nevers, Norm. Chron.; Hellot, 19; do. Williams, 170.

[3] e.g. the Dukes of Brittany and Anjou, Norm. Chron. 171.

[4] Page 157, note 5.

[5] Bouvier, 429; cf. page 140, note 2. For French sitting all night in the saddle "in order not to soil their magnificent armour," see Haggard, 120.

[6] Ains vint à l'estour à desroy,
Comme s'ils alaissent chouler. Pastoralet, 767.

Godefroy, s.v. *Souler*.

[7] Ou Anglais prindrent par leurs sens,
Les Francais *près du feu* tout court. Bouchet, 238.

Gollunt, 1011; Choisy, 325; Belleforest, Hist. 277; Mazas, Vies, v. 621; Belleval, 97, who supposes that they lighted these fires at 10 a.m. to dry themselves.

[8] Les uns s'en alloient chauffer ou se pourmenans ou faisans repaistre leurs chevaux, Bouvier, 430; Martial, 21; Champollion-Figeac, Louis et Charles, 298.

[9] Pensans qu'on n'oseroit les yeux,
Contre tant lever ne les mordre. Martial, 21.

Ut non quomodo pugnarent sed quo pacto hostem detinerent ne fugeret, Aen. Sylv. Orat. iii. 191; marchoient comme à une victoire assurée, Villaret, xiii. 359.

[10] En desroy et a tue cheval chascun sefforcoit de sievoir (i.e. suivre, cf. Godefroy, s.v. *Sevir*) sy que jamais n'y cuidoent venir a temps, Trahisons, 129; hors d'alayne, Bueil, ii. 62, who represents that they came up at top speed one by one. In Ruisseauville, 139, they (? the French) came up tout bellement et sans hâter.

[11] For the French as orgueilleux, violents, les plus passionés du monde, see Ronciere, i. 286.

[12] Vous alez en bataille en orgueil et a grant beubanche, Ruisseauville, 142; par leurs granz boubans et ourgueil, Chron. Bricc. 891; Francigenarum superbia, Aen. Sylv. Orat. iii. 192; homeny de gran pompa, Morosini, i. 10; folle et effrénée outrecuidance, Bouchard, clii; par orgueil, Cochon, 94; seduite par presompcion, Blondel, i. 261, 443;

no low-born craftsmen[1]. The gentlemen were there to crush these puny English and do it quick and then come back to dine[2]. But the first check to their horsemen threw all into deray[3]; their reckless confidence turned to scare and panic; their very numbers proved their undoing[4] and having once become entangled they thronged and trampled on each other without even striking a blow[5]. Something also must be laid to the account of the new venture of the French in separating the leaders from the *gros varlets*[6] whereby they cut the bond of local comradeship which hitherto had held the troops together as companions, and when the heads with their banners had fought and lost the first encounter all stimulus to courage vanished from the headless members who villainously fled away. When the news reached Constance about three weeks after the event[7] that 100,000 French had "basely run away[8]" before a handful of hardy Englishmen who had been living for three days on bread and water it was received without any special surprise. All Europe knew the French disease[9]. It was the old old story. They talked a great deal first and then made up their minds in a hurry[10], going into battle as usual

nimis precipitanter, St Denys, v. 556; ce furent tant presumpcieux, Martial, 21. For contempt of the French for the Turkish light troops at Nicopolis, see Ranke, iv. 447; avemo l'ira de Deo per la sua arongancia et sua soperbia, Morosini, ii. 140; confidenter et animose sed nimis arroganter, Zantfliet, 406; cet esprit de présomption et d'insubordination, Hennebert, iii. 333; arrogance and eagerness to be foremost, Lloyd, 53. Cf. nostre accoustumée témerité, Serres, i. 960 (281); avec une impetuosité aveugle sans aucune discipline se culbutant les uns les autres, Anquetil, i. 556. G. Köhler (3) refers to the weakness of the Ritterschaft nicht so wohl in der mangelhaften Ausbildung des Einzelnen als in der masslosen Arroganz des Korpsgeistes und der Reizbarkeit eines heranbildeten falschen Ehrgefühls das aller taktischen Disciplin Hohn sprach und in der Verachtung des Fussvolks an dessen Seite zu Kämpfen der Ritter unter seiner Würde hielt. M. Bernard (95) thinks that "chivalry received its final death-blow at Agincourt"; présomption, arrogance, témérité, G. Daniel, iii. 876, which he contrasts with the précaution, sagesse, habileté et valeur of the English; l'imprudente et presumptueuse ardeur, V. Fréville, 95; Uebermuth, Zech, 297; sa negligence accoutumée, Coquelin, i. 147. For French contempt for infantry as piétaille or ribaudaille, see Lachauvelaye, 120; Rambaud, i. 264; Lavisse, 99; Godefroy, s.v.; Cotgr., s.v. Macfarlane (34) thinks that "the chiefs seemed to be suffering from a moral vertigo."

[1] Page 145, note 7. For order of 1394 to practise archery in France, see Jahns, 759.

[2] Harflet, 319; App. 75.

[3] Le Fèvre, i. 256; Waur. ii. 214; Monstr. 375; en grant desroy, Fenin, 63.

[4] Sic et alias numerositas potuit innocuisse, St Denys, v. 562; cujus infinita copia erat, Blondel, i. 261.

[5] Les quelx ne firent oncques coup, Juv. 520.

[6] Page 145, note 6.

[7] The news reached Constance at the same time as that of the fall of Ceuta.

[8] De bello turpiter fugerunt, Niem, Vita, 36; Raynaldi, viii. 438.

[9] Communis Gallorum morbus animi insolentia, Blondel, i. 262.

[10] Gallorum multa sunt et *repentina* consilia, Niem, Vita, 36; Raynaldi, viii. 438.

with a light heart[1] and playing the coward when things went against them[2]. And lest this judgment should be flouted as coming from a tainted German source we have precisely similar estimates from Italian contemporaries who found them headstrong and ferocious, more than men at the onset and less than women long before the close[3], and we have only to look to the condemnation pronounced by their own countrymen who charge them with fouling the fair fame of France with ignominious flight from fear of death to their eternal shame[4]. For years afterwards the Frenchmen

For French reputation for talking like a vallet instead of fighting, cf.

Praevalet in linguâ qui non est fortior armis,
Nullus in hâc pugnâ plus meretice valet. Pol. Songs, ii. 128.

Cf. le grant ourgueil et oultrecuidance des Franczois qui cuident plus valer et pouoir qu'il ne font, Chron. Brioc. 891 (a Breton estimate).

[1] Vincere mos est Francigenis, Relig. Antiq. i. 5; impetu maximo ut moris est Gallis, Tit. Liv. 13; la (*sic*) gent très féroce de France, Alione in Champion, Vie, 365.

[2] *More suo* alacriter bellare inceperunt, ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer et promptus est animus sed mollis et minime resistens ad calamitates ferendas, Niem, Vita, 36, who quotes this as illud antiquum dictum. Cf. begynnyng alwayes warres and contencions but can never fynyshe them, J. Coke, 121, though this really refers to the English in Débat, 51. Even Mazas (Vies, v. 623) admits that la constance des Français n'est pas de longue durée.

[3] Fervissimas immanissimasque gentes, primo impetu plus quam viros mox minus quam feminas, Muratori, xxi. 412; Champion, 365.

[4] Par desroy estoient esgarés, Bulletin Historique de Soc. Antiq. de la Province, iv. 41; Danvin, 120, quoting MS. No. 8311–2621 in Bibl. Impériale; sic a predecessorum vestrorum vestigiis declinando, St Denys, v. 564; Francie clavum decus ignominiosa fuga obnubilatum reddidistis, ibid.; territi aufugerunt non sine indelibili infamia, ibid. 574 (while admitting that many fought bravely with the muscles of a Hector, cum lacertis hectoricis fortiter resistendo); in eorum vituperium sempiternum, ibid. v. 560; monstroit on au doigt ceux qui s'en estoient fuis de la bataille, Juv. 519; fugam, Norm. Chron. 171; car tous ne font pas bon debvoir, Pastoralet, 774;

Mais ja fuient par vauls et roches
Qui miex miex sans cremir reproches. Ibid. 775.

Et disoient en communement que ceulx qui prius estoient n'avoient pas esté bons ni loyaulx à ceux qui moururent en bataille, Bourgeois, 66; quy peu ou neant avoit combatu, petitement se deffendirent, Le Fèvre, i. 256; Waur. ii. 215; timore, pudore et dolore confusi, Vita, 68; se chascun des Français se feust ainsi voulu employer il n'est à croire que leur besongne eust mieulx allé ceste journée, Le Fèvre, i. 250; Waur. ii. 208; par frelur, Waur. ii. 214; pour peur de mort, Monstr. 375; nihil reluctantes nec ullam spem defensionis nisi in sola fuga ponentes, Basin, i. 22; Meyer, 246; ne firent pas si bien, leur devoir fuyrent honteusement...peu vaillamment, Bouvier, 430; des faux mauvais et couarz fuis sanz, Chron. Brioc. 891; s'en fuyoient honteusement, ibid.; en honte perpetuelle, Gaguin, Mer, 141; fled against nature, Halle, 71; And caused mely by their base Retreate, Drayton, 63; foible ennemi en grant desconfiture, Baye, ii. 220; Monstr. 381; Felibien, iv. 560. Said to have been called by the English the battle of Spurs "la journée des Espernes d'or," Vinchant, iv. 50; Marlot, iv. 163.

Et se chascun eust voulu faire
Pareillement sans soy deffaire
Anglois n'eussent pas peu a faire. Chartier, 615.

Deus qui voluntatem eorum ad audaciam et aliorum ad fugam excitavit, St Denys, v. 580; caeteros fuge a periculis peditus exemit, Blondel, i. 261; les autres fuyans a qui mieulx se povoit sauver par bien courir, do. i. 443; Deus subtraxit audaciam ex incursione timoris,

pointed the finger of scorn at the thousands who fled from the field[1], and when Alain Chartier's four ladies talk the battle over it is the ugly flight[2] that rings the keynote of all their grief[3], and Robert Blondel sums up the disaster in one sad line—"all dead or run away[4]." Thus friend and foe alike aver that shameful panic seized upon them. Chartier condemns the recreant scarceness[5] of the laggard feddles[6] who lowered their lineage, flung away their honour[7] and like a quaking flock of sheep[8] fled when they should have struck[9]; while Elmham who saw the flight asserts that never in the history of the world had knights so

Gesta, 74; fugatâ imbelli multitudine, ibid.; The rest of them they ran away, Nicolas, App. 78, 80.

[1] Monstroit on au doigt ceux qui s'en estoient retournés et fuis de la bataille, Juv. 520; en y at beaucoup de Franczoys (i.e. more than 6000) qui s'enfuirent, Chron. Brioc. 891.

[2] Que leur fuite laide et notoire,
Aux ennemis donne victoire. Chartier, 664.

For his "frigid artificialities," see G. G. Smith, 92.

[3] Ha! ha! pou loyaulx,
Fuitifs, lasches et desloyaulx,
Vous laissastes tous les royaulx,
Et leur tournastes,
Le des et vous en retournastes.
Chartier, 616; Joret, Desclosières, 5.
Leur fuyte est cause à leur grant blasme,
De ma perte et de leur diffame. Chartier, 618.

Lenient, 362; Geruzez, i. 232; Tivier, 48.

On a fuy,
Laschement et s'en est fuy,
Dont il a honneur deffuy,
Et dit on pourquoy y fut y.
Et ses semblables,
Quant leurs laschetez dommageables,
Et leurs fuites dehonnorables,
Ont fait mourir tant de notables.
Presqu à miliers,
Et fait perdre les chevaliers,
Ainsi leurs couardies lentes,
Ont fait tant de dames doulantes,
Et esplourées. Chartier, 659, 660; Joret, Desclosières, 6.
Le champ de France est aspre et vide,
Car les bons Français en sont tuit,
Lez unz fuitifz les aultres mors. Blondel, i. 127.

[5] Leur recreant escharceté, Chartier, 618; cf. Godefroy, s.v.

[6] Les bons anciens batailleurs,
Furent ilz mignotz, sommeilleurs,
Diffamameurs, desloyaux, pilleurs?
Certes nenny. Chartier, 665.

For *feddle*, see Cotgr., s.v. *Mignotz*; also Murray, s.v.

[7] Leur honneur derrière eulx laisserent,
Et leurs lignage abaisserent. Chartier, 667.

[8] Tremblant comme brebis tous ce, Chartier, 618.

[9] Or fuit quant ferir a fallu,
Et son honneur fut nonchalu. Chartier, 671.

picked and so strong made so half-hearted, so timid, so unmanly and so disorderly a stand[1].

For 400 years this condemnation for cowardice remained practically undisturbed and down to the Revolution days the French nobility at Agincourt were still spoken of as "more filled with ostentation than with courage[2]," but in the generation that outlived Waterloo and St Helena the literary men of both nations were making somewhat artificial efforts to skin over the mischievous inheritance and deal more generously with strong national susceptibilities and ancient hatreds[3], while historians took pains to drive home the salutary truth that French and English might have been brothers quarrelling but that for all that they were brothers yet[4]. With this view they treated all references to cowardice at Agincourt as "uncandid reflections[5]" upon the bravery, exalted patriotism and chivalrous courage inherent in the French character[6], which so far from being tarnished had really acquired fresh lustre from the great defeat, and that to say anything different betrayed "consummate ignorance of the merits of the case[7]." Under the influence of this colourless solvent the battle has now come to be regarded as nothing but "excessive chivalry[8]," a monument alike of "bravery, devotion and folly[9]." But if the history of the past is to be honestly written and not

[1] Tam segniter, tamque inordinate et trepide, seu tam inhumaniter, Gesta, 54; Chron. Giles, 48; grant nombre de chevaliers et gentilshommes et gros varlets et pages qui s'enfuirent, Ruisseauville, 140, 142; noblesse fuit (not fait, as Monstr. 381) encontre sa nature, Baye, ii. 220; Felibien, iv. 560.

[2] Hennebert, iii. 329, who writing in 1789, refers to it as "une fuite honteuse"; cf. "s'y portèrent laschement," Dupleix, ii. 713; trop de seigneurs avaient fui, Valois, iv. 354.

[3] e.g. Revue Anglo-Française, iii. 147 (1835); Michelet (vi. 19) (followed by Barante, iii. 168) praises the impartiality of Nicolas, whom he claims as of French origin because his great-grandfather was a Huguenot. For praise of Nicolas for recognising the valorous courage of the French, see Musgrave, 42; cf. "the ardent and intrepid Frenchmen," S. Turner, ii. 448, 453; also Musgrave, 299, 303, 306; un grand courage, une intrépidité rare, Tilloy, 19.

[4] Des frères ennemis mais après tout des frères, Michelet, vi. 42.

[5] Nicolas, 124; Gesta, 54. Cf. "he is not candid enough to explain the reason," Aubrey, ii. 49.

[6] Gesta, 74. Brougham (p. vi), writing in 1852, thought that his work would "find little favour either with the English or the French reader," but as he put his case against Henry very strongly indeed it found great acceptability among the French. Crowe (i. 127) thought that the internal quarrels of the French "stifled their courage" and that they showed "a want of manhood."

[7] Nicolas, 122.

[8] Belleval, 39.

[9] Roujoux, iv. 173. Towle (346) thinks that *both* sides fought with sublime bravery, etc.

a mere striving after "magnificent pictures[1]," it must not concern itself with national susceptibilities, and in the midst of this post-prandial treatment it is well to be reminded that this was not the judgment uttered either by contemporaries or even by Frenchmen themselves right down to the time of the Napoleonic war, and if it be true that "in immortal defeat France was to find immortal glory[2]," it is certain that those who lived under the gloom of the "immortal defeat" had not the faintest glimpse of an "immortal glory" that was yet to come.

But if some such warning is essential in probing the moral lessons of the battle, far more essential is it when we try to deal with details from the point of view of strategy. For it did not take long before swarms of circumstantial myths began to gather round the story, and so deeply have they struck their roots that we may almost despair of ever again being able to read it in its original simplicity. The archers for example in the earliest accounts merely carry each man his stake instead of a pavise[3], prick them in the ground like a hedge in front of them[4] and rush forward after the French charge has been baffled[5], but in modern writers the stakes get "interlaced[6]" into a rampart[7], a

[1] Michelet's account (vi. 39) is belauded as "le plus magnifique tableau qu'ait jamais inspiré cette grande défaite," by Leroux de Lincy, Chants Historiques, i. 294, and on the whole the praise is well deserved.

[2] Belleval, 48.

[3] Pro scuto, Tit. Liv. 19. For pictures of pavises, see J. J. Smet, Corpus Chronicorum Flandrie, ii. 243; Steyert, Fig. 13, from MS. (circ. 1370), pp. 32, 39, and Fig. 24 (circ. 1415), pp. 32, 34, where it is worn on the left arm with a battle-axe in the right hand; see also Royal MS. 20. c. vii. 29 (i.e. Rous MS. in Brit. Museum); Kingsford, 210, 224; Jähns, 742; Historians' Hist. xi. 167; cf. with paviseris to gon a-forn, Lydg. Troy Book, 377; with pavis, spere and schelde, do. 385.

Paviseris clad in mail and plate,
With the archeris in the feld to gon. Ibid. 403.

For pavesards or pascheurs cum pavesiis lanceis targenibus et rodallis (i.e. rondaches = bucklers), see C. A. Costa de Beauregard, 12. For pavises called "long targets" or "wooden stakes," see W. Scott, Tales, 226. Cf. bien paveschiat contre le tret, Froiss. i. 494; arbalestriers estoffés (i.e. pavisés), Vandenbroeck, 61, 77, 90, 171, where there is one paviser to every pair of crossbowmen.

[4] Peuchons mis et entichiés, Le Fèvre, i. 255; see Godefroy, iii. 264, s.v. *Enticier*; dont ils faisoient une paye devant eulz, Waur. ii. 210; pour mettre devant eulz, ibid. iii. 110 [74]; cf. une paye de Pels, Ruisseauville, 139, who says that the French were encamped (logiés) between this and "*un* bois." Cf. furent mis les archiers au front devant.

[5] Yssirent hors de leurs peuchons, Le Fèvre, i. 256.

[6] Rapin, iii. 448; Tindal, i. 573; Zech, 298.

[7] Rempart de piquets, Villaret, xiii. 368, 369; Hennebert, iii. 328; N. Lambert, 417, 419; also Lingard, iii. 499; Brougham, 119; Low, 40, where there is an attempt at pictorial illustration.

palisade[1], whether fixed or portable, a breastwork[2], a barrier[3], an entrenchment[4], a stockade[5], an *enceinte*[6] or *chevaux de frise*[7] behind which the archers "nimbly retreat with a wonderful discipline[8]." Some writers invent a body of pioneers[9] or billmen to move this "fortification[10]" about "as should be directed[11]," plucking it up and pleaching it again and again[12]. Some make the archers fix their stakes in front of them, some at the side, some even at the back[13]; others suppose that after fixing them up in front they left them behind them sticking in the soil[14], while some think that the ground was so soft that the stakes would not stick in the soil at all[15]. Some, as we have seen, station the archers on the wings, some in the front, some put the men-of-arms between the archers, some the archers between the men-of-arms and so on, with all possible permutations. One starts the difficult hypothesis that they threw their stakes "out of their hands so that one end should stick in the ground while the other stood out aslant *with the point towards the enemy*[16]," a boomerang-feat which would

[1] G. Daniel, iii. 873; Villaret, xiii. 367; Hume (edition 1854), ii. 357; Bérand, ii. 64; Belleval, 76, 91; Towle, England, 160; George, 87, 88; eine Palissadenreihe, Jähns, 860; "fixed pallisadoes," Purey-Cust, i. 206; palisades, Historians' Hist. xi. 172; Vickers, 30; cf. Green, 262, who furnishes *each man* with a "sharp palisade"; Delbrück, iii. 481; "eine Art Palisade hinter ihren Pfählen," Niethe, 49, 51, who wonders why the French looked on and let them build it and takes this as an argument to prove that they had made up their minds to act on the defensive because of their small numbers.

[2] Lay, 57.

[3] Duval-Pineu, ii. 199.

[4] Labitte, 137, 141.

[5] Staket, Delbrück, iii. 470; Staketenzaum, Rüstow, 107, who pictures the stakes as mittelst der Fouragierleinen mit einander verbunden, so that the archers could advance 20 or 30 feet in front of them and retreat if necessary. Delbrück (iii. 481) gets over the difficulty by supposing that it was only the wings that were "verpallisardirt," not the whole front.

[6] Michelet, vi. 34.

[7] Mazas, Vies, v. 612; Scott, ii. 552 (i.e. one sloping inwards and one outwards); an excellent rampart partaking of the nature of *chevaux de frise*, Macfarlane, 33; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 31; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 569; Cassell, i. 532; Oman, Hist. 224, with graphic representation in Art of War, 105; Strang, 84, where the stakes are 6 feet long; also ibid. 89.

[8] Rapin, iii. 448; Guthrie, ii. 466; S. Turner, v. 445; Lingard, iii. 246; Cassell, i. 533. Morris (429) thinks that they would "spread out in line parallel to the men-at-arms and then fall back into their wedge-like formation."

[9] For pioneers (i.e. miners), see Kennett, i. 322.

[10] Goodwin, 84; Adams, i. 224; Long, lxxxiv. 316; Haggard, 121.

[11] Halle, 67; Holinsh. iii. 553; Stow, 350; Baker, 171; Sandford, 280; Barante, iii. 160, 163.

[12] Rapin, iii. 448; N. Lambert, 417.

[13] Baker, 171.

[14] Gairdner, 98.

[15] Lachauvelaye, 109.

[16] Guthrie, ii. 464.

certainly seem to have demanded a good deal of previous rehearsal.

Again, an early writer speaks of the French army as "barring the passage" to Calais, i.e. as they stood posted in front of the woods of Azincourt and Tramecourt, and when the French vanguard was broken by the onrush of the maddened horses he quite naturally says that they were "in a great strait[1]," but the harmless "strait" and the necessary "passage" have now become a "deep gorge[2]" or "lane[3]," a "narrow valley[4]," a "veritable defile[5]," three miles long and anything from 700 feet to a mile and a half wide, in which the whole French army was "cooped up[6]" and "imprisoned," undulating[7] either between two woods[8], or two roads[9], or two rivers[10], a wood and a river[11], or a hedge and a bank[12], a hedge and a ditch[13], or a plateau and a slope[14], and "jammed in[15]" so close together that they

[1] Moult à detroit, Ruisseauville, 139.

[2] Villaret, xiii. 360, 365, who thinks (p. 378) that under the circumstances it would have been a miracle if the French had won; Piers, 382; Hennebert, iii. 333; Kervyn de Lettenhove, Hist. iii. 89; H. Morley, vi. 153. In Ardouin-Dumazet, xix. 100, 102, the village of Azincourt "se creuse comme un ravin," which is a very puzzling description seeing that the church spire can be seen from Maisoncelles standing out above the trees.

[3] Cassell, i. 531.

[4] En ung val, Normandie, Hellot, 19; do. Williams, 170; valleys and rocks, Pastoralet, 775; Anquetil, i. 556; Duval-Pineu, ii. 196, 197, 201; Pauli, v. 118; Wright, i. 472; Low-Pulling, 16; Towle, 322; Jähns, 859, 860; "a slight hollow," Strang, 86; though called "rising ground," ibid. 89.

[5] Mazas, Vies, v. 601; do. Cours, ii. 174; Belleval, 81; Hauteclocque, 282, 283, 285; cette petite plaine étroite forme un défilé, Viollet-le-Duc, Mobilier, vi. 384. For plan of it, see Belleval, 125.

[6] Musgrave, 298.

[7] Belleval, 102.

[8] Saint Foix, iii. 190; Mazas, Vies, v. 624, 627; Sismondi, xii. 480; Macfarlane, 35; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 31; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 560; Lavallée, i. 378; Beamont, 243; Viollet-le-Duc, Mobilier, vi. 384; a narrow plain with a wood on each side, K. Stephen, 130; J. R. Green, 261; auf einem so engen Raume, Niethe, 42; Delbrück, iii. 477, who estimates the breadth at 500 mètres; Lachauvelaye, 106, 117; George, 89, who supposes the ploughland to be there too.

[9] Low (39), who thinks that "from the Seine to the Somme" (*sic*) there was scarcely a position more unfavourable.

[10] Stow, Chron. 349.

[11] Rapin, iii. 446; Tindal, i. 513; Zech, 297; Hennebert, iii. 333; Duval-Pineu, ii. 196. For advice to choose a battlefield protected on one side par montagne ou eau, see Christine de Pisan, Livre de Chevalerie, in Robineau, 262; Kennett, 318, who adds a town in his rear.

[12] Martyn, 184; Biondi, 119.

[13] A low meadow which was near to the forward of his enemies (i.e. the French), but separate with a great ditch, Halle, 66; Drayton, 53, 59, 77, 85, 114; Daniel, Triarchord, iv. 149; Trussel, 101; Speed, 779; Echard, i. 185; Baker, 170; Sandford, 280; Adams, i. 224.

[14] Serri entre la plateau et le versant, Mazas, Vies, v. 618.

[15] Bright, i. 293.

could not lift an arm[1]. And this passion for woods[2] has been spread across to the English position also[3], and some writers even not content with stationing each of the two armies between its own couple of woods place another wood in the intervening space between them[4] with this difference however, that whereas the lateral woods are the ruin of the French, they become the means of salvation to the English[5], who "just fill the space[6]" between hedges and brushwood[7], rills[8], coppices[9], orchards[10], thickets[11], briars[12], bushy meadows[13], "rising ground covered with trees and thick bushes[14]," and "inaccessible woods[15]" which act as "impregnable and invincible outposts[16]," all of which arises

[1] D. Sauvage, 241; Duchesne, 823; Anquetil, i. 556; Malcolm, 77.

[2] S. Turner, v. 460. For supposition that "all the woods have long ago been uprooted," see Sat. Rev. 1883, lvi. 527, probably quoting Musgrave, who, on visiting the field in 1861, could make nothing of the descriptions that he had read about woods, etc., and concluded that the "whole face of the country had materially changed"; there had been "innumerable changes and transformations"; that "tracts of land covered with trees had been utterly denuded," and that "ravines and hollows had been filled up," for "the undulations at either extremity of the plain are very gentle and eminences there are none" (pp. 285, 287, 288). Hauteclocque (282) thinks that the country must have been formerly beaucoup plus boisé, probably in order to explain the curious things that he found in Belleval's account which he considers "the most complete and most learned" yet produced. Ramsay (i. 214, 216, 218) on the other hand assumes that the woods were then less than they are now, otherwise the French would have been "in a mere sheep-pen with no room at all," i.e. supposing that the French centre was placed exactly where the memorial now stands at the road-side. Tout (265) thinks that these "hedges and enclosures" formed "natural limits to the battle-ground."

[3] In a narrow ground between two woods, Hume, ii. 357; Bérand, ii. 63; Devienne, Artois, iii. 43; Airy, i. 144; Arnold's Britannia Historical Reader, i. 135; First Life, 54, note; Duval-Pineu, ii. 195 (who fixes the woods near Maisoncelles); entre deux bois, Boulé, i. 420.

[4] S. Turner, i. 431, 434, 460.

[5] Hume, ii. 357; Jähns, 860; Scott, ii. 562; by which he was ultimately saved, Aubrey, ii. 50; Dict. Nat. Biogr. xxvi. 48; defended on each side by hedges, trees and brushwood, Henry, v. 38; protected by coppices and hedges, Nicolas, 130; Cassell, i. 531.

[6] Oman, Hist. 224, though in Traill, ii. 324, he calls it "plain open ground."

[7] Virgultis, spinis, vepriculis et sepimentis obsitus, Redman, 43; hedges and bushes, Holinsh. iii. 553; cf. Gestrüpp und Dornen, Pauli, v. 119, who uses these as a protection for the English baggage at Maisoncelles; Towle, 326, 333, who thinks that the French "were not similarly protected."

[8] Carte, ii. 680; une petite rivière, Rapin, iii. 446; Tindal, i. 513; two small rivers, First Life, 54.

[9] Nicolas, 114; D. Scott, ii. 551; Sat. Rev. (1883), lvi. 528.

[10] Oman, Pol. Hist. 253.

[11] Gairdner, 98.

[12] S. Turner, v. 440.

[13] Zech, 298.

[14] Guthrie, ii. 465.

[15] Un lieu de fort rude acces, Serres, i. 960 [281]; Hume, ii. 356; S. Turner, v. 445, 450; Devienne, Artois, iii. 44; Brougham, 118; Gardiner, 302; Oman, 109, who thinks that Henry's position was "as excellent as could be desired." Called "an ideal position protected by valleys and woods" in Traill, ii. 323; Kingsford, 200.

[16] Musgrave, 298; cf. Kingsford, 150.

seemingly from statements by Elmham[1] that the flanks of both armies rested on the woods, and by Titus Livius, who probably had not actually seen the field, that it was enclosed with hedges and thickets[2].

Quite early, as we have seen, these woods became the receptacle for imaginary ambuscades, and soon 200[3] English archers[4] steal along "unperceived[5]" by the French who are watching them in the broad daylight about a quarter of a mile away, and find their way into the wood at Tramecourt[6] or into two of the woods[7], some putting archers into both[8], some archers in one and cavalry in the other[9], and some in a meadow[10] quite close to the French front, but always without being seen[11] in the broad daylight. From this vantage they turn the French in flank[12] after they have thrown away their bows[13], they strike a paralysing blow at 8000 heavily armoured Frenchmen[14], while another small body of English[15] slip round[16] into the very heart of the French position at Azincourt[17] and cause irreparable damage by setting fire to a grange in their rear[18]. The first of these

[1] Latera utriusque aciei se immergebant nemoribus quae erant ad utrumque latus exercituum, Gesta, 53. Cf. "immerged into the woods," Nicolas. 121; Aubrey, ii. 49.

[2] Inclusum inter sepes atque arbusta, Vita, 60; vepribus et sepibus, Tit. Liv. 16.

[3] Or 250, in Guthrie, ii. 465. In Mazas (Vies, v. 616, 621) they become 2000 under "Sir William Marshall"; also Belleval, 89; called 500 schützen von Irlant die dopeltent gute pferde wol gewaffent, in Twinger, ii. 915, though he may be confusing these with the Irish kernes who took part in the siege of Rouen in 1418.

[4] Not 400 cavalerie, as Rapin, iii. 448; or men-of-arms, as Ransome, 147. Called 200 crossbowmen in Rapin, iii. 447; Tindal, i. 513, who places them in a low meadow concealed with bushes on the English right, but his account is stuffed with unrealities.

[5] Lingard, iii. 497. In J. R. Green, 262, they are driven into the woods by "the desperate charges of the French knighthood."

[6] Monstr. 374; Ruisseauville. Called the "village" of Tramecourt in Historians' Hist. xviii. 534, from Knight, ii. 61 (q.v.).

[7] En deux bosquets, Cordeliers, 229. Michelet (vi. 34) accepts the ambush at Tramecourt but rejects the one at Azincourt apparently because it is supposed to have got round to the French rear, which is just where Tyrrell (291) does place it.

[8] Oman, Art of War, 105.

[9] Montfaucon, iii. 164; Villaret, xiii. 368; Zech, 298, who puts 500 English men-of-arms (or a total of 2000 in all) in ambush on the French right.

[10] Lingard, iii. 497; Sharon Turner, v. 443; "a woody meadow," Cassell, i. 532.

[11] Tout coyement, Monstr. 374; unbemerkt, Pauli, v. 121; Jähns, 860; sans avoir été aperçus, Cosneau, Connétable, 41. Called "a concealed position protected by a deep ditch" in Brougham, 118; "without being perceived by the enemy," Macfarlane, 36; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 32; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 561.

[12] Die soltent zu beden siten in die Franzosen schiessen, Twinger, ii. 915.

[13] Trussel, 101.

[14] Church (81) brings them in to help in the attack on the second line.

[15] Called 400 men-of-arms in Woodford.

[16] S'étaient glissés, Belleval, 88; Viollet-le-Duc, Mobilier, vi. 285.

[17] N. Lambert, 418; Church, 76.

[18] Mazas, Vies, v. 616; Lingard, iii. 500. Woodford locates it close to the church in

early fictions (viz. that of the archers in ambush) was looked into by Le Fèvre, who distinctly states that nothing of the kind happened[1], but the story is still alive and no modern account seems to be considered complete without it[2]. It is to be wished that the same writer had also pricked the other early story of an abortive night attack on the unsuspecting English which is supposed to have been made by the Count of Richmond[3] with 2000 French horsemen[4]. For in all these whimsical make-believes we miss the real spirit of the adventure which is a downright old-world hand-to-hand thrutch at quite close quarters[5], in which there is no place for craft or stratagem, and it is surprising how modern narrators have failed to see that all their guesses contribute nothing to a rational comprehension of it but only land us far into the region of the grotesque.

Thus the English are so out of food that for two or three days they have been living on the nuts[6] that they

the centre of the village of Azincourt and supposes that the English passed over "le mont morial" (see p. 131) in approaching it; Crosthwaite, 31; Yonge (279) calls it "the farm of Hesdin"; une grange et maison de la prioré de St Georges, Monstr. 374; Hennebert (iii. 325), who places it at Maisoncelles, calls it "une ferme dépendente au Prieuré de St George"; i.e. the Benedictine Priory at St George's close to Hesdin; Laon, 205; Harbaville, ii. 344; Danvin, 41 (who dates its foundation in 1094); called the Priory close to Hesdin in S. Turner, v. 444, which would be 10 miles away and quite out of sight, though it is supposed "to alarm and perplex his motionless enemies." For St George's Priory at Hesdin, see N. Lambert, 283; Hauteclocque, 351, 377; Crosthwaite, 31.

[1] Qu'il n'en fut riens, Le Fèvre, i. 251; Nicolas, 114; Lachauvelaye, 103; Niethe, 40.

[2] e.g. Rapin, iii. 446–452; Michelet, vi. 34; Knight, ii. 62, whose account is otherwise very sober and accurate. The story has at last been rejected in Köhler, ii. 767, and Vickers (29) thinks that there is not enough evidence to prove it.

[3] Monstr. 373; Guthrie, ii. 463; Belleval, 84; Adams, i. 223; Köhler, ii. 764. Mazas (Vies, v. 610) places the attack on Thursday afternoon (Oct. 24) and thinks that on the same evening the Count of Nevers drove the English from the village of Tramecourt. In another form of the story it is the Duke of Orleans who detaches 200 men-of-arms pour observer la position de l'ennemi, Héricault, I. xxvi; called "a short and ineffectual skirmish" in Saturday Review (1883), vi. 528. Cosneau (Connétable, 41) attributes it to both the Duke of Orleans and the Count of Richmond; also Niethe, 37, who accepts Monstrelet's numbers, i.e. 2000 men, though according to his own theory this would be nearly half the total French army.

[4] Called 200 in Towle, 323.

[5] For a picture of the battle of Agincourt, from MS. fr. 5054 in Bibl. Nat., see Zeller, 52. For a picture of the battle formerly in St James' Palace, London, see Archaeologia, iii. 190, quoting Mandelslo, iv. 617, but I can find no trace of it remaining on inquiring from the sub-Dean (Rev. J. E. Sheppard); Masson, Mediaeval France, 243; Durham, 51, showing men-of-arms all on foot, but no archers. For fifteenth century pictures of battles all at close quarters, cf. Froissart's account of Rosebecque, Montfaucon, iii. 84; Stegert, ii. 602 (1430); Foster, Feudal Arms, from Claudius B. vi; Rous MS. in Gardiner, 294; also MS. Reg. 1 E. ix. f. 240, where lances are driven into the eye or mouth or breast and heads are hit with maces; also MS. Reg. 20 c. vii. f. 136, 34, 36, 39, 62, 188, 214.

[6] Called filbert nuts in Long, lxxxiv. 314.

could gather at the roadside[1], yet when King Henry sees the Frenchmen sitting down to eat their breakfast on the spongy ground he at once "orders a plentiful refreshment[2]" for his own men too. Or how can we make anything of a picture of the Frenchmen sunk up to their knees[3], and their horses up to the hocks[4] in mud still performing miracles of valour[5], while the English archers dance round them[6] in the very same mud[7], and "completely roll them over[8]," one writer leaving these "embogged knights[9]" stuck fast in the mud for a little while "in this unenviable position" and then supposing that they "broke and turned to the rear[10]?"

[1] Airy (i. 144) supposes that they had "double rations" the night before the battle; "refreshments of food and wine," Cassell, i. 532. In Cassell, i. 530, they "procure plenty of provisions" at Maisoncelles, though "the whole region was a wilderness destitute of food or shelter," ibid. i. 531.

[2] Lingard, iii. 497; cf. "this refreshment was too beneficial (i.e. to the French) not to be imitated by their opponents," S. Turner, v. 441, which seems to be evolved from Monstr. v. 374, who says that they ate and drank before leaving Maisoncelles.

[3] Les tenoit comme immobiles, Waurin, ii. 211; jusque à un pie de haut, Cochon, 274; jusqu'au gros des jambes, Souchet, iii. 321; Kitchin, i. 520, quoting Juvenal, but the expression does not occur in Juv. 520; jusqu'aux genoux, Villaret, xiii; Devienne, Artois, iii. 43; Labitte, 140; Macfarlane, 38; Belleval, 94, 100, who discusses (p. 87) whether you sink deeper in wet turf or standing corn; "up to their knees in mire," or "greasy mud," or "tenacious clay"; Oman, Art of War, 110; Hist. 225; Hundred Years' War, 110; Traill, ii. 323; knee-deep, Henty, 349; Calthrop, ii. 83; à my jambes, G. Daniel, iii. 874; "up to the mid leg," Carte, i. 681; jusqu'au mollet, H. Martin, vi. 16, 17; Bright, i. 295; Ransome, 146; "sank to the calf *at each step*!" George, 90; "deeper than their ankles," Wright, i. 472; "ankle-deep," Kingsford, 151; Champion, Vie, 146, 147, 149; Oman (Pol. Hist. 254) supposes that that part especially was "much cut up by the passage of the waggons of the French train."

[4] Jusqu'aux jarrets, V. Fréville, 94; Champion, Vie, 149, quoting Gruel, p. 17 (q.v.); jusqu'aux sangles, Mezeray, ii. 567; Pilham, 266; Mazas, Vies, v. 622; "almost to their saddle girths," Macfarlane, 38; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 32; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 562; "wallowing up to their horses' girths," Cassell, i. 533; "above the fetlock," Jervis, 200; bis an die Knie, Zech, 299; half way up the horses' legs, Yonge, 277; "to their bellies," Henty, 348; "sunk to the knee," C. R. L. Fletcher, 321; s'enfoncent à quatre pieds, Nameche, iii. 56; jusqu'à mi jambe, Sismondi, xii. 481; Bérand, ii. 64; à une grande profondeur, Kausler, 91; cf. up to the hamme, Laud Troy Book, 214. For "hokkes" or "heghes," see York, 53, 58; "hoxed," i.e. houghed, or hamstrung, ibid. 142. In Gilbert's picture "The morning of Agincourt," the English are represented as mounted with their horses standing up to the knees in a marsh, see Besant, Survey, ii. 81. In Haggard, 125, the French "cavaliers" are "sticking in the mud" when the archers "endeavoured to wake them up."

[5] In Hastings, 42, the French rush on the English "with the frantic valour of an Indian intoxicated with opium."

[6] Voltigeant autour d'eux, Devienne, Artois, iii. 45.

[7] See page 157, note 9; Oman, in Traill, ii. 324. Macfarlane (35) thinks that this "was because the English were more lightly accoutred." Towle (327) thinks that the English had a fine position on trodden corn which "kept them from the impediment of the mud," while the French had "not so convenient a carpet" but were "fairly transfixed by the cohesive soil" (p. 331) which "held the mass with distressing pertinacity" and made the cavalry "flounder about in inexplicable (*sic*) confusion" (p. 333).

[8] Oman, History, 225; "with the archery playing full upon them," do. in Traill, ii. 324.

[9] Oman, in Traill, ii. 324.

[10] Oman, Art of War, 110.

In presence of such large absurdities it becomes a minor matter to note that the space between the contending armies is given at anything between 20 paces[1] and 3 miles[2]; that some writers put the English on "heights difficult of access[3]," others place both armies on slightly elevated ground[4], others again have both armies in valleys with an intervening hill, others give the hill to the French and put the English in a valley[5], while others place the French in a valley[5], though exact measurements prove that the difference of level between Maisoncelles and the cross-roads is really less than 10 feet, so that the whole field is practically as flat as a table. One says that the "height" hid them from each other's view and that they climbed up it in silence[6], though we know that they shouted loud war-cries as they advanced[7], while with others the earth "shakes with their quick and single tramp" in spite of the "mud clinging to their thick soles[8]." Some place the fight in front of Azincourt, some to the rear[9], some on both sides of it[10], some both in front and rear[11], and some quite away from the village altogether[12]. Some arrange

[1] Carte, ii. 680; Adams, i. 227. For 250 paces, see Long, xxxiv. 313; 1100 yards, Ramsay, i. 218, 220, who places the French 300 yards to the north of the Azincourt-Tramecourt road and the English 800 yards to the south of it; "not a myle asunder," Capgr. 312; "less than a mile," Fortescue, i. 58; George, 89, who puts both armies, ploughland and all, between the Azincourt and Tramecourt roads; "closing the mouth of the defile," Lloyd, 71; a moins de demi lieue, Gruel, 357.

[2] Villaret, xiii. 362; Crowe, i. 126.

[3] Pilham, 264; sur les hauteurs, Roujoux-Mainguet, i. 458; Roujoux, ii. 243; rising ground covered with trees and thick bushes, Guthrie, ii. 465; a hill spread with trees, Goodwin, 84. Köhler (ii. 768) places the English artillery on a height; cf. colliculus behind Azincourt, Pol. Verg. 44; une petite colline, Rapin, iii. 451; sur une eminence, Villaret, xiii. 372; "a gentle declivity," Henry, v. 38; "sloping ground," Cassell, i. 531; la hauteur qui les separait des Français, Mazas, Vies, v. 621, 629; versans plus ou moins rapides, N. Lambert, 416; "rising gently on the south side," Sat. Rev. (1883), lvi. 527; "this mountain's basis," Shakespeare, Henry V, IV. 2. 35; "some rising ground," Vickers, 21.

[4] Vickers, 28.

[5] In Capgr. 312, "the Frensch part stod on the hille and we in the vale"; "towards the vale," Lay, 45; Yonge, 277; cf. des ravins de Maisoncelle (*sic*), Lettenhove, Hist. iii. 89. In Kingsford, 151, the French "toil painfully *down* the hill."

[6] Mazas, Vies, v. 618, 621. [7] Page 156.

[8] Towle, 322, 332, 335.

[9] e.g. "between Azincourt and Ruisseauville," as Church, 76; "behind the gap between Agincourt and Tramecourt," Strang, 89.

[10] Kitchin, i. 519.

[11] Viollet-le-Duc, Mobilier, vi. 385; E. Hardy, 163, with plan.

[12] "A little in advance of the village of Ruisseauville," Macfarlane, 32; Cassell, i. 531. Mazas (Vies, v. 599) supposes that the French left was at Ambricourt, their centre at Ruisseauville, and their right at Planque; also Belleval, 79 (followed by Hauteclocque, 283), but he changes all this before the battle begins and puts them (p. 81) one behind the other in the "defile" (p. 93), the right wing becoming the front line between Azincourt and Tramecourt and the left wing going to Coulers where it becomes the "rearguard."

the English in three lines, some in two[1] and some in one[2], with the same uncertainty about the formation of the French[3]. Some put the French on horseback and the English on foot[4], others think that the French were "mostly mounted[5]," or half of them mounted, while others make all the lances fight on horseback[6], though it is perfectly clear that with the exception of the squadrons of cavalry on the French wings all the fighting was done on foot[7]. Some strip the archers naked[8], others "almost naked[9]," others naked to the waist[10], others picture them naked below the waist[11], others as hatless[12] and bare-legged[13], and others in all these ways together, so that they looked like carpenters[14] or brigands[15] and "struck terror by their savage appearance[16]." In short there is not a single detail of the battle that does not get transformed or turned completely upside-down somehow or somewhere except the fact that the French lost and the English won. With some it is the French, with others it is the English[17] who light fires in

[1] Zech, 297; N. Lambert, 417.
[2] Lachauvelaye, 103; Champion, Vie, 147.
[3] See page 143.
[4] Boulé, i. 426; Cassell, i. 532, 533.
[5] Scott, ii. 555.
[6] Biondi, 12 (by implication).
[7] Acies pedestris, Chron. Giles, 43; Delbrück, iii. 480, 481, who thinks this was in order to keep in touch with the archers. For "les hommes d'armes combattant à pied," as one of the reasons for the defeat of the French, see Lavisse, Rambaud, iii. 138. Niethe (42) supposes that it was because they were compelled to act on the defensive on account of *their small numbers* (!); wegen ihrer geringen Zahl.
[8] For the Welsh at Bannockburn considered as naked by the Scots, see S. D. Scott, i. 284, from Barbour's Bruce, p. 276.
[9] Henry, v. 40; Malcolm, 78; Lingard, iii. 496; Low, 40; "half-cloathed," Speed, 780; half-naked, Adams, i. 229; Cassell, i. 532, who makes them "present so savage an appearance as struck awe into the enemy."
[10] Sat. Rev. (1883), lvi. 528. J. R. Green (261) thought that they "bared their arms and breasts." In Haggard (128) they are "half-naked."
[11] Rapin, iii. 448, who thinks this was à cause de la maladie qui les pressoit, i.e. dysentery, as explained in Duval-Pineu, ii. 362, forgetting apparently that the same applied to the men-of-arms who certainly did not do without neither clothing; Villaret, xiii. 366; Devienne, Artois, iii. 44; Lediard, i. 65; "without their lower garments," S. Turner, v. 447.
[12] Sans chaperon, Monstr. 375.
[13] Speed, 780; Hennebert, iii. 326; J. Bucelin, 380; Wright, i. 472, who thinks that they were "dilapidated because they had suffered so much hardship"; Low, 40; N. Lambert.
[14] Michelet, vi. 32; Bodier, Charton, i. 502; Historians' Hist. xi. 171, where "many had taken off their breeches in order to be at their ease." Haggard (122) thinks that they "divested themselves of their breeches"; cf. "the unbreeched archers," who "provided themselves with new and better breeches" by stripping the dead, ibid. 128.
[15] Wie Räuber, Pauli, v. 119; une troupe de truands et de vagabonds, H. Martin, vi. 16.
[16] Wade, 81; "a terrible and ferocious band of ragamuffins," Haggard, 122.
[17] See page 138.

their camp. If the English king ordered perfect silence in his camp[1] the statement is countered by another that makes his men blow trumpets and play all kinds of musical instruments in spite of their fatigue, and so the ominous stillness that alarmed the French becomes a trumpeting of horns and hautboys and pipes and fiddles that fills the air all night[2], and when this fiction has sufficiently taken root, speculation starts as to whether the order to play was given before the order for silence[3], or whether the English were enlivening their spirits with cheerful sounds[4] to "raise their morale[5]," or because they were brimming over with religious joy after confession[6], or to indicate their sadness and contrition[7], or only "imitating the familiar vociferations of the French[8]." Again, notwithstanding the assertion that *both* armies are said to have been cleverly placed[9], it has long been the fashion to censure the French leaders for allowing themselves to be attacked in such a position[10], and especially to blame the "presumptuous incapacity[11]" and "consummate ignorance[12]" of the Constable D'Albret as "a weak youth[13]" without "talent or experience[14]" or "the higher knowledge of war[15]," and that "few commanders

[1] See page 137.

[2] Monstr. 273; First Life, 52. In Lingard, iii. 495, these "bands of music" play "in succession." In Cassell, i. 531, they are "ordered to play through the whole night." Ni cri ni chant, Trebuchet, 75, quoting Victor Hugo's translation of Shakespeare's Henry V. Bearne (274) makes the English "come up with the sound of trumpets, etc." and then "silently and composedly they took up their perilous position," etc.

[3] S. Turner, v. 435; Chappell, i. 24; Fortescue, i. 58, who thinks that they were "sternly checked by the king."

[4] Echard, i. 185. In Henty, 342, they play merry tunes for three hours.

[5] Belleval, 84. Tyrrell (290 [170]) thinks that they "kept up their spirits by playing military airs."

[6] Dupleix, ii. 712; Biondi, 118.

[7] Bucelin, 379.

[8] S. Turner, v. 435; Nicolas, 106.

[9] Solerter distributis *utrinque* aciebus, Zantfliet, 406.

[10] Rapin, iii. 452; Nicolas, 132.

[11] Saint-Foix, iii. 189, qui passait pour un présomptueux, Hennebert, iii. 333; aveuglé par trop de présomption, Barante, iii. 143; Andrews, ii. 20; Masson, 178; wegen ihrer geringen Zahl, Niethe, 42; eine entschiedene Minderheit, Delbrück, iii. 477.

[12] Musgrave, 300, 305; Charmettes, i. 49; "gross errors," Brougham, 394.

[13] Labitte, 138; though he was 46 years old (p. 180, note 3).

[14] Devienne, Artois, iii. 42; "ohne kriegerische Vergangenheit," Köhler, ii. 751; little fitted for his post, Bright, i. 293; "a bad general," Ransome, 145; "a man of no great capacity," Wright, i. 470; l'insuffisance du commandement, Valois, iv. 354.

[15] D'un esprit timide qui n'avait qu'une faible idée de la guerre dont les hautes connaissances ne s'acquierent que par pratique, Mazas, Vies, v. 599, 607; do. Cours, ii. 174, who had himself been a soldier before he went to the Arsenal Library and has something to say about historians "who have no idea of war." H. Martin (vi. 8) thinks that il n'avait ni les qualités d'un capitaine ni même celles d'un soldat; also Belleval, 38. E. Hardy (157) thinks that il n'était pas un traître mais un incapable.

could have committed a more glaring series of blunders[1]." But no sooner have we lit upon the inevitable scapegoat than we are told that "there seems nothing to impeach in the military distribution and direction of his troops[2]," that "the position that he had chosen was perfect[3]," and that "he does not appear to have been deficient in the duties of a commander[4]." It seems a well-established fact that the night before the battle was dark[5] and that it poured with rain[6], yet several modern writers give us clear moonlight[7], while King Henry or "some competent officers[8]" thoroughly survey the French position[9], others apparently not believing in the moonshine get the requisite light for him from the camp-fires[10].

In presence of all these intricate contradictions it becomes a matter of some importance to enter a word of caution likewise against a peculiarly subtle and fascinating form of self-deception that will beset the student as he looks into the evidence for the details of the battle. For in the general dearth of anything approaching first-hand knowledge the Victorian publisher discovered that the reader could best be allured to accept a theory if it was illustrated by a plan or map. Hence arose a great outburst of graphic representation in which a succession of modern savants have tried

[1] Oman, Art of War, 116. Called "absurd measures" in Charnock, i. xlvi. Dale (172) thinks he should have advanced his army to the Somme and entrenched himself there; "cette colonne stupide," Champion, Vie, 149.

[2] S. Turner, v. 439.

[3] Belleval, 79, though probably meaning his supposed first position before he worked into "the defile" which he calls "la position deplorable" (p. 99).

[4] Brougham, 122.

[5] Vita, 58.

[6] Page 136; per noctem luminis quicquam non haberetur, Tit. Liv. 15.

[7] Malcombe, 77; Gairdner, 98; Jähns, 859; Belleval, 87, 88, who thinks that la reconnaissance lui fut d'une grande utilité; Ramsay, ii. 213. In Kingsford, 145, the moon shines out providentially for a brief period, from Vita, 58; see page 136; also Strang, 88. My friend Mr C. T. Whitmell of Leeds informs me that the moon was 21 days old on Oct. 24, 1415, and would consequently rise between 9 and 10 o'clock.

[8] Scott, ii. 251; called valiant knights, in Long, lxxxiv. 315; or scouts, Dict. Nat. Biogr. xxvi. 48; Cassell (i. 530) makes them "ascend the heights above Maisoncelles" to get this information.

[9] Musgrave, 288; Macfarlane, 32; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 30; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 559; Viollet-le-Duc (Mobilier, vi. 385) calls this a night reconnaissance in which Henry discovered that both Azincourt and Tramecourt were unoccupied. Church (76) thinks that they were afterwards both occupied by the English. Niethe (37) who believes the story cannot believe in the moonlight portion of it. Champion (Vie, 146) thinks there was "une alerte où quelques traits furent échangés."

[10] Belleforest, Hist. 277; Michelet, vi. 29; while mention perhaps may be made of the theatrical romancers who make great play with the flashing gems on Henry's helmet (p. 392); or his "bright grey eye" (Tyrrell, 291 [170]); or his "lively blue eye" which "struck the English more than gold or gems" (p. 392).

their hands at illustrating what they consider to have been the tactics of the field, even recording the changes at different hours of the day[1]. But as these sketches, where not directly copied, differ wholly from one another in setting out their pretty squares, oblongs and triangles, with neat batteries of guns packed on either flank, they can but serve as a pictorial warning, and when we examine a few of them side by side they only help to emphasise the fact that we have not yet arrived at certainty in regard to the first essential details of that eventful day and on the existing data I fear we never shall. But perhaps the most audacious explanation of the defeat is afforded in a recently published German dissertation. Starting with the belief that the defeat of the French is inexplicable on the assumption that they greatly outnumbered the English[2], and finding that all contemporary authorities both French and English are agreed that they did[3], the writer builds up a theory that all the known facts can be explained on the supposition that the French were really much inferior to us in numbers; and when this theory does not fit in with such an episode as the offer even to give up Harfleur[4] he courageously decides to throw over all the authorities[5] on the ground that they were prejudiced Burgundians[6], and having nothing but his theory to guide him concludes that he cannot be far wrong if he puts the total numbers of the French at something between 4000 and 7000 men[7]. After this all the rest becomes easy sailing and all previous descriptions of the positions of the armies whether by contemporaries or moderns are pronounced to be perverted and obscure[8]. This curious theory of the numerical weakness of the French[9] might well have been left to take its chance but now that it has been adopted as the foundation of the most up-to-date account of the battle given by a very eminent writer on mediaeval tactics[10] it becomes necessary to emphasise the fact that it is based upon nothing but a purely fanciful hypothesis.

[1] e.g. Ramsay, i. 214.
[2] Niethe, 36.
[3] See page 141; Delbrück, iii. 478.
[4] Page 133.
[5] Niethe, 30.
[6] Forgetting apparently that Juvenal at any rate was a pronounced Orleanist.
[7] Niethe, 36, followed by Delbrück, iii. 480.
[8] Niethe, 44.
[9] Niethe, 23, 24, 28; Delbrück, iii. 480.
[10] Delbrück, iii. 478.

CHAPTER XXXVI

BURIAL

THE bodies of the few English that were killed were as far as possible separated from the rest[1] and laid in a large barn[2] or grange which was then set on fire and burned to the ground[3] and with it the surplus booty that could not be carried off[4]. The bodies of the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk were spared this holocaust but their weight had to be reduced in order that they might be taken home for burial. They were therefore parboiled[5] through the night till the flesh came away and the bones were then dried for removal with the army to England[6], and it is likely that the remains of the few dead English and Welsh knights

[1] Le Fèvre, i. 260.

[2] Granche grandie in een seure, Rymkron. iii. 226.

[3] Dynter, iii. 302, 752; not that the French dead were burnt with them, as Duval-Pineu, ii. 202. Cf. did al the bodyes be brend, Laud Troy Book, 412.

[4] Page 176.

[5] See Godefroy, s.v. *Parbouillir*, and Skeat, s.v. *Parboil*.

[6] Waur. ii. 218; Le Fèvre, i. 268; not embalmed, as Goodwin, 93; or pickled, as Long, lxxxiv. 466; nor "lodges brave Yorke in the triumphant sheet of Buriall," as Daniel, Trinarch. iv. 173. Mazas (Vies, v. 634) says that the entrails were buried at Fressin near Planque. For practice in mediaeval armies of carrying une chaudière neuve for this purpose, see Belleval, 118, quoting Cantu, Hist. des Italiens, vol. iv, i.e. C. Cantu (b. 1884), Storia degli Italiani, 6 v. Turin, 1856, translated by A. Lacombe, 12 v. Paris, 1859–1862. For an instance of boiling the dead, temp. Edward I, see Napier, 48, quoting Scott, Tales of a Grandfather, i. 75. For boiling of the body of an Englishman in Paris, see Bourgeois, 130, after which les trippes et la char et l'eaue furent enfouys en une grande fosse on dit cymetiere. In 1429, the remains of William Glasdale who died in Paris were cut up into quarters, boiled and embalmed and sent across to England for burial (despecé par quartiers et boullu et enbosmé et après fut emporté en son temps pour enterrer), Bourgeois, Tuebey, 237. Similarly in 1435, the remains of a nephew of John Fastolf, ibid. xii. 307 = despecé par piéces et cuit en une chaudière tant et largement que les os laissérent la char et puis furent tres bien nettriez, ils furent mis en ung coffre pour porter en Angleterre. Cf. "the corpse of Prince Arthur in 1502 was boyled (not "coyled," as Lel. Col. v. 374) and well seered and conveniently dressed with spices and other sweet stuff and was so conveniently done that he needed no leed but was chested," Antiquarian Repertory, ii. 323. Cf.

> To boyle him and put him in lede,
> And lede him hom to his contre.
>
> Laud Troy Book, 350.

were also carried back and buried in their English homes, but we only know the resting-place of one of them, viz. Roger Vaughan[1] whose alabaster monument showing the basnet and SS collar may still be seen in the chancel of the church at Bredwardine in Herefordshire[2].

Before the king left the ground some of the princes whom he had captured approached him with a word for their dead countrymen, that their bodies might be in charity enclosed in clay[3] and not left lying on the naked ground[4], a prey to the birds and dogs. He readily gave consent for the morrow but though four or five days were spent[5] in search for fallen leaders, both priests and servants rendering aid in identification wherever possible, yet only comparatively few could now be recognised. Some of the great ones however had been rescued in time[6]. The corpse of the Duke of Alençon was removed and buried in St Martin's Abbey at Séez[7] and though the church has been demolished the rings were still to be seen about a century ago by which his arms had been hung above his tomb[8], and his epitaph is preserved in a chapel in the crypt to this day[9]. The body of the Constable d'Albret was laid in the Grey Friars' Church at Hesdin[10] far from the burial-place of his family at Casteljaloux[11] in Guienne, and the Admiral Jacques de Châtillon was buried in the neighbouring church at Rollaincourt where his monument remained until the Revolution in 1793[12]. The body of the Duke of Bar was recovered

[1] Page 189.

[2] In Purey-Cust, Collar, 23, is a reference to the tomb of Sir John Coleshill of Tremadant at Duloe (not Dunloe) near Liskeard in Cornwall, who is supposed to have been killed at Agincourt, but it is probably that of his son who died in 1483, see Lysons, Magn. Brit. iii. 69, 80; Lewis, ii. 100.

[3] Henry V, IV. 8. 118.

[4] Drayton, 91.

[5] i.e. from Saturday, Oct. 26, to Wednesday, Oct. 30, Meyer, 247; paucis interjectis diebus, Redman, 47.

[6] Juv. 519; Monstr. 380.

[7] Bry de la Clergerie, 316; Belleval, 128.

[8] Odolant-Desnos, i. 496.

[9] Orville, 52.

[10] ? Monstr. 380; Lion, 89; Danvin, 119; Boulé, i. 433. For Vieil Hesdin, see N. Lambert, 81; Hauteclocque, 364. For the aviary (la cage) at Hesdin qui est la plus grant de ce royaulme (1393), see Menagier, ii. 252.

[11] Near Nérac (Lot de Garonne). For account of Casteljaloux, see Samazeuilh. Dict. 82–97; Drouyn, Guienne, ii. 189–194, Plate 104. For complaint of the inhabitants to Charles d'Albret on account of damage done to their district by the war, see Raymond, iv. 34 (E. 141). For letters written by the Chancellor of the Constable d'Albret at Casteljaloux, Oct. 15, 1415, and at Castelnau de Cernès (near St Symphorien, Gironde) on Oct. 28, 1415 (called Castet Nau de Sarnes in Jurade, ii. 280), and St Sores (Landes) on the Leyre on Oct. 30, 1415, see Jurade, ii. 265.

[12] Dictionnaire historique, ii. 343, 348; Crosthwaite, p. 31. Not in the Grey Friars

and removed to Bar-le-Duc where it was buried on Nov. 6, 1415, in the Collegiate Church of St Maxe within the Castle[1], and fifty years afterwards an altar tomb was erected over his remains[2]. Here they lay unmolested for over 300 years, but in February 1786[3] the bones were lifted together with those of his father and mother, placed in a leaden coffin and laid in a vault in the neighbouring Church of St Pierre with which St Maxe was to be merged as one parish. Eight years later the Revolutionaries stripped off the lead and strewed the bones about the floor, and there they lay till quieter times came round when they were reverently gathered together[4], placed in a wooden box and left in the vault where they now lie. The earlier tomb in St Maxe was broken up when the church was demolished in 1793[5], and nothing now remains of it save a fragment with a shield of arms. The site on which it stood is now partly a school playground for little girls and partly a public highway[6]. The Duke's brother John was never recovered, and when the right of his successor, Cardinal Louis, was challenged it was claimed that the fact of John's death had never been actually proved[7], which can only mean that his body was not identified and was therefore thrown into the common grave. The Count of Nevers was buried in the Cistercian Abbey at Elan[8] near Mézières in the Ardennes. His young wife, Bonne of Artois, had just given birth to a son, whose baptism was attended by the Duke of Burgundy at Clamecy[9],

at Hesdin, as Belleval, 169, where he is Lord of Dampierre, Camfries and Rollaincourt. For a stone in the village of Azincourt as the base of La Croix de Chatillon, see Woodford, who refers to a tradition that it was supposed to mark the spot where he fell.

[1] La chapelle castrell située et assise en nostre Chastel de Bar en laquelle reposent nos progéniteurs et leurs consorts, Renard, 71, 157, 184. Called St Mesme (i.e. Maxime) in A. Duchesne, Dreux (Bar-le-Duc), 57; Meuse, Inventaire, 91; Rosières, 430. For pictures and plans of the castle in 1617, 1633 and 1756, see Renard, 1, 8, 10, 28; Servais, i. 133. It was dismantled in 1670, Renard, 11, 29, and nothing now remains of it save the great clock tower and the Porte d'Honneur.

[2] i.e. in 1466, Renard, 161, 173, with plan showing the exact spot in the Chapel of St Jean.

[3] Ibid. 178, 226.

[4] i.e. in 1809, ibid. 179; Boudot, 96.

[5] Grande Encycl. v. 322.

[6] Renard, 182.

[7] De cujus morte vera notitia non habetur, Clouët, iii. 554, quoting A. Duchesne, Preuves, p. 64.

[8] Coquille, 233; Montagnac, ii. 69, 70, pt. 2; not Elam, as Sveyro, ii. 127. For condition of the ruins at Elan, see Travaux de l'Académie Impériale de Reims, xvii. 229. For documents relating to the Abbey from 1235 to 1753, see Sénemaud, Inventaire, iv. 39–44.

[9] Page 106, note 7.

and her husband's death was announced to her as she was returning from her churching[1] a few days later. The remains of the Count of Roucy were taken to Braisne[2] near Soissons, where his wife[3] received them with abundant weeping[4]. Here they were buried with much ceremony by the side of his father and mother[5] in the Church of the Abbey of St Yved, and though his actual monument has now disappeared a detailed drawing of it may still be seen in the Bodleian Library at Oxford[6]. The bodies of two others of the less distinguished dead, viz. Guillaume de Longueil and his son, still lie buried in the Church of St Jacques at Dieppe, of which town the father was captain[7].

Tidings of the death of the Duke of Brabant[8] soon reached Brussels, and the members of the Three Estates announced the sad news to the Duchess[9] at Turnhout and brought her back to the Ducal Hostel on the Montagne[10], but it was not till two days after the fight (i.e. on Sunday, Oct. 27) that her husband's mangled body was found by his Confessor, Friar Hector de Vitry, a little way from the actual battle spot, stripped, with the throat cut and a wound in the head[11]. It was at once embalmed and conveyed to St Pol where it was met by the Bishop of Thérouanne who was staying at the castle there[12]. On Oct. 30 it was received

[1] La messe de gesine. For relevailles, see Leroux de Lincy, Femmes, 412.

[2] i.e. Braisne-sur-Vesle (Aisne).

[3] i.e. Margaret Elizabeth de Montaigu Dame de Marcoussis et de St Germains.

[4] Ploura tres habondamment, Matthieu Herbalin, in Prioux, 87.

[5] i.e. Hugues Comte de Rouci (d. 1395) and Blanche de Couci (d. 1410), whose monuments are figured in Prioux, 82. Cf. Gough, I. cxliii.

[6] It is figured in Prioux, 87, from a volume in the collection made by François Gaignières (b. 1642, d. 1715) given to the Bodleian Library by Richard Gough at his death in 1809 to be placed in his "Antiquarian Closet," Dict. Nat. Biogr. xxii. 280.

[7] Merk, 49.

[8] Called "Berban" in Petit Thalamus, 463; or "Barban," Lel. Coll. ii. 472; or "Profant," Windecke, 87.

[9] i.e. his second wife Elizabeth (or Isabel Vignier, Lux, 240), daughter of John, Duke of Girlitz, Berlandus, 62; Rymkron. iii. 59, 91.

[10] Called the Coberg or Coudenberg (i.e. Coldberg) in Dynter, iii. 313, 328.

[11] Not par trait, as Pays-Bas, 357.

[12] For a letter written by him at St Pol, Oct. 25, 1415, postponing his entry into Thérouanne because of the presence of the English army in the neighbourhood, see Bled, ii. pp. 1, 2. He did not make his official entry into "Terewane" till April 8, 1416 (called April 9 in Regnault, 127), at which envoys were present from Boulogne with a gift of fresh herrings (poisson frek), ibid. 97; the Duke of Burgundy and many lords, prelates and churchmen being also there, Bled, Reg. i. 3; Itin. 425, where the Duke comes over from St Omer on April 9 to dine at the Bishop's hostel at Thérouanne, returning to St Omer the same night. For the new Bishop's reception at Ypres which was then within

at Tournai[1] with death-knells and every sign of grief by the Bishop and clergy[2] and by a deputation of the Estates of Brabant who had come to conduct it on to Brussels. During the night of Nov. 1 it was watched in the Church of Our Lady at Hal, and all the following day and night it lay in the Church of St Gudule at Brussels where the coffin was opened for formal identification[3]. On Nov. 3[4] it was removed to Tervueren[5] where it was finally laid to rest in the choir of St John's Church[6] by the side of his first wife, the beautiful and gracious Lady Joan, daughter of the Count of St Pol[7] at whose grave he had wept bitter tears eight years before[8]. On Nov. 11 a solemn requiem service was held in the presence of the Duke of Burgundy in the Church of St Nicholas at Châtillon-sur-Seine for the repose of his soul and that of his brother the Count of Nevers, and his memory lived on as that of "a young man beloved by all[9]."

Not the least interesting personage among the dead who fell at Agincourt was Jean de Montaigu[10], the fighting

his diocese (Gall. Christ. v. 304) in 1416, favente Burgundiae duce, see Gall. Christ. x. 1563. For acct. du premier herene frek pesquié son ix et x jour d'Octobre at 14 sols parisis, the 100 of which presents were made by the town of Boulogne to the Abbots of Notre Dame at Boulogne and St Wulmer at Samer and other notable persons, see Regnault, 90 For barrels of herrings sent from Boulogne to the king as étrennes in 1402, see Dusevel, Boulogne, 401.

[1] Barlandus, 64.

[2] Ghingen met processien aut jeghen den lichame, Rymkron. iii. 227.

[3] Ibid. iii. 228.

[4] Dynter, iii. 303; Diere, 220; do. Ann. 41; Verhaer, i. 383. Not Oct. 30, as Van Even, 223.

[5] Fura, Dynter, iii. 167, 666, 751, 753; Loyens, 76; Miraeus, 372; binnen der Vriheit van den Vueren, Rymkron. iii. 228; Barante, iii. 166; Vuerum, Barlandus, Rerum, 16; Vueren, Leyden, 343; not Furna, as Meyer, 247, 301, 303, 304; nor Furnes, as Impens, 357; Hennebert, iii. 317; Belleval, 161, who supposes that it was first taken to Furnes and afterwards to Terveren (*sic*).

[6] For his epitaph put up by Archduke Albert and Isabel in Nov. 1416, see Bertholet, vii. 285; Würth-Paquet, 208.

[7] Elle estoit belle et gente de corps et de visage, Dynter, I. p. vi; III. 167, 666; formosissima, Locre, 294. She is called Joannem Simpoliam in Barlandus, 60; do. Rerum, 16. For her betrothal in Feb. 1393, see Thibault, 307 (though usually called Nov. 6, 1401, see Wylie, iii. 62), and marriage at Arras, April 25, 1402, Barante, ii. 115; Hennebert, iii. 317. Called Feb. 21, 1402, in Coussemaker, 69; not 1401, as Thibault, 296. For tapestry and other preparations for fêtes at her reception in the castle at Hesdin in 1402, see Danvin, 110.

[8] Pleura et gemy tant grandement, Dynter, I. vi; III. 167, 666; Dieve, 211; Verhaer, i. 374; i.e. on Aug. 12, 1407, Miraeus, 372; Namèche, ii. 149; do. Louvain, 3.

[9] Juvenem cunctis ubique valde dilectum, St Denys, v. 570.

[10] For his arms with a cardinal's hat, see Duchesne, Chancelliers, 412. For a picture of him in a window above the stalls in the Church of the Celestins at Marcoussis, see Malte-Brun, 38, 397, quoting Gaignières (Oxford), iii. f. 81, with facsimiles in Bibl. Nat.

Archbishop of Sens[1]. He had always been a militant priest and donned indifferently the mitre or the helmet as occasion offered. He had been a member of the Burgundian Court of Love[2], and earlier in his career[3] he had been Bishop of Chartres, but taking a strong Orleanist side he became Chancellor of France in 1405[4], and when his brother was beheaded by the Paris mob in 1409[5] he made a perilous flight from Amiens[6], where he was arrested in helmet and corslet but subsequently made his escape. More than once he had crossed the channel as an envoy, negotiating the return of Queen Isabella in 1401[7] and the treaty with Owen Glendower in 1404[8], and when the Armagnacs were at St Cloud in 1411[9] he held St Denis for them with 400 knights against the Burgundians and the English. In 1413 he was President of the Chambre des Comptes, and like the Duke of Orleans and other malcontents he sulked over the treaty of Arras in 1414[10]. He was present in full armour in the battle but he failed to win his shoes[11], and fell raining blows with the muscles of a Hector[12], wherefore says the French chronicler, he was little mourned "as this was not his office[13]." His body was recovered and buried in the cathedral at Sens[14]. With him fell also his nephew, Charles de Montaigu, Vidame and Lord of Marcoussis[15], but where he was buried is not now known.

[1] i.e. since April 11, 1407, Gams, 630; Gall. Christ. xii. 81; Richental, 166. Called the Arsbeschop of Sons in Harflet, 324; Pol. Songs, ii. 127; called "Saumte," "Saunce" or "Sayntis" in Brut, ii. 379, 555, 597; or "Saynys," Vita, 68. Not that he was "probst von Parys," as Twinger, ii. 916, which is a confusion with his brother and namesake.

[2] Piaget, Cour, 430.

[3] i.e. from Jan. 21, 1390, to April 11, 1407, Gams, 536.

[4] Tessereau, 36; Valois, Conseil, 111.

[5] Vol. I. page 184.

[6] Monstr. ii. 46; Valois, Conseil, 117, 135.

[7] Gall. Christ. viii. 1180; Wylie, i. 210.

[8] Ordonnances, x. 413.

[9] Wylie, iv. 56.

[10] Gall. Christ. xii. 80.

[11] Hym failed the wynnyng of his schone, Pol. Songs, ii. 127; Kingsford, Chron. 121; Wylie, iii. 29, note 5. Cf. wolde thow wynne on me thi schon, Laud Troy Book, 184, 492.

[12] Dum huc illuc ictus ingeminaret cum lacertis hectoreis, St Denys, v. 572.

[13] Qui fut peu plaint pource que ce n'estoit son office, Juv. 521. J. Meyer (246) reckons him among the fures, latrones, luposque repaces. Not that he had given up his Orders before the battle, as supposed by Henault, 298.

[14] Duchesne, 413; Anselme, vi. 377; selon Tareau, i.e. B. Tareau, Cartulaire Senonais, circ. 1572.

[15] For picture of him from the château at Marcoussis which was built by his father, Jean de Montaigu, see Montfaucon, iii. 193. It was a quadrangular fortress with round towers at the corners like the Bastille in Paris. It was built in 1400 and destroyed with the Monastery of the Celestins at the Revolution, Malte-Brun, 44, 352. For picture of

Some of the dead were laid in the churchyards at Hesdin[1], Auchy[2] and others of the villages about[3]. Many of the notables belonged to Artois, Picardy and Flanders[4], and whenever their homes were near, their bodies were carried away for burial among their own people. Thus we find some at St Omer in the churches of St Aldegonde[5], St Denis, and the Abbey Church of St Bertin[6]. Gilles de St Aubert, Lord of Chin[7] in Hainault, was buried at Busigny, and others in the cathedral at Cambrai[8], while quite a number[9] were buried at Arras[10] either in the cathedral or in the Church of St Nicholas on the rising ground to the north-west of the city. We know of one wounded leader[11] who was found alive among the heaps of slain three days after the fight[12] and carried to St Pol where he died, and the churchyards at Azincourt and Ruisseauville were so filled that an order was put out forbidding any more bodies to be brought in[13], and still there were thousands upon thousands of corpses left lying in the open for whom no kindly hand of charity was raised to give them Christian burial. These found a friend in the Duke of Burgundy's son Philip, Count of Charolais[14], by whose order a square piece of ground[15] near the Tramecourt wood was at once consecrated by Jean

it by Merion in 1650, see ibid. Frontispiece; with the device "Ilpadelt," i.e. Ie L'ai Promis A Dieu Et La Tiendrai, ibid. 56. For a picture of it detailed with all the minuteness of a "capability man," see Edinburgh Review, Oct. 1803, p. 119.

[1] Nicolas, 140; though there is little to support this in the records of Hesdin, Danvin, 119.

[2] i.e. the Abbey of Auchy-les-Moines near Le Parc at Hesdin, Fromentin, 224, quoting A. Parenty; Harbaville, i. 330; Danvin, 41.

[3] Trussel (edition 1635, p. 103) says that many who were yet alive though grievously wounded were removed to Val Mersens de Dieu, but I cannot identify this place.

[4] Pol. Songs, ii. 127.

[5] e.g. Philippe de Wissoe, Roger, Bibl. 184. For others, see Belleval, 119.

[6] e.g. Jean and Archambaud de Croy, Piers, 384; Roger, 213; do. Bibl. 184; do. Thérouanne, 69; Belleval, 183.

[7] For his epitaph, see Reiffenberg, x, xi, quoting H. F. Delmotte, p. 57; i.e. recherches historiques sur Gilles de Chin et le Dragon Mons, 1821, Carpentier, i. 343; Barante, iii. 167; Belleval, 173. For his receipt for wages for 2 knights and 10 squires, dated at Rouen, Sept. 26, 1415, to serve en pays de Caux or elsewhere, see Belleval, 174.

[8] Belleval, 119.

[9] Une infinité de seigneurs, Piers, 384; Roger, Bibl. 184.

[10] Lecesne, 256; Devienne, Artois, iii. 49; Belleval, 119.

[11] i.e. Engelbert of Enghien, or Kestergat, or Kettbecke, Dynter, iii. 302, 752.

[12] Over drie daghe was dese heere
Livende vonden onder die doode. Rymkron. iii. 223.

[13] Ruisseauville, 142.

[14] Normandie, 172; Meyer, 247. Not the Duke of Burgundy, as Devienne, Artois, iii. 49. Lion (89) makes both the father and the son visit the battlefield and shed tears, also Fromentin, 124; Danvin, 119.

[15] Called 25 roods in Yonge, 482.

Poisson, Bishop of Aegina[1] acting as commissary[2] for Louis of Luxembourg[3] the newly appointed Bishop of Thérouanne[4], in whose diocese the whole district lay, all arrangements being made by the Bailiff of Aire and the Abbots of Ruisseauville[5] and Blangy[6]. Within this space three trenches

[1] Eginensis, Eghinensis, Bled, Reg. 3. Not Guines, as Monstr. 380; Nicolas, 140; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 34; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 563; Cassell, i. 536; Towle, 348; Boulé, i. 434; nor "Esguines," as Paradin, 597; Speed, 783; Piers, 388; Roger, Bibl. 185; do. Noblesse, 172; Hennebert, iii. 331; nor "Esquinnes," as Belleval, 120; nor "Guignes," as Yonge, 282. For suggestion that the diocese is Gébeld (i.e. Djébail, Jebail, Jubeil or D'Echebail, the ancient Byblus, north of Beirut on the west coast of Syria), see Hennebert, iii. 331, where the bishop is called Jacques Déla, a Dominican who was buried at Ghent in 1422; called Jacobus de Wesep from Jan. 19, 1396, in Eubel, i. 272; see also Bled, Reg. ii. 2; Belleval, 120.

[2] Johannes Piscis was suffragan to the Bishop of Thérouanne from 1411 to 1422, Gall. Christ. x. 1566; Eubel, 77; Bled, Reg. ?, from Bibl. de St Omer, MS. 926, f. 209.

[3] He was a brother of Pierre, Count of Luxembourg and Jean de Luxembourg, Count of Ligny en Barrois who was a strong Burgundian and a nephew of St Peter of Luxembourg. Not his brother, as Gall. Christ. xi. 89; Bentham, 169.

[4] He was consecrated by the Archbishop of Rheims on Jan. 2, 1415, Stubbs, Reg. 85; Piers, 28; not 1416, as Grande Encycl. xxii. 800, in succession to Matthaeus Reginaldi or Renaud de Bapaume who died after Dec. 16, 1414, Bled, Reg. i. 404 (not March 20, 1415, as Gall. Christ. x. 1564; Eubel, i. 367, who names various other claimants till 1418). Louis of Luxembourg became a strong partisan of the English. He was Chancellor of France from 1424 to 1435, Longnon, Isle de France, 31. He is called Episcopus Tirwansis in Exch. Accts. 106/26, where he and three French knights receive a palfrey each as a present from Queen Catherine at Windsor on Feb. 12, no year being given though it must have been before 1426. He became Archbishop of Rouen in Oct. 1436, but when the English hold on France was weakening the revenues of the see of Rouen became very scanty, and in 1438 Louis was made perpetual administrator of the diocese of Ely in spite of a protest against foreigners made by Archbishop Chichele. In his will dated at Rouen, Sept. 15, 1438, he left la terre de Hermenville (i.e. Hermaville near Aubigny, Pas de Calais, see Harbaville, ii. 265) to found six chaplaincies at Thérouanne and ordered that if he died in England his body should be buried at Ely, Gall. Christ. xi. 56 (Instrumenta). He died at Hatfield (not Hartwell, as Bled, Reg. ii. p. 1) on Sept. 18, 1443, Anselme, vi. 393; Gall. Christ. x. 1563; xi. 89; Gams, xx. 614; Bled, p. 3; do. Invent. 135; Moranville, 435 (not 1439, as Longnon, Isle de France, 31); and his heart was sent to Rouen but his body was buried on the south side of the Presbytery in the Cathedral at Ely where his effigy robed as a cardinal is still well preserved, Bentham, i. 172; Monast. i. 465; Sarrazin, Cauchon, 66; do. Jeanne d'Arc, ii. 211, where he is surnamed "le Renard." In England he was known as "Cardinal Luschburg" or "Luseburg" (Le Neve, i. 338); or "Bishop Tervyn" (Chron. Lond. 133). For his seal, see Sarrazin, Jeanne d'Arc, 423. For his breviary in the Library at Rouen (MS. 772), see ibid. 111. For a fanciful supposition that he may be represented as one of the ecclesiastics in the picture of Jean Galloppes presenting his book to Henry V, see Archaeologia, ii. 195; Strutt, Reg. Antiq. 79; i.e. Julius E. iv. f. 7 (207); Granger, i. 17. On the day of his consecration, i.e. Jan. 2, 1415, Pope John XXIII translated William Challant, Bishop of Lausanne (d. May 20, 1431) to the see of Thérouanne but the Dauphin refused him the temporalities and Louis held his ground in spite of the papal censure from which he was formally absolved by Martin V on Nov. 24, 1418, Eubel, 309, 367 (called July 26, 1418, in Bled, Invent. 154). He was made Cardinal Priest of Quatuor Coronati on Jan. 8, 1440, Cristoferi, 27, 153 (i.e. transferred from SS. Marcellino e Pietro); called Dec. 20, 1439, Gams, 614; Cardinal Bishop of Frascati on Oct. 4, 1442, Eubel, ii. 72; Gams, xx.

[5] Monstr. 380; i.e. Baldwin de Hericourt, Abbot of Sancta Maria in nemore seu Russellivilla, Gall. Christ. x. 1609; Harbaville, ii. 124.

[6] Ruisseauville, 142; i.e. Bertrand III (d. March 30, 1417), Gall. Christ. x. 1591. For the Benedictine Abbey of Blangy restored in 1053, see Gall. Christ. x. 1589; Harbaville, ii. 335; Hauteclocque, 297.

were dug[1], each 75 feet long and about 12 feet wide, and into these 5800 bodies were counted[2]. Each trench was surmounted by a large wooden cross and the whole area was fenced with a quickset hedge to keep out dogs and other roving animals that might disturb the sacred dust, and to this day that rood of ground remains through all vicissitudes one of the most pathetic spots in Europe.

It stands out close to the junction of the cross-roads[3], where the carnage must have been thickest, near the Tramecourt wood, a little to the right of the solitary road that leads on to Calais, and though all the rest of the land about has come under the plough, it has remained and still remains untilled. In 1734 a chapel called the Chapel of La Gacoyne[4] was built near the spot by the Marchioness of Tramecourt in accordance with a vow made for the return of her son from Italy, but it was demolished by the French[5] in 1793, the ground on which it stood being turned into a potato-patch[6] and the stones of it used to build pigstyes[7]. After the fall of Napoleon, when the English army of occupation held the country in 1818[8], the curiosity of one of our officers, whose regiment was stationed at St Pol[9], was stirred to probe into the mysterious trenches[10]. This was Sir John G. Woodford[11], who after being present at Waterloo

[1] Called pluseurs carniers in Fenin, 67.

[2] Par compte fait, Monstr. 380; or 6000, Thévedy, 17. Called 1200 in each in Juv. 579; or 5000 in Bled, Reg. ii. 2, quoting Meyer, Bk. xv; Devienne, iii. 49. Ruisseauville (142) says that the real numbers were only known to the Bishop and the grave-diggers; cf. Michelet, vi. 38; Historians' Hist. xi. 174, where it is called "that huge pit."

[3] The road from Tramecourt to Azincourt is omitted in Köhler's plan (ii. 761).

[4] Called a hamlet of Azincourt with 13 inhabitants in Belleval, 121; called le champ de la Gacoyne, i.e. the field in which the trenches were dug, Hauteclocque, 280; not "the Plain of Gacoyne," as Nicolas, 140. In Godefroy, iv. 239, "Gascongne"=sorte de grosse cerise.

[5] Not by the English, as I was told by an old woman on the spot in 1900.

[6] Knight, ii. 64.

[7] Mazas, vi. 372, 373; Piers, 386; Hauteclocque, 362; Nicolas, 140; Belleval, 121. In 1849 "not a vestige" of the chapel was to be seen, Long, lxxiv. 467.

[8] Not 1815 or 1816, as Piers, 386; do. Thérouanne, 69; Roger, Bibl. 187; Ardouin-Dumazet, xix. 101.

[9] Not Azincourt, as Revue Anglo-française, 1835, p. 148.

[10] See the account by Dr John Gordon Smith who had been present with the 12th Lancers at Waterloo, read before the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom on April 4, 1827 (=Vol. I. pt. ii. p. 57, in Tyler, ii. 189), referred to in the Report of the Society for 1827, where it is said (p. 18) that he had collected materials for a history of the battle, "an undertaking which he had been induced to abandon." Six years later he died in a debtor's prison at the age of 41, Dict. Nat. Biogr. liii. 83; Nicolas, App. 24.

[11] Not Alexander, as Long, lxxiv. 467, who thinks that he "examined the mortuary chapel," i.e. the demolished Chapelle de la Gacoyne.

as a captain in the First Grenadier Guards[1] became Quarter-Master General of the Army of Observation in the Department of the Pas de Calais[2] until the final evacuation of France in Oct. 1818[3]. Being "a great collector of arms, coins and other antiquities[4]," he obtained permission from the owner of the ground[5] and had one of the trenches[6] opened and explored. In it he seems to have found some remains of arms[7] and arrow-heads, four gold rings[8], some coins of the reigns of Kings Jean II, Charles V and Charles VI[9], three small elephants[10] carved in ivory, three unusually large brass horns bearing inscriptions[11], and a large quantity of human teeth[12], all of which finds he is said to have taken back to England. Some bones that had been tossed out were left lying near the spot till indignation wakened up and all further digging was finally stopped by order of the Duke of Wellington after he had received a remonstrance from the French government[13], as the peasants believed that the bones were going to be removed to England and converted into animal black[14]. The unearthed bones were reburied in the churchyard of the village

[1] Ranking as equal to Lt.-Col. of the line, Crosthwaite, 20, 44. Called a Major-General in Joanne, Nord, 251.

[2] Lambert, 426, 428, quoting letter of protest written on March 12, 1418, by M. Gengoult-Kuyl, Sub-Prefect of the arrondissement of St Pol, who addresses him as M. le Colonel Woodfort (*sic*) au Château de Tramecourt. From this it appears that the digging was begun on Feb. 21, 1818, and resumed 15 days later, though Woodford's appointment is dated after the occupation of Cambrai on June 24, 1818, in Crosthwaite, 30.

[3] Dict. Nat. Biogr. lxii. 394, where it is said that he took advantage of his position to make a survey of the field of Agincourt and its vicinity and that discoveries of considerable antiquarian and historic interest resulted (p. 395).

[4] Crosthwaite, 59.

[5] i.e. a woman to whom he is said to have paid £20 for the permission, Revue Anglo-française, 1835, pp. 148, 149; Lambert, 426 (where she is called assez ignorante et assez vile); Hauteclocque, 288.

[6] Not mounds, as Crosthwaite, 30.

[7] Piers, 386. Called lances, casques and cuirasses and swords in N. Lambert, 424.

[8] Crosthwaite, 30, who gives the inscription on one as "buro x berto x veriora," for which no satisfactory explanation has been given (App. vi).

[9] Mazas, Vies, vi. 374. For a gold coin of Charles VI, said to have been found by a peasant "in his field labour" and still in his possession in 1856, see Knight, ii. 64. For a pair of spurs, two lance-heads and a gisarme found at Agincourt, now in the Musée d'Artillerie in Paris, see Bordier-Charton, i. 501.

[10] Called oliphants in Belleval, 122.

[11] One of these appears to be the drinking horn with a brass collar described in Crosthwaite, 30, who gives the inscription as "Qui ne dout (? boit) tout ci recourcie."

[12] Revue Anglo-française, 1835, pp. 148, 149.

[13] Hauteclocque, 288.

[14] N. Lambert, 424, who thinks that this illustrates the greedy mercantile spirit of the English in all its hideous nakedness; Labitte, 147.

of Azincourt[1], the trench was covered in again and a Calvary[2] has since been erected on the roadside which though sadly cracked and damaged mutely asks the passer-by to pray for the underlying dead who still suffer the penalty of pain for our sins[3]. In 1846 a movement was started to build a chapel as a national memorial on the spot[4]. The suggestion was received "with sympathy" by antiquarians, the Departmental Commission going so far as to vote £8 towards its realisation, but the movement was checked by "political considerations." The question was revived however in 1853 and plans were prepared for building a memorial transept to the church at Azincourt on the understanding that not only the names of the dead but the names of all subscribers to the fund should be shown on the walls. Appeals were to be made to all families who were in any way connected with the dead and it was confidently believed that all France would applaud the plan[5]. When last heard of in 1865 the proposal had been "totally abandoned[6]," but the family at Tramecourt have undertaken a serviceable though less ambitious duty by re-enclosing the trenches with a hedge, to guard them from further desecration.

The articles removed by Woodford were long supposed by the French to have been exhibited in what they call an "Agincourt Museum[7]" in London, but what this refers to I have not been able to discover. Many things belonging to him were destroyed in the great fire that consumed the Pantechnicon in London on Feb. 13, 1874, but it is said that facsimiles of the four gold rings were once in the possession of the Duke of Richmond at Goodwood[8] together with one of the gold coins and a panoramic view of the

[1] Duthilloeul, 59; Piers, 385, 386, 387; do. Thérouanne, 69; Hauteclocque, 290; Labitte, 147, who says that there was nothing to mark the place in the churchyard, but that it was pointed out to him by the man who dug the grave.

[2] Called "a pillar" in Church, 87; or "a memorial cross" in Ramsay, i. 212, 216, who thinks that it "must mark the traditional centre of the French line."

[3] For the full text, see Ardouin-Dumazet, xix. 101.

[4] De recouvrir cet ossuaire, Hauteclocque, 290.

[5] Hauteclocque, 291.

[6] Belleval, vi.

[7] Joanne, Nord, 251; Herbaville, ii. 336, who speaks of it as still in London in 1842; also Hauteclocque, 288, 290 (in 1880); Ardouin-Dumazet, xix. 101 (1899).

[8] See Woodford's letter to the Duke of Richmond, dated Sept. 30, 1874, in Crosthwaite, App. vi.

battlefield[1], but whatever truth there may have once been in this statement it would appear to be the fact that all such relics and duplicates have now disappeared with the single exception of one of the rings which is still preserved in a glass case at Goodwood House[2]. Sir John Woodford himself lived on to a great age and there are many persons still living in the neighbourhood of Keswick who well remember his patriarchal figure and his eccentric habits. That the latter had begun to develop themselves quite early in his career is evident from an incident which is said to have happened during his stay in France while the digging was going on. He was lodged in the Château at Tramecourt[3], the family being then away, and when the work was done he left a picture of Henry V to be presented to the lady of the house, a compliment which she afterwards delicately countered by sending him a picture representing Joan of Arc[4]. He spent the last 40 years of his life in solitude at Derwent Bay on the shore of Derwentwater in Cumberland where he was exceedingly kind to children and courteous to strangers. He planned random additions to his house and left them unfinished without roof or windows, because no builder could carry out his plans[5], and the dalesmen looked upon him as a venerable and eccentric hermit. A solitary walk was his chief delight and during all those 40 years he neither visited his neighbours nor admitted callers into his house, all who came being seen and spoken with outside the door, and one who knew him has described him to me as "a fine old fellow who even in his old age lived like a soldier in camp, sleeping on a camp-bed in an old tumbledown house by the lake side, where with his long white silky hair and his courtly manners like a Grand Duke he seemed entirely out of keeping with his surroundings[6]." The house itself, known as Water End, was fenced round

[1] Made by Capt. Hardyng, R.E.

[2] So I was informed by the late Duke of Richmond in a letter written at Goodwood House on March 29, 1902.

[3] It was destroyed at the end of the sixteenth century and replaced by a modern house built circ. 1740, Hauteclocque, 358.

[4] Mazas, vi. 374; Roger, Bibl. 188; Hauteclocque, 288, 362. In a letter written on June 20, 1912, I was informed by the owner, the Comte de Chabot, that the picture is still at Tramecourt.

[5] Crosthwaite, App. vii.

[6] For this description I am indebted to my friend Mr Albert Nicholson of Altrincham.

with a hoarding to keep off landing parties of tourists from prying in at his windows. He exchanged letters with his brother every day and once when the usual morning letter did not come he started off to London to ask the reason why[1]. He claimed exemption from paying tithe on some antiquarian ground and every year allowed a certain cow to be seized by the parish sexton and bought it up again until at length the animal had to be shot for her extreme old age[2]. And when at last he was smoked out he removed into Keswick for the last three years of his life where he died at the age of 94 on March 22, 1879. He would let no wood be cut nor any bird or beast be disturbed if he could help it. He left the moles to burrow in his land and the jackdaws to build in his chimneys[3]. He gave away many of his maps, drawings and relics to friends or museums[4] and several times sold off portions of his goods by auction. He revisited the battlefield at Agincourt in 1852, and it is evident that he left notes in writing[5], and his survey of the battlefield made in 1818, which has fortunately survived, may still be seen in excellent preservation among the MSS. in the British Museum[6].

[1] Crosthwaite, 56. [2] do. 51.

[3] Ibid. 62.

[4] So I was informed in 1902 by Mr R. Mumberson of Keswick who acted for him up till his death and who tells me that he knows a lady who possesses a drinking horn and some coins that were dug up at Agincourt.

[5] Referred to as "MS" or "his notes," Crosthwaite, 31, 32. These were apparently in the possession of his nephew, Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, who was still living in 1881, ibid. Pref. pp. 32, 37.

[6] Add. MS. 16368 C.

CHAPTER XXXVII

LONDON

LITTLE did the citizens of London suspect the joyous news that was in store for them. They had heard of the capture of Harfleur and of the plan for settling Londoners and others in the place and making of it a second Calais. They knew that English workmen were going across to repair the broken houses and make them habitable for the new arrivals, and they were aware that their king had started on his way in the expectation of reaching Calais by October 16, so that they could not possibly get news of his whereabouts till October 18 at the very earliest. They had sent over £100[1] to be ready for the needs of the army when it should reach its destination, and medicines had been forwarded for the sick[2], but as day after day passed by an uneasy feeling got abroad. Rumours were in the air that a great battle had been fought in which 6000 English had been lost[3], and when at length a gloomy message reached them from Calais on October 25[4] that nothing had been heard there of the expected arrival and that the fate of the army was veiled in mystery, a dismal foreboding seized upon them that the worst must have befallen their king "in whom all their affection centred[5]," as "worth more to them than worldly riches or plenty[6]," and as each morning

[1] It was handed over by the Mayor, Thomas Fauconer, Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Nov. 9, 1415, where he is called *late* mayor, i.e. his year of office had ended by Nov. 1, 1415, Riley, Mem. 620.

[2] Devon, 342, Oct. 15, 1415. For order to provide things necessary for officium potegarie, see Pat. 3 H. V, 2. 24 d, Sept. 18, 1415.

[3] This rumour reached Venice about Nov. 12, 1415, having been reported from Flanders, Morosini, ii. 68.

[4] Riley, Mem. 620.

[5] Cf. amantissimi et desideratissimi principis, Gesta, 61.

[6] Delpit, 224; Tyler, ii. 226.

came round they went about in boundless grief athirst for any news.

On the Confessor's Day (Sunday, October 13)[1] the Commonalty of the city, after hearing mass with solemn music[2] in the "little old chapel[3]" on the south side of the Guildhall[4], had elected Alderman Nicholas Wolton[5], woolmonger[6], irreverently known to jibers as "witless Nick[7]," to be their coming Mayor[8], and on October 28[9] he took

[1] i.e. the anniversary of the translation of his remains from the tomb in front of St Peter's altar at Westminster to the first shrine in 1163, Freeman, iii. 34.

[2] This practice started in 1406, Letter Book I, 52, 97, 118; Vict. Co. Hist. London, ii. 473; not 1408, as Mon. Francisc. ii. 163; J. E. Price, 119; called "according to custom" in 1412, Letter Book I, 108.

[3] Parvam antiquam capellam, J. E. Price, 120, 259. Called the Chapel of St Mary Magdalene, Benham-Welch, 25; but the Chapel of the Blessed Mary in Letter Book I, 92, 93, 178, 184, 259; or capellam in Guihalda, Letter Book I, 148. For picture of it see Fox-Bourn, 60; do. London Merchant, 34. It was pulled down in 1429 and a new one built nearly on the same site facing to the east side of the yard. The new chapel was not completed till 1444 and is usually supposed to have been built by Richard Whitington, Grafton, i. 499; Stow, Survey, 282; Fox-Bourn, 60; do. London Merchant, 34. It was demolished in 1822, Knight, London, v. 83 (or 1820, Price, 110), after having been for some time used as a Court of Requests. For pictures and plans of it, see R. Wilkinson, I. pt. 1; Knight, v. 65; J. E. Price, 133, 142, 143, 144, 148, 149. For Blackwell Hall used as a Cloth-Market since 1398, see Benham-Welch, 30. For draps exposés en vente sur les buches (bois) at the Guihalle at Montreuil, see Llomel, Edits, 77. For the seal for the sale of cloth at Bakwelhalle, see Letter Book I, 35, 41, 42, 43; = Bakewell Hall (now Gresham College), formerly a synagogue opposite St Lawrence Jury. For supposed derivation from Bathewell, i.e. bathing-place or mikoch of London Jewesses, see Jacobs, Jewry, 9, 11; cf. "as yt ys in London in black wyll hall," Letter 31, Mar. 1, 1553, in Exeter Municipal Records; = "Bakwelhalle in the parish of St Michael de Bassyngeshawe," Letter Book I, pp. 6, 10 (i.e. fr. the family of Basing). It was the old manor house of the family of Bauquelle, Loftie, i. 260. It was destroyed in the Great Fire but rebuilt, Besant, Survey, viii. 31, who gives a picture of it in 1819; also R. Wilkinson, vol. II.

[4] "Gialla," Engl. Hist. Rev. xxiv. 138 (1409). For chantries founded in the chapel in the Guildhall, see Letter Book I, 148, 177, 259, 271 (by Adam Fraunceys); Sharpe-Wells, ii. 418 (Aug. 14, 1419).

[5] Letter Book I, 144; or Wottoone, Letter Book I, 246; not *John* Wolton, as in Kingsford, Lit. 294. He represented the City of London in the Parliaments of Westminster of 1406, 1414, 1419, 1421, 1425 and 1429, Return Parl. i. 269, 284, 292, 300, 308, 316; Letter Book I, 129, 262; also for Marlborough in 1422, Beaven, 299. For his grants of land in London (1416) in the Parish Church of St Magnus to the Church of St Lawrence Pountney, see Ad Quod Damn. 372; do. P.R.O. ii. 743. In the subsidy roll of 1412 his London property yields £9. 6*s*. 8*d*. p. a., Archaeol. Journ. xliv. 62.

[6] Letter Book I, 21. Called a draper in Beaven, 71, 137, where he is Alderman of Dowgate Ward.

[7] For a man imprisoned for a year for insulting him, see Riley, Mem. 663. For a similar punishment at Agen for rudeness to one of the consuls in 1351, quasi minando dixit que lo diable i aieria part, see Magen, 296. "Witles," Lydg. Min. Po. 119. Cf. a wight witless and fuent, Speght, 361. For a man pardoned at St Jean d'Angély, Nov. 30, 1412, for uttering paroles injurieuses against the Mayor, see Aussy, 28. For a man fined qui avoit dite (*sic*) villerie to the bishop's provost at Troyes in 1402, see Artois de Jubainville (1873), p. 97.

[8] He is still Mayor on Aug. 17, 1416 (Claus. 8 H. V, 17, May 22, 1420); also on Sept. 12, 1416, Pat. 4 H. V, 13 d, but "*nuper* major" on Nov. 5, 1416, Rym. ix. 405, by which date he had been succeeded by Henry Barton Skinner, Fab. 581; ibid. 4, March 3, 1417. He was Mayor again in 6 H. VI (=1430), Three Fifteenth Cent. Chron. 61.

[9] For Mayors of London appointed (factus est (i.e. took the oath in the Guildhall)

the oath in the Guildhall with the usual ceremonies. On the day following[1] he was to ride to the Exchequer at Westminster to "take his charge[2]." But early in the morning of that day (Tuesday, Oct. 29)[3], while men were yet in their beds[4], a royal pursuivant came riding into London with letters for the Mayor[5] containing the wondrous news that the king and his victorious army had come safely through to Calais, and forthwith London's sadness was turned to boisterous joy. The bells rang out from every steeple; men flocked to their parish churches to hear *Te Deum*; by 9 o'clock vast crowds had gathered at St Paul's and it had been resolved to make the Mayor's journey on foot[6] to Westminster, there to kneel as pilgrims at the Confessor's shrine in token of thanksgiving for the glorious tidings. Bishop Beaufort[7] rode up and read out the news officially as Chancellor from the steps of the choir-door at St Paul's, where Queen Joan and many lords and peers joined in the throng, and the vast procession was headed by all the religious of London devoutly chanting litanies. Accompanied by an immense number of the craftsmen in their liveries the new Mayor and the Aldermen walked[8] the whole road to Westminster where, after a solemn service in the Abbey, the oath of allegiance to the king was taken in the Palace in presence of the Barons of the Exchequer. The journey back was made on horseback, a veritable "riding[8]" to St Paul's, where thanks were sung to Jesus

Lib. Alb. 23; Fabyan, 384, who adds "which before had been chosen," i.e. on Oct. 13, Lib. Alb. 19; Besant, Survey, ii. 75) ad festum Simonis et Judae, i.e. Oct. 28, see Wm. of Worcester, 483, 490, 493; Fab. 637. The usual day for "election" was Oct. 13, Letter Book I, 4, 22, 89, 144 and *passim*. Not Oct. 28, as Stapleton, Liber, p. iii; Besant, Survey, ii. 51.

[1] Lib. Alb. 24; Vict. Co. Hist. London, ii. 223; Riley, Mem. 621; Sharpe, i. 257; Letter Book I, p. 144.

[2] Chron. Lond. 101, 102; cf. Kingsford, Chron. 76; do. Lit. 73; or "to take hys othe," Greg. Chron. 159.

[3] Mon. Francisc. ii. 166; Letter Book I, 144. Not Oct. 28, as Besant, Survey, i. 106.

[4] Chron. Lond. 101; Tyler, ii. 190.

[5] Fabyan, 580, who makes the messenger meet the Mayor as he was riding to Westminster on Oct. 29, supposing that the procession afoot to the shrine took place on Oct. 30; see also Allen, i. 151; Price, 160.

[6] Pedest' adierunt, Letter Book I, 144; Riley, Mem. 621, 622; on hyr fete, Greg. Chron. 113.

[7] Havyng lyke wyttyng, Fabyan, 580.

[8] Wylie, iii. 199. For "goinge of the Mayor," see J. Hoker's Common Place Book, f. 460, in Exeter Municipal Records. For picture of a riding through Chepe, temp. Edward VI, see Legg, Coronation Rec. 280, 389.

and Mary and St George and all the company of Heaven for the mercies of this the most marvellous day that the Lord had made[1].

Six days later (i.e. on Nov. 4, 1415)[2] the Parliament met at Westminster. The meeting had originally been called for Oct. 21 and writs had been issued in this sense by the Duke of Bedford as Keeper of England[3] on the day before the fleet sailed from Southampton[4], but subsequent writs were sent out on Sept. 29[5] postponing the meeting for another fortnight.

With so many of the great nobles absent from the country the number of lords to whom writs were addressed was exceptionally small, the total amounting to only 19 (as compared with 43 in the Parliament before), of whom two are Earls, viz. Ralph Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland and Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon. One of the Justices of the King's Bench, viz. Hugh Holes (or Huls)[6], had died at Watford since the last Parliament had met, but four new judges had been appointed on June 16, 1415[7], viz. William Cheyne[8] of Shorland in Sheppey, and Roger Horton[9],

[1] In Allen, i. 151, Bishop Beaufort rides back with the Mayor to St Paul's.

[2] Rot. Parl. iv. 62; Dep. Keep. 2nd Rept. App. 11; Return Parl. i. 285; Usk, 126, 309. Not Nov. 2, as Nicolas, 160; nor Nov. 3, as Devon, 342.

[3] For vexillum de arm' Regis vapulat' pro duc' Bedd. as Lt. of England, see Wardrobe Accts. 406/26. For a letter written by him as Governor of England to Philip, Count of Charolais, dated at Westminster Palace, Nov. 8, s. a. (probably 1415), with the assent of Archbishop Chichele, Bishops Beaufort and Langley and the Keeper of the Privy Seal, see Gilliodts van Severen, p. 361. For supposition that the Duke of Bedford was present at the Battle of Agincourt, see Low, 38.

[4] i.e. on Aug. 21, Dugd. Summons, 395; i.e. Monday next after St Luke's Day, Salisbury Ledger, A, f. 54, though called Oct. 19, ibid. f. 57, where the writ was read in the Town Council on Oct. 2, 1415. For payments to messengers, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Pasch., Sept. 2, 1414.

[5] Dugd. Summons, 397; Cotton, 543 (who gives no particulars of the proceedings); Nicolas, 160. For payments to messengers, see Devon, 342, Oct. 15, 1415.

[6] For his brass (d. 1415) at Watford, and that of his wife Margaret (d. March 5, 1417), a daughter of John Domville or Dumbill of Mobberley near Knutsford in Cheshire (Ormerod, i. 414), see Weever, 591; Foss, iv. 204; Cussans Cashio, 191. Both inscriptions have now disappeared. In Inq. p. Mort. iv. 13, he owns the manor of Oxey Richard, or Oxhey, Cussans Cashio, 174. For manors of Oxey Walrand and Oxey Richard in 1402, see Feudal Aids, ii. 444.

[7] Pat. 3 H. V, i. 5, 8. For payments to Preston, Horton and Cheyne, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Pasch., Feb. 29, 1416.

[8] Foss, iv. 302. He died in 1442 and was buried with his wife Margaret in St Benet's Church, Paul's Wharf, Weever, 686; Inq. p. Mort. iv. 212. For his will, see Test. Vet. 249. For Wm. Cheyne, commissioned to hold an inquiry in Devon, see Pat. 4 H. V, 5 d, Feb. 13, 1417. In Pat. 4 H. V, 7 d, Feb. 1, 1417, he holds a gaol delivery at Old Sarum; also at Winchester (Feb. 6, 1417) and in London, Nov. 6, 1416 (ibid. m. 14 d). He is not the same as William Cheyne of Sheppey who was Sheriff of Kent in 1412 and

[9] For note see next page.

a Derbyshire man, to the King's Bench, while the Recorder of London[1], John Preston[2] from Preston Patrick near Kendal, and William Lodington from Gunby[3] near Burgh in Lincolnshire, became Judges of Common Pleas.

If the paucity of the existing returns is sufficient evidence the attendance of the Commons must also have been unusually scanty. Only 78 names have been preserved[4] and of these 16 came from Middlesex and Surrey (half of them being from London and Southwark); Sussex and Hampshire account for 14 more, and Gloucestershire and Wiltshire send other 18, leaving only 30 to come from the whole of the East, North, West and Midlands. Ten Northern members sat for York, Hull, Scarborough, Appleby and Westmoreland. Of the Eastern Counties, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Rutland sent 8 between them; 2 came from the city of Lincoln and 8 more came from Salop and Worcester, leaving whole patches of England without any representation at all. This dearth of members is probably to be explained by the great drain that had carried so many prominent men across to Normandy, and when the attenuated list is more closely scanned there is not a single name to be found in it which calls for comment

1423 (Pat. 5 H. V, 1 d; Sheriffs' List, P.R.O. 68; Hasted, ii. 578), and one of the representatives of the county in the Parliament of March, 1416; Return Parl. App. xx; Archaeol. Cant. xxi. 220.

[9] He died April 30, 1423, and was buried in St Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street, Inq. p. Mort. iv. 71; Foss, iv. 71. For his epitaph, see W. Maitland, ii. 1095.

[1] Letter Book I, 51, 59, 60 and *passim*; i.e. numerous entries between Oct. 13, 1406, and Oct. 13, 1414 (p. 130).

[2] He retired on Jan. 28, 1428, Foss, iv. 354.

[3] For his brass in the church there showing coif and hood, see Neale, 199; Archaeological Institute (Lincoln), 1850, p. liv. He died Jan. 9, 1420, Foss, iii. 206; do. Dictionary, 411. In Dugdale, Summons, 395, his summons to Parliament begins in 1413. For other examples of the coif, see Wylie, ii. 183, note; also twelfth century Flemish MS. Job and his wife; thirteenth century French do.; Giron le Courtois; La Calandre in C. Louandre, Planche I; fourteenth century, Sarrazin, 81 (i.e. meeting of the Exchequer at Rouen); also Armitage-Smith, 348 (from Harl. MS. 4380); also lawyers in Parliament of Edward I in Finkerton, Iconographia; do. of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, Montfaucon, III. Pl. lxv; also brasses of John Rede, sergeant-at-law (1404) at Checkendon near Goring (Oxon.), Macklin, 179; Nichol Rolond (d. 1410) at Cople near Bedford, Druitt, 222; Peter Arderne (d. 1465) at Latton near Harlow (Essex) in Waller; and John Juyn, Chief Justice of King's Bench (1439) at Bristol (St Mary Radcliffe), Clinch, 258; Macklin, 173; also inscribed stones of Obers de Vekellons, a skinner of Troyes (1285) at Messon (Aube), Fichot, ii. 236; and Jean Bouret, Mayor of Villemaur (1324), ibid. ii. 274; see also picture of Christ before Pilate in MS. Reg. 1 E. ix. 167, 282. Called a silken hood in London Lickpenny (Bell), 11; a covering of lawn or silk, Purey-Cust, ii. 161. See also Lacroix, 395; Cutts, Mid. Ages, 499; Encycl. Brit., s.v. *Costume*.

[4] Return Parl. i. 285, App. xx.

save Robert Chichele the grocer who was one of the four representatives of the city of London. However, it mattered little who was there and who was not. The great glad news from Picardy put all else out of people's heads and little business could be thought of save the coming welcome to their "most victorious king[1]."

The whole company both of Lords and Commons assembled in the Painted Chamber of the Palace at Westminster, where workmen had long been busy nailing, tying and fastening tapets and covering the steps[2], and there in presence of the Duke of Bedford, the Chancellor, Bishop Beaufort, addressed them. His whole theme was "Honour the king!" and he built it round the text: "Let us do to him as he has done to us." The king, he said, had worked for Law and Justice since his coronation and for the peace and quiet of his people. He had thrown up ease and delicacy to take this voyage for his rights, and the preacher recounted his gracious passage across the sea, his rapid and almost bloodless capture of Harfleur, the greatest foe to their Channel trade[3], the discomfiture and slaughter of the great French nobility with little loss to England, and he had now (thank God!) reached Calais in so short a time and after such a wondrous victory as England had never seen before. But this speedful and profitable journey had really only just begun. It must go on and they must be prepared to do for him as he had done for them. After this initial effort there was no excessive hurry for active business. The Commons took two days to select their Speaker and on November 6 presented one of the Yorkshire members[4], Richard Redman[5], who at the time was one of

[1] Pol. Songs, ii. 137; First Life, 185, 189; invictissimus, Tit. Liv. 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88.

[2] For covering steps pro camera p'liament, held at Westminster, Nov. 22 (*sic*), anno 3; also for hanging up, tying and mending divers beds, costers, tappets, liggers and fomez with hemp, cord, string (liour), crochet and malhok for said chamber, see Exch. Accts. 406/26, 28.

[3] See page 9; le pluis grande enemy, as Lieges du Roy, Rot. Parl. iv. 62; ab olim infestissimae nobis, Gesta, 73; cf. detrimenta paene innumera quae ab iis qui piraticam in oppido de Hareflu exercebant, Basin, i. 16.

[4] Not member for the City of York, as Return Parl. i. 270, 285, 286, where the mistake is corrected in the index. Redman's name appears also as a knight of the shire (Yorkshire) in 1406, 1414 (Nov.), 1420 and 1421 in Return Parl. i. 270, 285, 296, 301; Prynne, iii. 35. He was present at a meeting of the Council at Westminster on Oct. 20, 1417, Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 218.

[5] Called "Redemane" in Cal. Doc. Scot. iv. 97; "Redmayn" in Kal. and Inv. ii. 55;

the sheriffs of the county[1]. He was a son of Matthew Redman of Levens in Westmoreland[2], but by his marriage with a Yorkshire heiress[3] had become the possessor of Harewood Tower[4] in Wharfedale, where he was the neighbour and friend of Judge Gascoigne, and where at his death he was buried in the adjoining church[5]. He had long been a devoted loyalist in the North, where he had been commissioned with others in 1408 to receive the submission of the rebels after the death of the Earl of Northumberland at Bramham Moor[6]. In 1410 he negotiated with the Duke of Albany on the Scottish border[7]; on the accession of Henry V he was made a Justice of the Peace for the county of Westmoreland[8] and in this very year he had been one of a commission of nine appointed to inquire into the carrying-off of Murdac, Earl of Fife, when on his way north to be released from his long captivity[9].

The new Speaker was presented to and accepted by the Duke of Bedford as the King's Lieutenant on Nov. 6, and the Commons at once got to work on the business for which they had been summoned. The second of the tenths and fifteenths voted in the previous year[10] was not due till next Candlemas[11], but looking to the necessity for redeeming the royal plate and jewels which had been pledged to pay the second quarter's wages of the returning troops as well as to the need for promptly backing up the gracious and victorious

Plumpton, Cordce, xliii; "Redmayne," Manning, 58, who connects him with Zealand Redmayne near Carnforth in Lancashire.

[1] As he had been before in 1403, List of Sheriffs, P.R.O. 162; Fuller, ii. 526, 527; Drake, 352. In For. Accts. 4 H. V, 14, he is *late* Sheriff of Yorkshire.

[2] Dict. Nat. Biogr. xlvii. 383.

[3] i.e. Elizabeth, widow of Brian Stapleton and only daughter of William Aldborough of Harewood, Inq. p. Mort. iii. 132; iv. 152, 186, 459, where her property includes Rughford (i.e. Rufford near York); Misc. Gen. and Herald, New Series, iii. 441; Manning, 58, who refers this to his grandfather who was also called Richard Redmayne.

[4] Hence known as Redman of Harwood (Fuller, ii. 523); or Turre-harwood (Drake, 305). For picture of Harewood Tower with the motto of William Aldborough, "wat sal be sal" over the entrance, see Whitaker, Loidis, 164.

[5] For his tomb in Harewood Church, see Whitaker, 170; also that of his grandson, Richard (d. 1450), who married Elizabeth, daughter of Chief Justice Gascoigne, Purey-Cust, Collar, 25.

[6] Wylie, iii. 158.

[7] Cal. Doc. Scot. iv. 160; Wylie, iii. 279, note 8.

[8] Pat. 1 H. V, i. 35 d, 36 d, March 21, 1413. On July 3, 1420, he is a J.P. for the West Riding, Pat. 8 H. V, 20 d, and in the same year he is Chief Steward of the property of the Duchy of Lancaster in the West Riding, ibid. m. 13 d.

[9] i.e. July 6, 1415, Pat. 3 H. V, i. 3 d.

[10] Vol. I. page 433.

[11] i.e. Feb. 2, 1416, Rot. Parl. iv. 63; Usk, 126. Not 1417, as Nicolas, 161.

career on which the king had embarked, they at once agreed that the collection should be hurried forward and the second portion called in by Dec. 13[1], and then on Nov. 12 they granted a subsidy of 43*s.* 4*d.* on every sack of wool and 100*s.* on every last of hides[2] with the usual additions up to 60*s.* and 106*s.* 8*d.* respectively for foreigners[3] together with a tonnage of 3*s.* on wine and a poundage of 1*s.* on all other goods entering or leaving the country[4], exemptions being allowed in the case of flour, fresh fish[5], cattle, beer and other victuals exported for the garrisons of Harfleur and Calais[6]. These grants were to run from Michaelmas 1416[7] and to be continued during the whole of the king's lifetime[8], and some visitors, who arrived in London from Bordeaux shortly afterwards, reported to their friends that the like had never been made to any king before[9]. Considering that Henry was not yet 30 years of age this abject subservience might well have cost England all her hold upon a safeguard on which the independence of Parliament had largely rested in the past, and had he lived to the age attained say by Edward III, all control of the subsidy and customs would have been virtually abandoned by default to be subsequently recovered only by revolution and bloodshed—if at all. As it was, the Commons deliberately flung away their most valued rights in a moment of reckless exaltation in the hope that the wild-cat projects might "*probably* tend to the perpetual profit of the whole kingdom[10]." It is true that they bargained that this life-long grant should not be established as a precedent, but they exacted no effectual

[1] Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 184; Usk, 126, 309. For payments entered on April 30, 1416, out of the second fifteenth and tenth granted by the laity *ultimo*, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch.

[2] Called wool and leather in Hume, iv. 56; Hallam, 508; Ransome, 147; not linen, as Nicolas, 162.

[3] In Claus. 5 H. V, 15 d; Pat. 5 H. V, 26, July 17, 18, 1417, foreigners are allowed to pay at the old rate for the next four years; i.e. possibly 50*s.* per sack instead of 60*s.*, see Wylie, iii. 315.

[4] Not "certain wines and merchandizes exported," as Nicolas, 162.

[5] Pessons Rees, Rot. Parl. iii. 455, 493, 546, 568, 612, 635, 648; iv. 6, 16; cf. "pesson fresch," Stat. ii. 433; "fressh fish," Rot. Parl. ii. 508; fres, frez, Cotgrave.

[6] The exception was first introduced in 2 H. IV Octave of Hilary, and steadily continued.

[7] Not Martiñmas, as Nicolas, 162.

[8] A tout (*sic*) la vie, Rot. Parl. iv. 69, 91; ad terminum vitae suae, Usk, 127; Brougham, 126.

[9] Jameys a rey lo semblant no fo fait, Jurade, 327, written on Feb. 24, 1416.

[10] Vraisemblement, Rot. Parl. iv. 63.

guarantee in return for their complaisant surrender and nothing rescued the country from a very real peril[1] save their hero's premature and early death, after which the experiment was tacitly abandoned and the grants were again voted for limited terms only as before[2].

On the same day (Nov. 12) the Commons granted a further tenth and a fifteenth[3] to be called up on Nov. 11, 1416, and if this was not also passed for life it was probably because the king's advisers saw a possible prospect of doubling the amount on some future occasion.

The Commons then prayed that the condemnation of the conspirators who had been executed at Southampton might be officially confirmed; the documents were read through at full length; the judgment was pronounced to be good, just and lawful, and after further prohibitions[4] against the admission of doits, suskins and galley halfpence and Scottish money as currency in England, the Parliament was dissolved on Nov. 13, 1415[5].

On Nov. 18[6] the Southern Convocation met at St Paul's and sat till Dec. 2, on which day they voted two tenths[7] to be levied on the value of every benefice and made payable

[1] Hume (ii. 359) notes that "the lustre of Azincour procured *some supplies* from the English Parliament" "which their good sense and constitutional jealousy were not firm enough to resist," Hallam, 508. Stubbs (iii. 92) passes over the incident lightly and without comment. Kingsford (163) considers it as "a reasonable liberality." Radford (50) thinks that this liberality was "tempered with economy of a sort"; Cassell (i. 537), that the danger was averted through Henry's "affable and generous temperament."

[2] Rot. Parl. iv. 173; though Ling. (vii. 145) thinks that "the predecessors of Charles I ever since the reign of Henry VI (? Henry V, Hallam, Europe, 7, 147) had received the duties of tonnage and poundage for life"; J. Forster, Sir John Elliot, i. 123; "as had for two centuries been the practice," Hallam, Hist. i. 376 (i.e. till refused in 1625); called "certain customs duties which had commonly been granted to the new sovereign for life," Green, 481. For arguments on the subject, temp. James I, see Hallam, i. 319.

[3] Dep. Keep. 2nd Report, App. ii. 186; Usk, 126. For a tenth and a fifteenth granted by the laity, anno III, see Rec. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., June 5, July 3, 1416; though Early Chanc. Proc. i. 38 refers to a tenth and a half-tenth granted 3 H. V. For "a moiety of a tenth" collected at Oxford in 3 H. V, see J. E. T. Rogers, 101.

[4] Letter Book I, 146; Stat. ii. 191.

[5] Usk, 127. Wake (351) thinks that they adjourned on Nov. 12. For payments to messengers for carrying proclamation of Statutes passed in this Parliament, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Jan. 23, 1416.

[6] Anjou, Lett. 6; called Nov. 19 in Usk, 127; not Nov. 28, as Duck, 70, who says that Lyndwood preached in the Lady Chapel from Jer. vi. 16, "Stand ye in the ways and see."

[7] Conc. iii. 375; Wake, 352; Kirby, Winchester, 178, where a gift is made by the College at Winchester to Archbishop Chichele for helping them to escape payment of the first tenth. For first tenth voted by clergy, anno III, see Rec. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., June 15, 30, July 11, Sept. 4, 1416. For second tenth voted by clergy, anno III, see Rec. Roll 8 H. V, Mich., Nov. 6, 27, 1420.

at Martinmas 1416 and 1417 successively[1]. But on June 16, 1416[2], a writ was issued calling for the first instalment of the money at Midsummer with the natural result that only half of it could be got in and the second half was not actually paid up till nearly four years later[3].

The Northern Province had been summoned to assemble on Jan. 20, 1416[4]. They actually met at York on Dec. 16, 1415[5], and sat till Jan. 16 following, when they voted one tenth, the certificate for which was signed by Archbishop Bowet on Jan. 26, 1416[6]. The patriotic feeling of the country was reflected in a decision of the Southern Convocation to the effect that special honour should be paid to St George as England's protecting saint. Henceforward[7] his Feast Day (April 25) was to be observed as one of the "double feasts[8]" on which all work should cease[9] and people should attend their parish churches as they would at Christmas[10]. Increased honour was also to be paid to the Welsh saints David (March 1) and Winefride (Nov. 3) and St Chad (March 2) the patron saint of Mercia, whose days were to be observed as general holidays as had been ordered by Archbishop Arundel more than 20 years before[11] though apparently not yet actually carried out. Two other acknowledgements were at the same time made in recognition of the help accorded to England's arms by the heavenly host. Henceforward the Cobbler saints Crispin and Crispian were to be mentioned in the king's daily mass as long as he

[1] Usk, 127, who obtained exemptions for his Welsh benefices because they were so impoverished by the war.

[2] For king's writ relating to this, dated June 10, 1416, see Dep. Keep. 2nd Rept. App. ii. 186.

[3] i.e. Candlemas, 1420, Dep. Keep. 2nd Rept., *ut sup.*

[4] i.e. by writ dated Nov. 12, 1415, and attested by the Duke of Bedford.

[5] Wake, 352; Kitchin, 135.

[6] Conc. iii. 377; Wake, 352.

[7] And so was it never before that day, Brut, ii. 550.

[8] Festum duplex, Ashmole, 469, who refers to a previous decision of Convocation in 1 H. IV and App. Statutes of 4 H. V; Heylyn, 305; Milner, 154; cf. more duplicis festi, Gesta, 78; W. Page, 14. For festum semi-duplex, see Encycl Brit. x. 429; called "a solemn festival" in Fleming, 107; festum magis duplex, Gidley, 77, 78, 110.

[9] Ab omni opere liberanda servili, Usk, 127, 310.

[10] See order issued by Archbishop Chichele at Otford near Sevenoaks on Jan. 4, 1416, Conc. iii. 376; Lyndwood, 103; do. Constit. Provinc. 68.

[11] i.e. in 1391, Alban Butler, ii. 797, quoting Lyndwood, f. 76; cf. Lyndwood, De Feriis Ineffabilis, Usk, 127. For order by Roger Walden, March, 1399, see Lyndwood, Constit. Provinc. 62.

lived[1] and their Day (Oct. 25) was to be religiously observed in England on each returning anniversary of the battle[2]. That day was also the Feast of the Translation of the bones of St John of Beverley who, from his minster in the north, where he had been buried some 800 years before[3], had given, or was said to have given[4], a premonition of the victory by sweating out some clear drops of oil from his shrine at the very time that the battle was raging in Picardy. Sixteen years before his body had distilled like precious drops for 61 days and nights when Henry's father had landed at Ravenser[5] and the Northerners now knew that their saint was again concerning himself about the fortunes of the House of Lancaster. In gratitude for the miracle his cult was henceforth to be strengthened in the Southern Province and on St Crispin's Day three lessons out of nine were to be in commemoration of St John of Beverley[6].

Even before the Commons had given their sanction to the anticipation of the payments of the old grants messengers had been despatched to the collectors[7] to be in the Exchequer House[8] in the Palace at Westminster with all speed in time for the coming account. The floors of the Star Chamber[9] and the Exchequer of Receipt were strewed with mats and rushes[10] and the counter[11] had been re-upholstered with

[1] Kingsford, Lit. 326; Fromentin, 123.

[2] Quas ferias martyrum Angli quotannis celebratissimas habuerunt, J. Meyer, 24.

[3] He died A.D. 721, Maihew, i. 486; and his remains were twice translated, viz. in 1037 and 1197, Raine, Historians, I. liv. For discovery of his bones in 1664 and their re-interment in the nave of the minster at Beverley, see Dict. Nat. Biogr. xxix. 435.

[4] De verâ famâ incolarum dictae patriae, Conc. iii. 379; Poulson, 185; Rym. ix. 420.

[5] Raine, Historians, iii. 288. For previous sweatings in 1308 and 1312, see Raine, ii. 537; Act. Sanct. xv. 192, from Capgr. Nova Legenda. For plenteous miracles of all sorts at Beverley, see Raine, i. 261–347. For sweating at the shrine of St William at York, see ibid. ii. 540.

[6] For Archbishop Chichele's order, dated at Otford, Dec. 16 or 17, 1416, see Conc. iii. 379; Rym. ix. 421; Lyndwood, 104; do. Constit. Provinc. 71; Act. Sanct. xv. 166; Maihew, i. 485; Duck, 76; Poulson, App. 71; Nicolas, 176; Dict. Nat. Biogr. xxix. 376; Leach, Memorials, I. p. xx.

[7] e.g. to collectors at Hu'l to be at Westminster within three days cum summâ festinatione, Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Nov. 6, 1415.

[8] For Exchequer Houses one above the other in the Tower, rebuilt circ. 1348, at the north-eastern angle of Westminster Hall, see H. Hall, Antiquities, 28, 69; Wright and Smith, 8; Lethaby, Palace, 147. The lower room was called the Receipts (*Recepta* or *Receptandum*), see J. T. Smith, 125; Topham, 5; Hall, Antiquities, 67; do. Studies, 17.

[9] Camera stellata, Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Dec. 23, 1415.

[10] For 20*s.* p. cirpis et mattis for Great Exchequer of Receipt and Star Chamber erga festum Paschae, see Iss. Roll 8 H. V, Pasch., May 21, 1420. Cf. pro cirpis et stramina et mundacione domorum, do. 6 H. V, Pasch., July 16, 1418; 4*d.* pro cirpis in aula et camera struendis, Lyle, Dunster, 117. For la maison de l'Echevinage furniz de paille et

[11] For note see next page.

leather and green woollen cloth[1]. Urgent messages[2] had been sent that the collectors were to be at Westminster with their proceeds by Dec. 13 in anticipation of the consent of Parliament and special bonuses were granted to them or their deputies in recognition of their unremitting toil and diligence[3]. The money had begun to come in by the beginning of November[4] but it is not till nearly Christmas that the entries become really substantial, nearly £19,000[5] being entered up in the six days from Dec. 16 to Dec. 21, 1415. The clerks and tellers were kept busy in the loft[6] during the vacation writing memoranda[7] and arranging and examining rolls[8], and payments are recorded[9] for fetching and carrying keys and bags containing fines and other documents to and from the Great Treasury in the east cloister of the Abbey[10], though owing to the mutilation of the existing rolls[11] it is not possible to ascertain the exact

jonchure at St Jean d'Angely, see Aussy, Reg. iii. 274. For rushes to be sold by the cartload and quantities to be made up on the boat that conveys them—not on the quays—in London in 1417, see Riley, Mem. 643.

[11] Computatorium, see Du Cange, s.v. and Godefroy, s.v. *Compteur*. For 26*s.* 8*d.* pro nummis scaccarii ad computandum, see Cal. Doc. Scot. iv. 264, 289. For 9*d.* for 3 doz. countours pro scaccario at Dunster, see Lyle, 116. For method of "casting" accounts by means of counters or "black money" worked with a lined tablet, see Snelling, i. 7, 13, Plate VII; Hall, Antiquities, 114; with columns for amounts from 1*d.* up to £10,000, Pipe Rolls, Introduction, 37. In France, getons or gettoirs, Tremville, 140; in Germany, "Rechenpfenning"; in Holland, "Leypenning," Snelling, i. 2, 13; Affry de la Monnoye, vii, who thinks that Arabic numerals or "numbers of Augrim" (Wylie, iii. 415, note 8) were not introduced into France till the latter end of the fifteenth century. For picture of the Irish Exchequer, showing the checkers and counters, see Gilbert, Facsimiles, Pt. 2, Pl. XXXVII; do. Account, p. 119; Wylie, iv. 119 n., 123 n.

[1] For 8*s.* 11*d.* paid on this account, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Nov. 4, 1415. For 33*s.* 4*d.* pro mensa et scamnis (benches) scaccarii et panno ad cooperiundam eandem, see Exch. Roll Scot. iv. 264.

[2] For payments to messengers, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Oct. 30, 1415.

[3] e.g. at Boston, Melcombe, Hull, Bridgwater, Sandwich, Bristol, Ipswich, Plymouth and Fowey, Southampton and London, Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Dec. 2, 20, 23, 1415, Feb. 12, 1416.

[4] e.g. Rec. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Nov. 6, 1415.

[5] i.e. £18,973. 5*s.* 7*d.*, viz. £4522. 4*s.* 0*d.* (Dec. 16, 1415) + £6726. 9*s.* 5½*d.* (Dec. 18) + £5138. 8*s.* 9½*d.* (Dec. 19) + £2586. 3*s.* 4*d.* (Dec. 21), Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., which ends on Dec. 23, 1415, the total receipt from all sources up to that date being £33,833. 14*s.* 6*d.*

[6] For the tellers' loft above the Receipt, see Hall, Antiquities, 54.

[7] The ink was purchased by the Usher of Receipt from the sacristan of the Abbey, ibid. 72.

[8] Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Dec. 23, 1415.

[9] Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Dec. 23, 1415, March 2, 1416.

[10] i.e. the old Norman chapel of the Pyx, H. Hall, Antiquities, 28, 30; Besant, Westminster, 90, 113, 116, 375, with picture. For records kept in arks and hutches in the Treasury at Westminster, see ibid. 50.

[11] The heading of the second part remains but all the rest has been cut away; also Jan. 15, 20, 22, 25, 28, Feb. 18, March 19, 1416, in Auditors' Rec. Roll 3 H. V, Mich.

amount of the total yield. On the other hand there is still extant in the Public Record Office a book[1] containing entries for all the counties of England except Buckinghamshire under their separate boroughs, hundreds, weapontakes, liberties, parishes, tythings and hamlets, even individual names being recorded in the case of Kent with their contributions including many as low as one penny.

[1] i.e. Miscellaneous Books, no. 7 (Scargill Bird, 171), headed "Ceux sont les Chapitier des p'celles del xvme et xme nre souveraigne seigneur le roy Henry V anno 3." The volume is bound in boards covered with sheepskin, and has brass clasps of which the hinges alone remain. At the beginning is an extract from a statute of 2 H. IV, requiring that exact values shall be specified in all grants of land, tenements, etc. and at the end are several extracts from the Red Book giving the duties of the marshal and ushers of the Exchequer with *inter alia* a note showing that the Abbot of Westminster was once fined 10*s.* for not providing ink as he was bound to do. The Calendar contains entries in a later hand noting the deaths of Edward IV (April 9), Henry VII (April 21) and Henry VIII (Oct. 12) together with the coronation of Henry VII (Oct. 30) and the marriage of Henry VIII with Catharine of Aragon (June 11).

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE RETURN

But while the obsequious Parliament was thus pliantly voting away its birthright at Westminster the king's victorious army had not been without its final adventures on the march to Calais. The night of Oct. 25 was spent at Maisoncelles[1], where a busy time was passed in preparation for an early start on the morrow. In accordance with the order already issued[2] not to cumber themselves with booty, the men kept only such gold and silver ornaments as they had found[3], together with some of the more valuable of the clothes, hauberks and helmets that they had stripped from the bodies of the dead[4]. All the rest of the booty was burned in the grange as we have already seen[5]. The king then turned his attention to the prisoners who for one reason or another had escaped the butchery. Their number is as usual inextricably confused, with little or no indication as to the inclusion or exclusion of the victims of the massacre. An English chronicler puts it at 700[6], a French one doubles it to 1400[7], while at Constance it was reported as 1500[8], and an early French account records a calculation at 2200[9]. Some say "a few knights[10]," some 1600[11], 2400[12] or even

[1] Kingsford, Lit. 318, where it is called "Blankesale"; not "in the French camp," as Biondi, 121.

[2] Page 176.

[3] Pauwels, 244.

[4] Monstr. 380.

[5] Page 217.

[6] Wals. ii. 313; Hypodig. 467.

[7] St Denys, v. 574; not 14,000, as Juv. 519; G. Daniel, iii. 875; Kennett, i. 318, who thinks that "all Authors agree that they were as many as the numbers of the English army"; Hume (1854), ii. 358; Lay, 116.

[8] Capti et ad Angliam perducti, Niem, Vita, 36; Raynaldi, viii. 438; also Monstrelet, 379; Tillet, 112; 1600 "men of quality with many others," Goodwin, 92; Bright, i. 296; Revue Anglo-Française (1835), p. 148; Brougham, 121; Michelet, vi. 38; toute une colonie française, do. 39; Champion, Vie, 151.

[9] Par estimation, Ruisseauville, 142.

[10] Pauci alii generosi, Gesta, 58; Chron. Giles, 51; pauci milites, Roye, 168.

[11] Ou environ, Le Fèvre, i. 268; Waurin, ii. 229.

[12] Fabyan, 580, from "ye boke of mayres" (see Kingsford, Chron. xxxi); Rastell, 250.

7000[1], all knights and squires, and so we mount up to figures that are altogether untrustworthy[2]. The princes of the blood and all the other big prisoners were delivered up by their captors to the king in accordance with the terms of their indentures, and we know that during the subsequent stay at Calais many minor ransoms were effected[3], the garrison and the townsfolk buying up several others, intending to make terms with them for their release[4], which may perhaps be the foundation for the French chronicler's reproach that King Henry bought up prisoners cheap and exacted heavy ransoms from them to enrich himself[5]. It is thus probable that of the total crowd of prisoners only a select few were conveyed across to England, though quality rather than quantity made up the value of the bag. In the evening when the fighting was over the king conversed courteously with his princely captives[6]. According to one account they waited upon him personally at his table[7], when he told them that he cherished no thoughts of vengeance, and that he never was more disposed for peace than he was now[8]. But he let them know also that in his opinion their defeat was a judgment sent from God to punish the French for their infidelity to their wives, for plundering churches, ravishing nuns and grinding down the poor[9]. This story provides, as might have been

[1] 7000 proceres, Otterbourne, 277.

[2] e.g. 10,000, Meyer, 246; Pol. Verg. 447; Harbaville, ii. 332; or 15,000, Hauteclocque, 286.

[3] For a bond entered into by Henry Husee, kt. whose retinue is given in Nicolas, 352, to pay 200 marks to the king, to be paid to the Treasurer of Calais at Midsummer 1416, for the ransom of nine French prisoners from Beauce, Eu, Vimeu, Beaugency and Abbeville, see Exch. Accts. 46/4, dated Jan. 16, 1416, with fine fragment of a seal. For French prisoners ransomed for 12*s.* see Hunter, 46; or £14, ibid. 45.

[4] Ruisseauville, 142. For traffic in prisoners, see Wylie, ii. 286, note 2.

[5] Ut inde habundancius ditaventur, Brougham, 391; St Denys, v. 568; Michelet, vi. 39; Haggard, 132, who thinks that Henry "made a good business of it." It was reported at Constance that two of the Dukes had offered 40,000 crowns for their ransom, Niem, Vita, 36; Raynaldi, viii. 438.

[6] Le Fèvre, 259; Waur. ii. 218; Monstr. 377. Cf. comme cellui quy debonnaire estoit, Waurin, ii. 221; qui bien le savoit faire, Le Fèvre, i. 263.

[7] Kingsford, Lit. 327; Tit. Liv. 21; Vita, 69; Bouchard; i.e. on Sunday, Oct. 27, 1415, Juv. 520.

[8] Rym. ix. 787.

[9] See Ruisseauville, 142: cf. poenas exigente divino numine, Fromentin, 123, quoting une relation inédite, probably Ruisseauville: forte deus propter peccata nostra (i.e. blasphemy, tyranny, licentiousness, etc.) est taliter permotus quod sanctos pro regno interpellantes non exaudiat, Pierre de Versailles, in Mart. Anec. i. 1725; cf. an ad correctionem ex Dei misericordia vel ad ultionem sit haec praesens regni gravissima percussio, ibid. i. 1724; id propter iniquitates habitantium accidisse, St Denys, v. 576.

expected, the usual vent for an outburst of modern indignation against Henry's "pedantic sermons[1]" and "puritanical hypocrisy[2]." But in those days the French themselves said just the same, and this theory of national disaster as a bitter medicine prescribed by the Physician on High was the veriest stock commonplace of the mental equipment of every thinking or unthinking man then living in Western Europe, and the Duke of Orleans, to whom these moralisings of his captor are supposed to have been specially offensive[3], himself attributed the dreadful disasters that fell on France to the wrath of God upon her for her pride, gluttony, indolence and general depravity[4]. According to another account the conversation is said to have happened on the following day as the king and the Duke were riding side by side on their way to Calais[5], but at any rate it is recorded on the authority of one of the French king's chamber varlets named Tromagon[6], who was taken prisoner in the

The Englishman's rooted belief in the wickedness of the French comes out in the following year when it was believed that they had been beaten by the Marquis of Dorset because they ate meat in Lent and had harlots in their camp, Wals. ii. 315.

[1] Sermons pedantesques,
Du roi formaliste. Bordier, Charton, i. 502.

[2] Cette hypocrisie puritaine, Hericault, I. xxvii; "almost puritanic fervour," Adams, i. 232; do. Battlestories, 115; cf. cet etrange alliage d'orgueil et d'humilité hypocrite qui distingue tous ses écrits, Belleval, 115; cf. "puritanical humility" "with something of a snuffle," R. L. Stevenson, 176, 179, who is here under the influence of Michelet; "blasphemous hypocrisy," C. R. L. Fletcher, 315; Haggard, 133, thinks that he "bullied his unfortunate prisoners" with his "hypocritical preaching." Villaret asks indignantly, les mœurs etoient elles plus pures au dela de la manche? (xiii. 378) and thinks that there is no need to bring in Providence at all for it would have been a miracle if the French had *not* been defeated under the circumstances. Bright (i. 288) thinks that he was "*pretending* to regard himself as the appointed instrument of God's vengeance"; cf. Sandford, 188; cf. "adopted the rôle of God's messenger to the wicked Frenchmen," Vickers, 322; for the chastisement of sinful France, Radford, 36; a certain knavish trick which he had of pleading the will of Heaven for any enterprise he had a mind to, Sat. Rev. 24 Aug. 1912, p. 232. Cf. par divine souffrance...pour punir les Français, Chastellain, i. 198, 200. For God as "le souverain mire," see Charavay, 11; see page 190, note 4.

[3] Michelet, who thinks (vi. 39) "le plus dure pour les prisonniers ce fut de subir les sermons de ce roy des prêtres, d'endurer ses moralités, ses humilités, etc."; cf. "les charitables enseignments" (ibid. p. 40).

On n'a point de Dieu cognoissance,
Orgueil regne sur tous estas,
Les eglises sont desrobées,
Et les pucelles violées. Mercadé, p. x.

[5] Waur. ii. 219; Le Fèvre, i. 261.

[6] For Tromagon or Tromagnon, a Gascon in command of the castle at Pontoise in 1417, see St Denys, vi. 115; Monstr. 415; Cordeliers, 239. Possibly from Trémagon in the commune of Plougar near Landivisiau (Finistère). For the wedding of Guillemete des Tresmagon, one of the Duchess of Orleans' ladies, in Paris in the winter of 1394–5, see Add. Ch. 2139, 2140, 2141, 2144 (Feb. 10, 13, 1395), containing payments for wedding garments for the "Roy des Menestrelx de France" and his "compagnons" (20 livr. fr.); also 18 livr. fr. paid to a Paris broker for hire of a robe of cloth-of-gold for the lady to be married in.

battle and afterwards returned to France for his ransom of 200 francs for which the Duke of Orleans himself had become a surety[1]. Moreover it is quite certain that Frenchmen living at the time quite commonly believed that it was the hand of God that was upon them and that Henry was the rod of His anger, and in the following century a story was current to the effect that when we were driven out of Normandy a generation after the battle was fought a Frenchman called out to an Englishman to know when they were coming back and got the answer "when your sins are greater than ours[2]," and precisely the same opinion has been quite recently expressed by a modern Frenchman writing less than ten years ago[3].

The homeward march began on the morning after the fight[4] and there were still some 45 miles[5] of country to be covered. Coat armours were doffed[6] as no further resistance was expected and three-fourths of the troops are said to have done the journey on foot[7], though the number of horses that reshipped with them to England would seem to indicate that this could not have been for lack of mounts. The king rode with the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon and talked with them over the events of the day. They urgently[8] asked him whether his tremendous victory had not inclined him to treat with their king and stop the further flow of blood. He answered that nothing was nearer to his heart and they at once sent a herald with letters to the court[9] but found no backing in that quarter as it was seen that the English were obviously bent on withdrawing from

[1] Juv. 520.

[2] Ce sera quand voz pechez seront en plus grand nombre que les nostres, Corrozet, 101; ibi erit victoria ubi minor est culpa, Aen. Sylv. Comm. 151.

[3] La verge avec laquelle Dieu châtiait les péchés de la France, Agroles, ii. 15, 18. Cf. la justice divine qui vouloit châtier les François, Archon, ii. 344 (writing in 1711). Pyne (135) supposes that the "complaint of France" is "admitted to have been composed in England," but this is far from being the fact. It took very many generations before this theory began to die away, e.g. Gollut, 1016. Cf. "they appeared given up by an indignant providence," etc., Cassell, i. 540.

[4] In crastino belli commissi, Add. MS. 24062, f. 193; Harl. MS. 4763, f. 107; Cotton MS. Tiberius B. 12, f. 78b. Not on Oct. 16, as Boulé, i. 432.

[5] Gairdner, 97; Adams, Battlestories, 104; Boulé, i. 420. Called 30 miles in Kirkstall, Chron. 286; 40 miles in Church, 90; not 14, as Twinger, ii. 915.

[6] Waurin, ii. 219; Le Fèvre, i. 261. Not that they wore no armour, as Goodwin, 94.

[7] Monstr. 377; on leur avoit osté leurs chevaux, Fenin, 560.

[8] Maxima instantia laborabant supplicantes, Champollion-Figeac, Lettres, ii. 362.

[9] Rym. ix. 787, where the herald is called "Montroee"; i.e. Montjoie, as in Add. MS. 24062, f. 193.

the country[1]. Moreover the feeling of the English found vent in a remarkable protest addressed to the king by his Chaplain, Thomas Elmham[2], who wrote that his eyes now saw what he had long hoped for. England had just awaked from her long winter of timidity and sloth and won a victory unheard of in the annals of the world, surpassing the deeds of Saul and David and Solomon and Alexander and the Maccabees[3]. Let him see in this the hand of God, not making it an occasion for pride or boasting but for thanksgiving and clemency, but the work must be carried through. Let him not take God's help for nought but use it for the full attainment of his rights. Let him not treat with his shifty enemy but march on valiantly with watchful eyes that they shall not meanwhile recover strength. The man with his hand to the plough must not look on what is done but what remains to do. Let him not be held back by their power, nor disturbed by their craft, nor seduced by their false promises. His faithful people will gladly give themselves and all they have. Even now they are pouring forth incessant prayers for him; the Parliament now sitting[4] will grant him full supplies and the clergy who will shortly meet in London[5] will see to it that the Priests' Prince shall not want for splendour, praising him not only with their lips but magnifying him gloriously with their deeds.

The ordinary prisoners[6], many of whom were wounded, were placed between the vanguard and the main body, and in this order they trudged on uneventfully[7] for three days, except that a few stragglers were captured and locked up in the belfry at Boulogne[8]. At Guines[9] the king was received

[1] Champollion-Figeac, Lettres, ii. 362. Not that a truce for two years was concluded on Oct. 26, 1415, as Tyrrell, 293 [171]; nor that Henry meant to winter in Calais as Köhler, ii. 750; Brockhaus, ii. 220.

[2] Anjou Lett. pp. 2–6, written before the meeting of Convocation on Nov. 18, 1415 (see p. 238). The writer calls himself capellanus devotus.

[3] Quorum historiae *hoc in tempore* in ecclesiâ lectae sunt, referring apparently to the lessons (ibid. 4) read at that season, i.e. end of Oct. and beginning of Nov.

[4] In parliamento *presentialiter* congregantur, ibid. 6.

[5] i.e. the Convocation of Nov. 18, 1415, ibid.

[6] In Bec. Chron. 82, they are supposed to be vinculis mancipati.

[7] Sans trouver aucun empèchement, Monstr. 376.

[8] For le ceppage du beffroi, see Deseille, 426; or cheppage, Regnoult, 23; ceppiers du beffroy, 86; also Godefroy, s.v. *Cepage* (i.e. géole). For picture of the belfry at Boulogne, see Grande Encycl. vii. 694. I can find no authority for making them pass through St Omer, as Ransome, 145.

[9] Kingsford, Lit. 327; Tit. Liv. 21; Vita, 70.

with all reverence and stayed for a night[1] in the castle, having with him the French Dukes, Counts, Earls and higher Barons who were captured, but the rest of the army, footsore and hungry and cumbered with their booty, streamed on until they arrived before the gates of Calais. Many of them had not tasted bread[2] for the last eight days, though eggs and cheese and salted meat had been easily procurable on the road. A good supply of pigs and cattle[3] as well as 1000 salted fish, 300 barrels of flour and many casks of beer had been sent over for them from London[4], yet when they came up to the town there was neither food enough nor room enough for the fagged and famished multitude, and only the leaders could be admitted within the walls, the rest remaining in the fields without[5]. The king himself reached Calais on Tuesday, Oct. 29, 1415[6]; crossing the Nieulay bridge[7] he passed along the causeway[8] to the town gate where he was met by the Earl of Warwick as Governor and the clergy who carried banners and sang *Te Deum* and "This is the day that the Lord hath made[9]" as they led him in procession to St Nicholas Church[10], the children in the streets crying "Noel!" and the crowds shouting "Welcome to our sovereign Lord the King![11]" He lodged

[1] Not several days, as Waurin, ii. 221; Le Fèvre, i. 263.

[2] R. L. Stevenson, 176.

[3] Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Nov. 4, 1415.

[4] See Roger Leche's account for cranage, roomage, freitage, lighterage, as well as winding and striking in Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Oct. 30, 1415.

[5] Waurin, ii. 220. Towle (351) thinks that this was because the men of Calais were "not over pleased that *their countrymen* had sustained so ignominious a defeat," but Calais was at the time entirely loyal and English in sentiment. Daumet (56), relying on Le Fèvre, i. 262, appears to suppose that only the French prisoners were refused admission into the town.

[6] Gesta, 60; Lib. Metr. 124; Capgr. de Illustr. 117. Called Oct. 28 in Chron. Lond. 102; Kingsford, Lit. 294, which also gives Oct. 29, ibid. Not "after the last transport had gone on its way," as Towle, 352.

[7] For payment for repair of the pons de Newena (or Newenham, Dillon, 299, now the Fort de Nieulay) against the arrival of the king de victoria apud Augencourt, see Exch. Accts. 187/6. For plan of the fortress and bridge at Nieulay, see Macfarlane-Thomson, ii. 69; Dillon, 299; Sandeman, 18, 32.

[8] For cleaning the ditches on both sides viae regiae super le cause inter pontem de Newena et villam, see Exch. Accts. 187/6. For "causey," see Halliwell, 236; Lel. Itin. viii. 21; Murray, s.v.

[9] Kingsford, Lit. 294.

[10] Now destroyed. For its position, see Dillon, 313. For picture of the belfry at Calais, see Macfarlane-Thomson, ii. 70. For will of William Pountfrayt, Rector of St Nicholas Church at Calais, proved in 1411, see Genealogist, vi. 135. For the chantry of the Holy Cross in St Nicholas Church, see Carte, Rolles, ii. 245. For marriage of Richard II to Isabel in St Nicholas Church, see Salmon, 44.

[11] Waurin, ii. 222; ingenti laetitia, Tit. Liv. 21; Hardyng, 391; immenso gaudio, Vita, 79; grande joye et grand recueil, Fenin, 560. For view of Calais from the sea, see Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 535.

in the castle[1] where he was feasted freely at Hallowtide[2], and on the morrow kept the sad solemnities of All Souls.

The troops meantime were lodged outside the walls, selling their plunder and their prisoners to the townsmen for money to buy bread till shipping should be ready to carry them across the strait to their various homes. In their distress they let their captives go for mere courtesy ransoms[3]. Some were released "on their faith[4]," others were redeemed at less than half their claim, many of the Calais citizens and members of the returning expedition themselves tendering low prices for the finance[5] of batches of them and entering into bonds with the king to pay various sums into the English Exchequer before the next midsummer on the chance of making what they could out of the friends and relatives of the unfortunate Frenchmen. The prices offered vary immensely and are set down with great precision even to the uttermost farthing, though we have now no means of saying what principle regulated the scale[6], but we know from a somewhat later record that poor prisoners were valueless for they were great cost-drawers even when they were kept as straightly and on as easy dieting as could be done[7].

It is said that the king asked his troops whether he should make an attack on the neighbouring strongholds on the marches such as Ardres and Boulogne but that all were too anxious to be getting home, and arrangements were at

[1] For position of it at the north-western corner of the walls, see Dillon, 303; Macfarlane-Thomson, ii. 69.

[2] Ibidem requiescens et se reficiens, Lansdowne MS. 1054, f. 53 (=Salisbury Records).

[3] Cf. une courtoise raenchon, Waurin, ii. 221; Le Fèvre, i. 262.

[4] Sur leurs fois. Cf. fide de captivitate reintranda foy de prison rentrer, Rym. ix. 391; cf. fidem prisonari ceperit, Upton, 141; prendre sa foy (=have his faith), Black Book of Admiralty, i. 285, 457; taketh is faith, ibid. i. 288; or "fay," ibid. i. 461 (not "say," as Nicolas, App. 32); "took his troth," Cutts, Middle Ages, 375.

[5] Cf. "making his fynannce," Lydg. Night, 21; Black Book of Admiralty, i. 293.

[6] For a bundle of 49 of these bonds, see Exch. Accts. 48/2. They include the following amounts, viz. 10*s.*, 20*s.*, 20*s.* 3*d.*, 22*s.* 2½*d.*, 22*s.* 3*d.*, 23*s.* 4*d.*, 26*s.* 8*d.*, 30*s.*, 33*s.* 4*d.*, 44*s.* 6*d.*, 66*s.* 8*d.*, 77*s.* 10*d.*, 111*s.* 1*d.*, 111*s.* 2*d.*, £2. 11*s.* 10*d.*, £4. 8*s.* 11*d.*, £6. 2*s.* 2½*d.*, £8. 6*s.* 8*d.*, £9. 6*s.* 8*d.*, £10, £11. 2*s.* 4*d.*, £13. 6*s.* 8*d.*, £15. 11*s.* 0½*d.*, £16. 13*s.* 4*d.*, £26. 13*s.* 4*d.*, £27, £44. 8*s.* 11*d.*, £46. 13*s.* 4*d.*, £48. 6*s.* 8*d.*, £55. 11*s.* 4*d.*, £163. 6*s.* 8*d.* For bond of William Trussel for £40 de redemptione of certain prisoners taken at Agincourt, see Exch. Accts. 45/13, where the list contains nine names and the amounts vary from 40 to 104 crowns. For account of William Bryan (3–5 H. V) for maintenance of William Englos a prisoner, see For. Accts. P.R.O. p. 21.

[7] Anjou Lett. 16, where the minimum cost of their keep is put down at a crown a week in 1421.

once taken in hand to convey them across for England with all possible speed[1] and during the interval that must necessarily elapse before sufficient shipping could be secured their needs were better met in the matter of meat, drink, rest and house-room[2]. According to the terms of their indentures the king was bound to find shipping for their return, but the large fleet that had brought them over from Southampton could not now be re-assembled, and so it was arranged that 2*s.* should be allowed for the re-passage of each man[3] and 2*s.* for each horse[4] and that the captains should make their own arrangements for getting the troops over as they could. The first quarter's money had been paid[5] or hypothecated in advance and the second quarter had begun on Oct. 6 or 8[6] and was therefore not yet far advanced. Several of the commanders had already prepaid the wages of their men for the full quarter on the assumption that they would be in France till the New Year at least[7], but this was by no means general and a compromise was

[1] Tit. Liv. 23. [2] Tit. Liv. 21.

[3] This was the regular allowance for the Channel passage, see L.T.R. Miscellaneous Enrolled Accts. 6/6.

[4] For picture of a ship for transporting horses, with a door open in the bows, see Nicolas, Navy, i. 366, from MS. Reg. 20 D, where it is called a vissier, i.e. huissiere or uissiere, Godefroy, s.v.; or hussier, Vigne, ii. 19, Plate XLIV; huissier, Littré, s.v.; Bréard, 60. Called la porte de la nef (1248) in Duruy, i. 302, from Joinville = quand tous furent entrez la porte fut reclouse et estouppée ainsi comme l'on vouldroit faire un tonnel de vin pour ce quant la nef est en grant mer toute la porte est en Eaue. For horses walking up a plank, see Montfaucon, ii. 334. Called uxer, oxel or uxel in Navarette, i. 329. For a galée huissière in 1382, then 27 years afloat, see Bréard, 97. For les ventrures de fil pour chargier chevaux en navire (i.e. by slinging), see Bréard, 101. For a long list of horses (1311–1312) with prices, see Cal. Doc. Scot. iii. pp. 413–422, in which the owner "habet restaurum" wherever "perditus" appears in the margin. The horses are distinguished as dextrarius, niger, badius (bay), favus (? favius), basaudas (? bauson), sorus (sorel), albus ferandus (? iron grey), liardus (lyard), albus veyron, frison, doyn (dun), albus piolatus (? piebald), sorus cum stella, etc.

[5] Rot. Parl. iv. 320, shows that the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Somerset received wages for the first quarter on July 8, 1415.

[6] For the Duke of Clarence's claim from July 8 to Oct. 6 (*sic*) (quo die primum quarterium finiebat), see Exch. Accts. 47/1; also William Bradshaw who had died at Harfleur but whose three archers (Nicolas, 376) were present in the battle, ibid. 47/4 (with their names); also Richard Hals, ibid. 47/34. On the other hand the Earl of Arundel's wages ran from July 1 (altered to July 8) to Sept. 30, 1415, quo die quarterium finiebat, ibid. 47/1. It is evident that uncertainty prevailed as to this point and on May 6, 1417, an authoritative decision was asked for as to whether the first quarter really began on July 1 or July 8, 1415, Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 222, 225, 227, 229. For lances with three horses, each receiving 20 florins per month, do. with two horses at 15 florins, serving with the Duke of Savoy in 1426, see A. C. Costa de Beauregard, 11, where the three attendants are called il capo, il piatto, and il paggio (i.e. chef de lances, constiller et page). In the same account the crossbowmen (*balistarii*) cum equis et balistis receive five to six florins each per month.

[7] Rot. Parl. iv. 324; Nicolas, App. 55.

now agreed upon to the effect that the present rate of pay should continue for all, including the dead[1], until the day on which the king himself should actually set foot in England[2] and on this understanding all were to be free to start homewards when and as they would.

A full list of the prisoners was drawn up[3] and as easy terms were to be had their relations or in some cases the gilds to which they belonged often came forward with their ransoms[4] and the captives were received in their native places with a *vin d'honneur*[5], but where no money was at once forthcoming the burgesses of Calais often made speculative bargains[6] either for ready cash or by means of bonds whereby they undertook to pay certain sums of money into the Exchequer at Westminster by a given date[7] retaining the persons of the captives as pledges[8] till their finance was realised. Other prisoners were planted out in the neighbouring castles for temporary custody[9], while there is evidence that many were bought and sold outright for quite nominal sums and found their way as menials into

[1] Memoranda Roll 4 H. V, Hil. m. 33. Cf. les vacatz des moriantz, ceux qi sont en vie come pur ceux qi sont mortz, Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 222, 223, 225, 226.

[2] In L.T.R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 6, the payments are extended to Nov. 24, 1415, or eight days after the king's landing; cf. Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 226, 229; Towle, 361.

[3] Vita, 70.

[4] One of the purposes of the gilds was pour soliciter les prisonniers et donner argent pour les rachepter, Taillepied, 43.

[5] e.g. Jehan Vaict, son of an ex-mayor of Boulogne sorti des prisons des Englez, Deseilles, 426; also Jacques Trouseau maître d'hotel to the king and the Duke of Berry, arriving in Boulogne on Jan. 12, 1416, venant des prisons des Engles, see Regnoult, 101.

[6] For complaint (circ. 1417) by John Craven and Simon Irby that some prisoners were taken over by William Bukton and ransomed, but no satisfaction reached them and claiming 200 marks then in possession of Maud Salvayn, wife of the Treasurer of Calais (i.e. Roger Salvayn), see Baildon, 110; Early Chanc. Proc. i. 27.

[7] For £100 received from Laurence de Platea for divers king's prisoners sold to him (sibi venditos), see Iss. Roll 6 H. V, Mich., Jan. 16, 1419. For a complaint by Laurence de Platea, merchant of Beamont, committed to the Flete prison by the Earl of Arundel then Treasurer, and thence delivered to the Chancellor under pledge of 1000 marks to answer in the Chancery when called, see Rot. Parl. iv. 90; Gesta, xxviii.

[8] For names of 22 prisoners in the Tower in 1423 who were "plegges" for other prisoners that had been delivered, see Ord. Priv. Co. iii. 11. For "ostage et plaige," see Jarry, Découvertes, 279.

[9] For account of Ralph Rocheford, Captain of Hammes, for 11 prisoners at 3*s.* 4*d.* each per week, see Exch. Accts. 47/35; +2*s.* each for shipment (*pur leskipeson*), see Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 205, Feb. 15, 1417. They were taken over from Roger Salvayn, Treasurer of Calais, by order of the king at Calais dated Nov. 17, 1415, till Feb. 12, 1417, when, two having died on July 21 and Nov. 30, 1416, respectively, the rest were handed over to Roger Sapurton (?), lieutenant of the Keeper of the Fleet Prison in London. For Rocheford's appointment as Captain of Hammes, Sept. 14, 1412, see Wylie, ii. 56, note 3; confirmed, July 6, 1413, Carte, Fr. Rolls, 208. He was still Captain on Dec. 28, 1415, ibid. 226.

the service of the great houses and abbeys in England[1]. Thus the number of prisoners was very substantially reduced, many of them not being Frenchmen at all and comparatively few except the titled and other valued ones amongst them crossed to England[2], and there is therefore little point in the epigram of the modern French historian[3] that henceforward if a man would see France he must go to London.

At Martinmas (Nov. 11, 1415) the Lord of Gaucourt and the other defenders of Harfleur gave themselves up at Calais as they had covenanted to do[4], and several of them were sent across to be interned in England. The names of 17 of them, all knights[5], are entered as having been at Calais from Nov. 17 till Dec. 10, 1415[6], after which date they all passed across to England where they remained imprisoned for 18 months or 2 years[7] till their ransom money was found,

[1] e.g. 20*s*. 4*d*. paid by the college at Winchester pro quodam Francigenâ. Called Ludovicus now serving in the kitchen (1415), see Kirby, Winchester, 177.

[2] Emmena avec lui tous ses plus gros prisonniers, Juv. 522; cf. Orleans Burbayne et plusours autres countez, chivalers et esquires vaillants si bien *d'autres estraungez terrez* come de France, Add. MS. 17716 in Orthographia, xiv.

[3] Michelet, vi. 39, adapting the words used of the victory of the Genoese over the Pisans at La Meloria in 1284; see Leroux de Lincy, Chants Historiques, i. 294.

[4] Page 61; Waurin, ii. 222; Le Fèvre, i. 263; Basin, i. 19. For £40. 11*s*. 11*d*. paid by the Treasurer of the King's Household for expenses of Sire de Gaucourt and other Harfleur prisoners at Calais for five days in Nov. 1415, see Exch. Accts. 406/29.

[5] These are found in For. Accts. 6 H. V, 20, where their expenses are charged at 26*s*. 8*d*. per day or about 1*s*. 6½*d*. each during the time they were imprisoned in the Tower, all reckoning from Dec. 19 or 18, 1415, though the claims for maintenance terminate at different dates showing apparently the time of each man's release. For the joint expenses from Dec. 19, 1415, till Jan. 28, 1416, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., April 30, Aug. 30, 1416; see also ibid. 4 H. V, Mich., Nov. 4, 1416; Feb. 8, March 18, 1417; ibid. 5 H. V, Mich., Nov. 23, 1417; Exch. Accts. 328/6; Cal. Doc. Scot. iv. 175. Their names appear as Enguerand de Founteneiz, Bennettes de Longechamp, Thomassy de Tybetote, Petrus de Gauseville, all till June 2, 1417; Charlettus de Tutteville, George de Clère, Robert Desnevale, Ector de Bauchorville (=Boscherville), all till June 30, 1417; William de Tutville and William Crispin, till Feb. 14, 1417; Aubert Deureux (i.e. d'Evreux), till Feb. 3, 1417; Colard Blousett, Hugh de Sapynes, Ralph Dougale, Guyonette Dernevile, till June 26, 1417; Jean Tourgevile, till Sept. 30, 1418; Garadocius Desquesnes, till Dec. 14, 1418. Most of these appear in the list in Cleopatra C. VII; Kingsford, Chron. 117. Bréquigny (233) has names of seven prisoners captured at surrender of Harfleur, released from the Fleet on May 19, 1423, on taking an oath of submission. The names are Hugh Velyn de Chalons, Johan Billy, Johan de Cheviers, Regnault de Graincourt, Hellyn de Bassiers, Pierre de Mombreham and Pierre de Pauniers. Called George de Clère with 3 barons and 13 kts., see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Dec. 9, 1415; Add. MS. 24513, f. 13, where payment for them at 26*s*. 8*d*. p. d. in the Tower is made to Wm. Hudlestone, kt.; also to Wm. Bourchier for same purpose, Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Dec. 23, 1415; Devon, 344 (=26*s*. 8*d*. p. d., Devon, 345; Cal. Doc. Scot. iv. 175). For payment (Aug. 10, 1416) to Sir Roger Aston, kt., lieutenant of Wm. Bourchier, Constable of the Tower, for expenses of 12 kts. taken prisoners at Harfleur, see Add. MS. 24513, f. 13.

[6] Exch. Accts. 406/29, where £40. 12*s*. 11½*d*. is entered as paid by the Treasurer of the King's Hostel for their expenses at Calais from Nov. 17 to Dec. 10, 1415.

[7] Not that they were ransomed at "greate fynaunces" at Calais, as First Life, 41.

some of them being subsequently transferred to Conway or Caernarvon[1] for greater safety. Several other prisoners were shipped across to Dover on Nov. 14[2], whence they were forwarded to London for detention.

As soon as opportunities offered the whole fighting force sailed rapidly across the Strait. A few remained behind at Calais[3], the rest put across, most of them to Dover[4], a few to Southampton[5], or Portsmouth[6], or Sandwich[7], some to Hull, and as they reached their various homes each man was feasted by his friends and the story of glorious victory was spread with songs and music throughout the whole land[8]. Ere long the Italian banker, Philip di Alberti, arrived from London with 500 marks for the king[9] who at once made ready to start as soon as he had the wind at will[10]. He put to sea[11] on the morning of Nov. 16, 1415[12], but the

Souchet (iii. 321) supposed that King Henry broke faith with them in sending them to England.

[1] For payment to John Blount, kt. for hiring horses and carts to take four French knights (viz. Robt. Desnevell, Charles de Touteville, George de Clère and Ector de Boscherville) from the Tower to Conway Castle, see Pat. 5 H. V, 33 d, June 21, 1417, when other prisoners are transferred to Caernarvon. For Harfleur prisoners in the Fleet, released May 19, 1423, see Puiseux, Emigration, 15.

[2] Add. MS. 17716, where the prisoners serront amenez le jolfdy procheyn (i.e. Nov. 14) apres le fest de Seint Martyne envers Loundres et ils sont arrivez (not armez) a Dover, Orthographia, xiv.

[3] Cf. mittens quos voluit de dicto exercitu in Angliam ad se reficiendos, Lansdowne MS. 1054, f. 53 (=Salisbury Records).

[4] e.g. Thomas Corbet (ibid. 47/22) and James Harrington (do. 47/32).

[5] Exch. Accts. 47/28. [6] e.g. James Harrington's archers, Exch. Accts. 47/32.

[7] e.g. Stephen Hatefeld, ibid. 47/16.

[8] Waurin, ii. 221; cytharis et symphoniis concrepantibus *ubique* collaudaretur, St Denys, v. 750. The tradition about the Kentish bowmen feasting in an inn at Speldhurst is no doubt connected with the story of the Duke of Orleans' supposed stay at Groombridge, see Hasted, i. 431.

[9] Per manus Philip de Albertis apud Cales, Rec. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Dec. 9, 1415. For £666. 13*s.* 4*d.* borrowed from Laurence de Albertis on Sept. 2, 1415, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., July 6, 1416, when the amount was written off as a fine imposed on Laurence for negotiating certain exchanges in contravention of a royal proclamation; pro diversis escambiis per ipsum contra proclamationem regis factis, Rec. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., July 6, 1416. For Italian merchants accompanying Edward I in his Welsh wars, see Whitwell, 184.

[10] The wynde also at her lust thei hadde, Lydg. Troy Book, 142, 241; the se was calme and fully at her wille, ibid. 255, 323.

[11] In 1465 Rozmital (p. 37) waited 12 days at Calais for a favourable wind.

[12] Quo die rex arripuit (*sic*) (or arrispuit terram, or applicuit, L.T.R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 6/7) de partibus praedictis in Angliam apud Dovorr, L.T.R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 6; For. Accts. 10 H. V, F. in Louis Robersert's account; q'estoit le jour de nostre arrivaille et retour a nostre Royaume, Rym. ix. 327; W. D. Cooper, 133 (from Babthorpe); Chron. Lond. 229; Wals. ii. 314; Elmham, Lib. Metr. 124; Capgr. De Illustr. 117; Nicolas, 326; App. 76; called Nov. 17, Kingsford, Lit. 294; circa festum Scti Nocholai (*sic*) in Strecche, 276, which looks like Dec. 6, though it may be November 13, i.e. Pope Nicolas I, Nicolas, Chronology of History, 154. Not "late in October," as B. E. Warner, 158; nor Nov. 2, as Sismondi, Français, xii. 490; nor Nov. 6, as Monstr. 381; Halle, 72;

ships were caught in a furious gale and carried far out of their course. Two of them, in which some of Sir John Cornwell's[1] men sailed, foundered with all hands[2], while others carrying some prisoners were driven on to the coast of Zeeland and went ashore at Zierickzee[3] in the estuary of the Scheldt. The French Dukes and the leading captives who sailed in the same ship with the king were amazed at the ease and cheeriness with which he faced the torments of the sea[4] "without accumbrance and dis-ease of his stomach[5]."

Boulé, i. 435; Demotier, 80; nor after spending five or six days in Calais, as E. Hardy, 172; nor Nov. 11, as Kirkstall, Chron. 286; Waurin, ii. 222; Le Fèvre, i. 264; Blondel, i. 445 note; Wright, i. 474; nor Nov. 17, as Jervis, 201; nor Nov. 19, as Otterbourne, 277; nor Nov. 22, as Elmham, August. 73; nor Nov. 23, where Nov. 23 is correctly given as a Saturday, Salisbury Records, Lansdowne MS. 1054, f. 53, where it is given as Saturday, St Clement's Day (i.e. Nov. 23) though mis-written as *December* 23; Nicolas, 147; G. Dupont, 512; Champollion-Figeac, Lettres des rois, ii. 338; Kennett, i. 319; nor Nov. 29, as Juv. 522.

[1] The number of his retinue is given as 30+90 in Exch. Accts. 45/5 (4); Nicolas, 348; Wylie, Notes, 136; but no list of names has been preserved to prove how many of them actually returned to England.

[2] Dupleix (ii. 715) sees in this a judgment of God voulant attremper l'extrême joie; though Halle (72) thinks that "no person was perished"; also L'Estrange, Greenwich, i. 62.

[3] "Cirixée," Monstr. 381; "Cerixe," Waurin, ii. 222; "Sirex," Kingsford, Chron. 129; called "Syerichzee" or "Zirichsee" in Kaussen, Matrikel, 135; "Cirice," Roncière, i. 370; "Zeriche," C. Beaurepaire, Notes, iii. 258; "Serize," Kingsford, Chron. 76. Not Zeris, as Goodwin, 95; Zeriese, as Nicolas, 148; or Ziricksu, as Nicolas, Navy, ii. 412.

[4] Les tourments de la mer, René, iii. 102; Dieu scet quelle pitié quand il fait une tourmente, Débat, 33.

[5] First Life, 64; Stow, Chron. 351. There is no need to suppose that he was "much diverted by their sea-sickness," as Lingard, iii. 503. Cf. non absque stomachi fastidio, Amandesham, i. 126; ii. xxv, where Abbot Wheathampstead crossed in one night in 1423. For la maladie de la mer forte a endurer et la dure vie qui n'est pas bien consonante a noblesse, see Débat, 33; Pyne, 58, 111. Cf.

Thus menwhyle the pylgryms ly,
And have theyr bowlys fast them by,
And cry after hote malvesy,
Theyr helpe (?helthe) for to restore.
For they myght ete neyther sode ne rost,
A man myght sone pay for theyr cost,
As for oo daye or twayne.
Some layde theyre bookys on theyr kne,
And rad so long they myght not se.
Alas! myne hede well cleve on thre,
Thus seyth another certayn. Relig. Antiq. 2.

Halliwell, Naval Ballads, 2; Clowes, i. 343; Besant, Survey, ii. 184. Cf.

Caste on her cloke and copes,
To save hem fro the salt water,
That hit bespirenged not her hater (i.e. clothes, see Halliwell, i. 437).
Laud Troy Book, 487.

Permovit cerebrum permoti vis elementi,
Exegit stomachum nausea crebra nimis,
Grandis erat de littore lis nec erat mihi cura,
Quaenam terra foret dummodo terra foret.
Richard de Cluni (temp. Henry II) in W. Wuttenbach, 600.

for to them such a beard-shaking[1] in the Channel seemed more awful than the battle shock itself[2]. After beating about all day the king's ship cast anchor at nightfall in the road[3] off Dover[4] to find a vast crowd with the priests and religious of the town waiting for him, and when the long boat touched the beach the Barons of the Cinq Ports waded into the water in spite of the blinding sleet[5], lifted him out in their arms and carried him ashore amid frantic shouts of joy[6]. After a night's rest[7] at Dover he passed out on his way to London and throngs of glad Englishmen acclaimed him at all the stopping-places on his route. The men of the Cinq Ports were drawn up on the classic slopes of Barham Down[8]. It is said that the sight of these soldierly Englishmen to the number of 10,000 men, all cleanly harnessed and arrayed, amazed the French prisoners and the Duke of Orleans exclaimed, "What! shall we go to battle again?" to which the king answered, "Nay, these ben only childer of my country come to welcome me home[9]." At Canterbury he was met by Archbishop Chichele with a long procession of clergy. Dismounting at the cathedral door, he prayed at the shrine[10], kissed the relics and made his offering[11] and then took up his quarters in St Augustine's Abbey just outside the city walls[12]. After

[1] With many a tempest hadde his berd be shake, Chaucer, Prol. 408.

[2] Tit. Liv. 22; Vita, 70.

[3] Roger Salvayn's account (Exch. Accts. 187/6) shows 4*s*. 8*d*. paid for portage, boatage (batillagium) and pontage from the shore at Dover to "le Rode" ubi navis p' passag' eum expectabat; also 3*s*. 4*d*. charged from the ship to the shore on the Calais side.

[4] Not on Nov. 23, as in Salisbury MS., Hist. MSS. Comm. Var. Coll. iv. 195. Not Sandwich, as Strecche, 267 b. For picture of Dover Harbour, temp. Henry VIII, see Roujoux-Mainguet, i. 526.

[5] In maximâ nivis intemperie, Wals. ii. 314.

[6] Tit. Liv. 22; Vita, 71; Harpsfeld, 589. There is no need to take this figuratively, as Nicolas, 148. Cf.

> Into the see annone I ranne,
> Till at the last with hockes twayne,
> Men of the ship with mickle paine,
> In the ship me drew on highe. Sperzer, 80.

[7] Not "some days," as Church, 91. Probably at the God's House near the quay (Vol. I. page 361), where the kings of England had the right of lodging, Clay, 213. For Jean II, King of France, herbergié there in 1360, see Douet d'Areq., Comptes, 274.

[8] Called "Berehamdoune" in Harl. 53, f. 157, where their number is said to be 10,000, Brut, ii. 557. Cf. "Beramdoun," Higden, viii. 572; Caxton, 239; Hasted, iii. 752.

[9] Brut, ii. 556.

[10] Called den aller Kistlichsten Sarg in Windecke, 200. For representations of it see Gortlin, 111; Wylie, iii. 336, note 7. Also on pilgrims' tokens in the Guildhall Library in London.

[11] Chron. Lond. 229; Nicolas, 326; App. 76; Brie (Brut), ii. 558.

[12] Waurin, ii. 223; Otterbourne, 277; Elmham, Lib. Metr. 124; Gesta, 61; Chron.

two days[1] the journey was resumed. At various points along the route the men of Kent were gathered at the road side in their best array[2]. On Nov. 20 the king was at Rochester[3]; Eltham was reached at nightfall on Nov. 22 and on the following day the king made his joyous entry into London.

Giles, 53. No mention of his stay appears in the Chronologia Augustinensis which ends in 1418, Elmham, August. 73, though the entries for 1415, 1416 seem to be in a different hand from the rest, ibid. p. xix. It should be noted also that no mention is made of the stay of Richard II in 1393, see Hasted, iv. 656; Walcott, Canterbury, 2. For a map of Canterbury from Sloane MS. 2596, see Berger, Frontispiece; Somner, i. 1. For position of the Monastery on the eastern side of the city, see Hasted, iv. 389. The plan dated 1655 in Monasticon, i. 120, shows "cedes dudum regias" as a part of the monastic buildings, apparently used as a royal residence from the time of Henry VIII, who appropriated the site at the suppression, Hasted, iv. 659, 661. For repair of the King's Great Hall in the reign of Edward VI, see ibid. iv. 660.

[1] Wylie, iii. 289.

[2] Called toutz les gentz *d'Essex* in Add. MS. 17716, Orthographia, xiv, where Kent also is inserted though it does not appear in the original MS.

[3] Champion, Vie, 155, quoting Collection de Bastard, no. 692.

CHAPTER XXXIX

LONDON

EARLY in the morning of St Clement's Day, Saturday, Nov. 23, 1415[1], the Mayor and 24 Aldermen of London rode out in their furred scarlet gowns with hoods striped black and white[2] to Blackheath[3], accompanied by a riding[4] of 15,000 to 20,000 mounted craftsmen[5] clad in red livery with motley hoods of red and white[6] and carrying their trade devices[7], the impressive numbers being meant to let

[1] This was upon St Clementys Day (i.e. Nov. 23)
They welcomed him on every side.

Chron. Lond. 230; Nicolas, 327; Wals. ii. 314; Capgr. 312; Usk, 128; Greg. Chron. 112; Besant, Survey, i. 108. Not Nov. 21, as Exch. Accts. 406/27, where £44. 17*s.* 6½*d.* is charged for expenses of the French prisoners. Nor Nov. 24, as Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, 55; Chron. Lond. 159; Kingsford, Chron. 71; Caxton, Polychron. 227. Nor that "he rested him a season" at Eltham, as Brut, ii. 380; Fabyan, 580. Nor Nov. 30, as Lansdowne MS. 1054, f. 53 (i.e. Salisbury MS.). Vickers (390) says that Lydgate "described the triumphant entry of Henry V into London after the Battle of Agincourt," quoting Political Songs *passim* and Stow, 385.

[2] Lucea (called scarlet in side-note) non lutea vestis adornat ibi, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 125; "alle clothyd in red," Chron. Lond. 230; Harflet, 305; Nicolas, 326; Brie (Brut), ii. 558; rubeo cum caputiis partitis de albo et nigro ornatis, Usk, 128; in furryd clokes the colour of scarlet, Lydgate (Harl. MS. 565), quoted in L'Estrange, Greenwich, 71; On rede goungs and whyt hoddes, Mon. Francisc. ii. 165; in vestibus rubris et caputiis albis, Lansdowne MS. 1054, f. 53, Hist. MSS. Comm. Var. Coll. iv. 195; in red garments with white capuches, Salisbury Records, Hist. MSS. Various Collections, iv. 195. Not "red and white *hose*," as Yonge, 282. For livery depicted in the charter of the Leathersellers of 1444, see Benham-Welch, 34.

[3] Not "that they were departing from their usual constant usage of remaining within the city walls," as Brougham, 125.

[4] For mayors and grocers ridings, see Fairholt, Pageants, i. 3; le jour que nous chevauchames a le Blackheth, Grocers' Accts. (1403), not 1401, as Fairholt, Pageants, 4. Cf. Yede agaynes the Prynce with grete gladnys, Secreta, 154; agaynys hym wente, do. 164.

[5] 20,000 in Gesta, 61; Elmham, Lib. Metr. 125; Harflet, 326; but 15,000 in Chron. Giles, 53; 10,000 in Usk, 128. Called "300 comoners" in Halle, 72; Allen, i. 151; Herbert, i. 91; Benham-Welch, 27.

[6] Cf. in good araye of white garmentis and rede hodis or rede kappis, Brut, ii. 426, i.e. at Queen Catherine's entry in 1421. For red and white on the colours of the City of London, see Letter Bk. I, p. 78.

[7] A dyversite on her garnement to knowe every crafte be hymself, Brut, ii. 426.

the French prisoners see what stuff the men were made of who stayed behind to guard the land while the king had been away[1].

At 10 o'clock the king, attended by a small group of his officers, rode through their midst and thanked them for their welcome, after which they formed up with great solemnity[2], blew up their clarions[3] and rode before him on the highway to London. As they neared the capital the new Abbot of Bermondsey[4] came out to meet them at St Thomas' Waterings[5], half-way between Deptford and Southwark[6], and as they turned St George's corner and passed the Bar[7] into the High Street of Southwark the London clergy were awaiting them chanting *Te Deum* and bearing relics with banners and crosses[8] and singing "Ave Anglorum flos mundi miles Christi![9]" From this point the cavalcade moved on to London Bridge[10] where the

[1] Aufyn qu'ils p'voient voer quel people sut lessez derer le roy en Engleterre, Add. MS. 17716, f. 102, Romania, xxxii. 50.

[2] Chron. Lond. 235, 241.

[3] With clarionys and all maner of lowde mynstrelsie, Brie (Brut), 426.

[4] i.e. Thomas Thetford, who was elected as the 3rd Abbot of Bermondsey as successor to Henry Tompston who died May 19, 1413, see Bermondsey, 484; Pat. 1 H. V, i. 23, June 8, 1413. For pictures of remains of the Abbey, see J. T. Smith (in 1794); R. Wilkinson, ii. (1805) with seals; Knight, Lond. iii. 1–16; Cassell, ii. 90; Besant, Survey, ii. 293, 294; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 291; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 714 (1794). It is called "Bermondsey without Southwark" in Brut, ii. 470. It was originally a Clunic Priory (dependent on La Charité on the Loire since 1090, Lespinasse, p. 7) but was raised to the rank of an Abbey Aug. 3, 1399, Bermondsey, 483.

[5] Elmham, Lib. Metr. 125; Caxton, Chron. 146; Brut, ii. 380. Not "St Thomas at Wakering," as Goodwin, 95; Halle, 73; Allen, i. 151. Called St Thomas a Waterings in Ben Jonson quoted in Pollen, 267. For Bayards watering (i.e. Bayswater) (1509) see Rackham, 20. Called a stream crossing the Old Kent Road and spreading out into big pools in a south-easterly direction in J. H. Pollen, The Month, March 1908, 267, where its direction is fixed as corresponding with the present Albany Road, near the new Fire Station. It marked the limit of the jurisdiction of the mayor of London and was "the statutory place of execution for all London south of the Thames" (called "for Surrey" in Marks, p. 61), the gallows being erected at the cross roads now the junction with Peckham Park Road (p. 269).

[6] En my chemin dentre Deptford et Suthwerk, Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 194, 195; in suburbiis, Tit. Liv. 23; circiter miliare ab urbe, Gesta, 77; ad unum miliare extra civitatem, Usk, 128; seint Thomas Waterynge withoute Souythwarke, Brie (Brut), ii. 430.

[7] For St George's Bar on the way from London Bridge to Kennington, see Fabyan, 594 (1425); Wylie, iv. 29, note 1.

[8] À croix et confanons, Le Fèvre, i. 264; Gouffanons, Waur. ii. 223.

[9] Brie (Brut), ii. 558.

[10] Called "the brigge of London," Pecock, ii. 452. For picture of London Bridge temp. H. VII with gate-house at the London end, see Royal MS. 16, F. ii (page 501, note 7 a); also by Antony van den Wyngaerde in J. E. Price, 58; Benham-Welch, Plate 4; also by Vischer in Birch, Plate 3; do. circ. 1616 with gate-house on the Southwark side, Knight, London, i. 73; De Witt, 485; do. in 1760 when the houses were pulled down, Knight, i. 80. Add Stow, i. 53; Wylie, ii. 63, note 4. For Hollar's view of London (1649) from the Tower of St Mary Overies, see Macfarlane-Thomson, ii. 674.

battlements above the gate-house[1] at the Stoops[2] had been fenced round with sheaves of halberds. On either side of the gateway were posted two giant figures as warders, each as high as the wall itself[3], like a man and his wife dressed in their best, the man with an enormous axe in one hand and the city keys on a stick in the other, and the woman dressed in a scarlet cloak and petticoat[4] of the same colour. As the king drew near he cried out: "Hail to the royal city!" praying that Christ would ever keep from her sorrow and care[5], and as he passed through the gate[6] amidst the braying of horns his eye was met with the words: "The City of the King of Justice" set up over head. Reaching the draw-leaf[7], which lifted in mid-stream to allow the shipping to pass up to Queenhithe[8], the procession was faced by a wooden arch[9] arrayed with linen diapered in white, green and jasper and surmounted by an armed figure of St George bareheaded and crowned with bay[10]. To right and left hung his helmet and his shield set off with crimson tapets. His right hand grasped his sword-hilt and in his left he held a scroll with the words:

[1] It fell down on Jan. 14, 1437, Stow, Chron. 376; called 1436 in Stow, London, i. 59. For later picture of the approach, see Knight, London, i. 82.

[2] For the "Stoulpes," i.e. boundary posts, see Kingsford, Chron. 77; Halliwell, s.v. *Stulp*; Jamieson, s.v.; Cent. Dict., s.v. *Stoop*.

[3] Ultra portam, Usk, 128; in Gesta, 61; Chron. Giles, 54; Lib. Metr. 125; they stand *on* the tower above the gate (*superius in culmine turris*), cf. "grete lyons and giantes," Kingsford, Chron. 269. For giant at the entry of Edward IV into Bristol, see Pol. Relig. Po. 5. Cf. "Stablysshed a stronge geaunt to the saufgarde of the treasure," Melusine, 17; do. Brunet, 25. Called "a tremendous fellow dressed as a giant who recited some verses" in Tyrrell, 293 [171].

[4] Fairholt, xxiii; do. Gog and Magog, 27. For picture of Gog and Magog in Guildhall, see Macfarlane-Thomson, ii. 268. For the giants in the provincia Gog-Magog towards the Arctic ocean (? Finland) ou n'est point de nuit, see Bouvier, Descr. 102.

[5] Chron. Lond. 230; Nicolas, 326; App. 77.

[6] For picture of it in 1616, see Vischer's view in Ordish, 50.

[7] Usque ad pontem tantillum, Gesta, 62; Giles, 54; "the drawbridge that is fast by," Chron. Lond. 231; Nicolas, 327; Pol. Songs, ii. 278; Riley, 641, 643; Letter Bk. I, vii. 166; Kingsford, Chron. 160; called the "draught brygge," Gregory, Chron. 191; cf. Amyot, 272; levabilem pontem, Usk, 128; cf. Wylie, ii. 63. For the pons levabilis (i.e. draw-bridge) at Calais, see Exch. Accts. 187/6; pontes levadissos, P. Guillaume, Gap. 44.

[8] For the bridyng thorugh of the mastes of the shippes passyng under the said Brygge, see Rot. Parl. v. 44. For tolls charged on goods at the port of Queenhithe, see Letter Bk. I, 134, 231. For position of it, see map in Loftie, i. 120.

[9] For the tower called the Bridge-Tower built at this point in 1436, see Stow, i. 56, 59; Knight, London, i. 81. It stood in the middle of the bridge and marked the boundary between London and Southwark, Benham-Welch, 38; called the 11th arch from the Surrey side in Knight, London, i. 81, who gives (p. 80) the total as 20 arches supported on 19 piers. It is shown in the picture in Royal MS. 16, F. ii, see p. 258, n. 10. Cf. whereas were ij turrettes on the draw-bridge, Brut, ii. 558.

[10] Syn George ryally armed, Greg. Chron. 112.

"Honour and glory be to God alone!" On either side of the tower stood pillars surmounted by a lion and an antelope each bearing a shield charged with the royal arms and aloft upon the tower itself was the legend: "The birr of the river maketh glad the city of God![1]" while on the leads of the adjoining house a crowd of boys dressed up as angels[2] with gilt faces, white gowns, white wings and women's wigs sang, to the strike of organs[3]: "Welcome, Sovereign Lord!" and "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord[4]."

Once over the bridge the procession wound up Fish Street[5], through the corn-market at Grass Church[6], and turned into the straggling line of streets[7] and markets[8] that stretched from the Leadenhall[9] to Paul's[10] and formed the very heart of London traffic[11]. At the Tun[12] in Cornhill

[1] Fluminis impetus in Vulgate, Psalm xlv. 5 [xlvi. 4], Elmham, Lib. Metr. 126; called "the bure" or "the feersness" in Wycliffe's translation. Cf. Stratmann, s.v. *Bur*; Murray, Dict., s.v. *Birr*. All the old pictures show the great sterlings that stood out to break the rush of the tide against the piers, cf. Knight, London, 80; Benham-Welch, 36, 40; Cent. Dict., s.v. *Starling*.

[2] Anglico (i.e. angelico) vestitu, Tit. Liv. 22; angelorum vices suplentes (*sic*), Vita, 72; in hevynly aray, Brut, ii. 380; very amiable children dressed in imitation of angels, Allen, i. 152.

[3] Chron. Lond. 241. Cf. the entry of Henry VI in 1431 which was closely modelled on the entry of his father in 1415, Allen, i. 154. Brougham (125) calls it "the vulgar taste of the age."

[4] Brie (Brut), ii. 558.

[5] Pauli, Pictures, 419. For "oldefisshe strete," see Letter Bk. I, 61, 71, 82, 124, 126.

[6] For the market at Graschurche in the parish of St Benet's Grace (St Benedictus de Garschirche) at the corner of Fenchurch Street and Gracechurch Street, see Riley, Mem. 645, 729; Lib. Cust. 228, 233; Letter Bk. I, 46; Sharpe, Wills, ii. 426; variously spelt as Grascherche, Greschirche, Garstchirche, Gerchirche, Graschurchstreet, Graschirche-strete, Gracias Street in Lit. Alb. i. 247, 261, 349, 356; Sharpe, Wills, ii. 426. Cf. Grass Street, Ordish, 34.

[7] Thorugh the high stretis in the cite, Brut, ii. 426.

[8] For map temp. Elizabeth, see Stow, Frontispiece; Pennant, London, Frontispiece; Fox-Bourne, 17; Belleforest, Cosmogr. i. 102. For Ralph Agas' map (temp. Elizabeth) from the Poultry to St Paul's, see J. E. Price, 58; Bludes, 1. Plate 1. For facsimiles of the original in the Guildhall Library see Overall and Vertue, the latter of whom dated it in 1560 which is 30 years too early, see Grace, 2; Dict. Nat. Biogr. i. 174; Lucas, cover, with reproductions in sections in Benham-Welch. For the earliest extant map of London by Antony van de Wyngaerde in 1543 now in the Bodleian Library, see Overall, Particulars, p. 1. For map by Augustus Ryther 1604, see Kingsford, Chron. Frontis-piece. For a map showing London in the 15th century, see Pauli, Bilder, at end; do. Otte's translation, Frontispiece.

[9] For the manor or place called "le ledenhall," see Letter Bk. I, 92.

[10] From the myddys of Grasschurch Street unto the entryng of the churchyard of Powles, Antiq. Repert. ii. 258. Called "the great street of the city" in Duck, 77.

[11]
Illic invenies venalia tanta quod omnes
Expositas merces vix sibi mundus emat.
Dicere quod quaeras tunc est labor, elige quod vis,
Et quod nullus habet venditor illud habet.
W. Wuttenbach, 602, temp. H. VI.

[12] For note see next page.

which had recently been transformed from a prison for nightwalkers[1] into a conduit or water-cistern[2], a squad of hoary patriarchs[3] clad in gold gowns with crimson turbans came out of a tent and let loose a flock of sparrows[4] and other small birds which lit on the king's shoulder or flapped at his breast[5] while the old men sang: "Hallelujah! Sing to the Lord a new song for he hath done marvellous things![6]" At the entrance to the Cheap[7] from the Poultry[8] near the stocks[9] the crowd was well nigh impassable in spite

Forum venalium quod chepe nuncupatur, Wals. i. 332; por vyn en chepe, Grocers' Accts. in Fairholt, Pageants, 4; viens de Westchepe, Lib. Cust. 274. For the "high streets" of Chepe, Cornhill, and West Chepe, see Riley, Mem. 641, 646; Fox-Bourne, 24. For the Crown Seld (alias King's Head) in Cheap built by Edward III "to behold the shows of the city," see Stow, i. 257; Kingsford, Lit. 156.

[12] For picture of it, see Besant, Survey, i. 355.

[1] i.e. thieves, Stow (Kingsford), i. 106, 188, cf. "a dicer, carder or walker abrode by night," Loftie, Savoy, 105. For proclamation against nightwalking, see Letter Bk. I, 88; Abram, *Life*, 183. For immoral priests taken to the Tun with minstrels playing, see Vict. Co. Hist. London, ii. 215, 228.

[2] "Cisterned in 1401," Stow, London, 7, 72; cf. "the tour of Cornhill," Chron. Lond. 232; the Standart at Ledenhall, Stow, Kingsford, ii. 302; "the conduyte made in cercle-wyse," Kingsford, Chron. 106, 303; "In the mydde of Cornell enjoyned to the condute," Antiq. Repert. ii. 267. A wooden cage with pillory and stocks and the conduit below it, Nicolas, Agincourt, 328. It was built in 1282, Benham-Welch, 219, who says that "the site is that of the Cornhill pump." For the pillory in Cornhill, see Riley, Mem. 646. For picture of the conduit at the Carfax at Exeter erected 1461, called circ. 1451, Devon Notes and Queries, iii. 139, demolished in 1770, see Jenkins, 214; Izacke, 56; Brushfield, 16. For the water supply of Exeter with pipes 1346, see Cotton ed. Mus. v. 171; also at Coventry, M. D. Harris, 127, from Coventry Corporation MS. B. 34; Hist. MSS. 15th Rept. App. Pt. x. p. 116; Wylie, i. 477. For fons villa (called "the Town Will," Exeter Deeds, 1124) at Exeter, see Exeter Deeds, 1066, Oct. 24, 1413.

[3] For supposition that the successive spectacles represented "the *Te Deum* in action," see Ramsay, i. 226.

[4]
Kest doun quyk briddes
Which flawe thikke about ye kyng. Brut, ii. 558.
Then bryddes thei gon down throwe. Harflet, 328.

See also picture of Charles VII's entry into Paris 1436 in A. France, iv. 172. For délivrance d'oiseaux at entry of Louis XI, see Condere, L'Entrée solennelle de Louis XI à Paris in Mém. de la Soc. de l'hist. de Paris, XXIII (1896) quoted in Champion, Vie, 557.

[5] Elmham, Lib. Metr. 126.

[6] Brie (Brut), ii. 553, adds laus, laus ejus in ecclesia sanctorum.

[7] Unto the Chepe thanne rood oure kyng, Chron. Lond. 232; Nicolas, 328; the West Cheap, Riley, Mem. 416 (1378). In introitu strate de Cheep, Gesta, 64; Chron. Giles, 56. Introitum vici dicitur ille Forum, Pol. Songs, i. 290; en Cep, Froissart, iii. 356; per viam publicam vocatam le Chepe, Conc. iii. 388, 431, where it begins at Walbrook. For whan ther any riding was in Chepe, see Cook's Tale, 4375; p'mye le Chepe vers Westminster, Grocers' Accts. in Fairholt, Pageants, 4. Not "the street of Change" as Adams, i. 241. The large strete of West Chepyng a market-place so called, Stow (Kingsford), i. 264; Besant, Survey, viii. 122; in vico de Chepe, Rot. Parl. ii. 459; per album vicum vulgariter dictum "le Chepe," Conc. iii. 394. For the great market-place of West Cheap, see Loftie, i. 177.

[8] For the street of the Poultry, see Riley, Mem. 326. For the "scoldyng hous," "scaldynghous" or "scaldyng wyk" near the Stocks market for scalding poultry, see Sharpe, Wills, ii. 55, 422. For the church of St Christopher-le-Stocks near the Poultry, see Stow, Kingsford, i. 186. For the poultry market on Cornhill 1320, see S. Young, 26; Stow, Kingsford, i. 81, 118, 259, 262. For skaldyng house at Coventry where they skald their swine, see Cov. Leet, i. 32.

[9] For fish market at "les Stokkes" or "lestokkes," see Letter Bk. I, 55, 61, 71, 82,

of the tip-staffs[1] and sergeants with their maces. The street was spanned[2] with a green awning held up on flowery poles and the great conduit or stone cistern that stood by the standard at the entrance to Chepe was trimmed with sheaves of spears and surrounded by 12 Venerable Apostles and 12 of England's kings, martyrs and confessors with sceptres in their hands, gilt girdles round their waists, crowns on their heads, and their names on their foreheads. On the working-day this conduit was the centre of London's water supply which was brought in surface-pipes from Tyburn, but to-day it was charged with wine which the hoary favourites drew off for all comers at the cocks and bosses and flung obleys[3] and thin pieces of silver foil[4] at the king as he approached. A little further on Queen Eleanor's Cross[5] was transformed into a pasteboard castle

124; a market house called the Stocks for fish and flesh in the midst of the city built 1283, Stow, Kingsford, i. 106, where the Mansion-House now stands, see Pauli, Pict. 444; Stow, ii. 194; Loftie, i. 266; Besant, Survey, viii. 122. For mulieres de Stokkes, see Amundesham, i. 20; ii. xxxiii. For the church of St Christopher nigh les Stokkes, see Letter Bk. I, 54; Freshfield, 21.

[1] Cf. every man having a tipped staff to keep the field in order, Brett, 47.

[2] Cf. the stretes were covered on hye with lynen clothes that no rayne or other fowle wederyng might lette their entree within the toune, Melusine, 206; ruez paréez de biax doubliers, Cochon, 341; grandement tendue, Jusserand, Roman, 57 [67]; estoit la ville (i.e. Lisbon in May, 1429) tendue et paree de draps et tapisserie et autres et de rameaux de May, Weale, Van Eyck, lxi; passant par draps de laine, ibid. lxx.

[3] Emittunt foliis oblata rotunda, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 127; And obles about owre kyng gan throwe, Chron. Lond. 232; Nicolas, 328; called "silver comfits" in Kingsford, 158. For the oblier (*oublouir*), oblaier et pasticier, Brièle, Doc. iii. 54, see Menagier, ii. 109; Piton, 162, cf. Halliwell, s.v. *Oble*; Wylie, iii. 220, note 10. Called panis tenuissimi species quam nunc gauffre (wafer) appellamus, Du Cange, s.v. *Supplicatio*. For coffre de fer blanc pour mettre les supplications et oublies, see Pannier, xxvii. 34. Cf. estree, estrié, Cotgr., s.v. *Estevet* (q.v.).

[4] Castyng doune oblays, Brie (Brut), ii. 558.

[5] Called "The Crosse in Cheppe," Greg. Chron. 112; Caxton, Chron. 146; Harflet, 329; "La Croix de Ceptre ou il y a beau vergier" (i.e. fruit market), Debut, 44; Pyne, 79. It stood at the end of Wood Street and was rebuilt "in late mediaeval times," Lethaby, 180, who refers to some fragments of the original cross now in the Guildhall Museum. For pictures of the cross, see R. Wilkinson, I. pt. ii (1547, 1606); J. T. Smith, London (1638); Chambers, Book of Days, ii. 524; Aubrey, ii. 437; Cassell, ii. 583 (restoration from a painting lately at Cowdray); Macfarlane-Thomson, ii. 290. For its position, see Agas' map in J. E. Price, 58. It was the last and finest of the memorial crosses before reaching Charing, Stow, London, 100; Archaeologia, xxix. 184. It was rebuilt in 1484–86 (Stow, i. 266) and again in 1603, Besant, Survey, viii. 5, and demolished in 1643. For picture of its demolition in 1643, see J. T. Smith. For picture of it, temp. Ed. VI, see Legg, Coronation Rec. 280. For Henry Peacham's Dialogue (1641) in which the Charing Cross addresses her "sister of West-Chepe," see J. T. Smith, 14. For picture of the cross at Charing in 1602, see J. T. Smith; R. Wilkinson, I. pt. ii; Besant, Survey, i. 41 (=designed by Pietro Cavalieri). For plan of roads round Charing Cross from Agas' map (1560), see Macfarlane-Thomson, ii. 657; Cassell, ii. 619. For effigy of Queen Eleanor of Castile at Westminster Abbey, see Knight, London, iv. 102; Besant, Survey, i. 30. For the sister crosses at Lincoln, Grantham, Stamford, Geddington

stretched with coarse painted canvas-linen[1] with the inevitable George on the top[2], supplied this time with a bridge reaching across to St Peter's church at the corner of Wood Street[3] on which a chorus of pretty girls dressed in white came tripping out with tambourines[4] singing "Noel![5]" and "Welcome to the Fifth Henry, King of England and France!", while a troop of boys clad in white to represent angels dropped gilt besants[6] down from the roof on to the king and his party as they passed under the archway below. One more station[7] had now to be faced. At the Little Conduit beside the church of St Michael-le-Quern or St Michael at Paul's gate[8] in the Corn-market at the lower end of Cheap[9] the cavalcade approached the gate leading into St Paul's Churchyard, and this also was found to be artfully disguised with niches, in each of which stood a statuesque maiden holding a gold cup in her hand from which she lightly puffed gold leaf[10] towards the king as he rode by, while others came dancing to meet him with drums

(near Kettering), Northampton, Stony Stratford, Woburn, Dunstable, St Albans and Waltham and Charing, see Archaeologia, xxix. 182–184; Stow (Kingsford), i. 265; Peacham, A. 3. For picture of the cross at Waltham, see Brayley, Beauties, vii. Frontispiece; Roujoux, ii. 113; Roujoux-Mainguet, i. 323; Lethaby, 178 (constructive idea). For figures of Queen Eleanor on the crosses, see Lethaby, 245. For Geddington, see Aubrey, i. 464; Antiquarian Repert. iii. 275. For Northampton, see Bridges, i. 14; Aubrey, i. 465; Lethaby, 175, 176; Cassell, i. 463; Munson, Part vi.

[1] Cf. "com empeynted with frestine and whight lyme so that the semys of the stones were perceyved like as mortar or sement had been betwene," Antiq. Repert. ii. 263.

[2] Called "various fabrications and figures" in S. Turner, v. 462.

[3] Usk, 128. Cf. "the serjeants of Wood Street Counter (i.e. the Sheriff's prison in Milk Street, Riley, Mem. 413, 416; Stow, iii. 51) are not farre from me," Peacham, A. 2.

[4] Tympana tacta sonant, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 127; Virginys syngyng merely, Greg. Chron. 112.

[5] Nowell, Nowell alle thei gon syng, Chron. Lond. 232; Nicolas, 328.

[6] With besaunts riche many a folde
Thei strowed oure kyng on every side.

Chron. Lond. 232; Nicolas, 328. For besants, i.e. counters or jettons, see Kingsford, 158. Called "besandes of gold" in Brie (Brut), ii. 558. For broad "bezants and bright," see R. F. Williams, i. 322. For besants (i.e. Byzantines) used as counters in the Exchequer, see H. Hall, Antiquities, 118, 124. As a coin the besant was worth 7 sols in the 12th century in France, afterwards rising to 12 sols, Delarue, Nouv. Ess. i. 161. In England its value was 2*s.* in the time of Henry III, Lib. Cust. 105. In Matth. xxv. 16 (Wycliffe version) it is the equivalent of "talent"; also in Philippe de Mézières, Brando, 6. For a white satin head-dress ornamented with silver bezants, see Add. ch. 60.

[7] In 1502 there were "6 stacions and places of passynge with 6 costly, pleasant and goodly pagaynts" to be negotiated before Catherine of Aragon reached St Paul's, Antiq. Repert. ii. 258.

[8] Cf. N. and Q. 10th Ser. xi. April 3, 1909.

[9] Juxta inferiorem conductum, Usk, 129.

[10] The same was done to Richard II in 1377, Wals. i. 332; Knight, London, ii. 221; Lingard, iii. 136.

and gilt viols like David returning from the slaughter of Goliath[1]. Above the whole was stretched a sky-blue heaven[2] or canopy set with stars and sapphire clouds[3] held up by four angels with an archangel placed at the conduit itself. Beneath the canopy was a figure of Majesty represented by a sun darting red rays, and round about were glittering archangels who sang "*Deo Gratias*" for the king[4] that God would:

> "Gef him gode lyfe and gode endyng
> That we with mirth mowe safely sing
> Thanks be to God for the victory[5]."

At St Paul's the great bells were ringing bravely as the king alighted[6] and entered the church where eighteen bishops[7] were assembled to cense him and salute him, while once more the *Te Deum* resounded through the church[8]. Then having kissed the relics and made an offering at the High Altar and kneeled at the shrine of St Erkenwald[9] he rode on[10] with Queen Joan accompanied by the mayor and the citizens along the river strand[11] to Westminster where

[1] Usk, 129.

[2] Cf. Kingsford, Chron. 245.

[3] For "a whele wonderfully wrought with clowds" in 1502, see Antiq. Repert. ii. 272.

[4] Not the praises of the king, as Church, 91.

[5] Nicolas, App. 67; Tyler, ii. 202; Child, iii. 159; Yonge, 283; Beamont, 238; Kingsford, 157. With music in Nicolas, App. 68; Maitland, 14; Chappell, i. 25; Percy, Reliques, 165, from Pepys' MS.; Bodleian Selden MS. B. 26, and Trin. Coll. Cambridge MS.; Burney, i. 383, who wrote it out in many different ways before he could disentangle the parts and form it into a score. He refers also to J. Stafford Smith's (1750–1836) collections of Ancient English Songs, said to have been printed in the 18th century in Chappell, i. 25, though I have not seen a copy.

[6] Comyng to Poulys ther he liht adoun, Kingsford, Chron. 113.

[7] Pontifices ter seni, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 129; called 14 in Lydgate, Chron. Lond. 232; Nicolas, 329; Claud. A. viii; Brie (Brut), ii. 558; Gesta, 68; Caxton, Chron. 146; or 16 bishops and abbots, Greg. Chron. 112.

[8] Not that this service was held in the new nave of Westminster Abbey, as Feasy-Mickelthwaite, 36.

[9] Usk, 129.

[10] In Waurin, ii. 224, and Le Fèvre, i. 264, he proceeds from St Paul's to Westminster by water, which might seem to be borne out by "declinavit" in Gesta, 68, but this means to the Palace after visiting the Abbey; see Chron. Giles, 60, where the description of the pageant ends with St Paul's without any mention of Ludgate and Temple Bar as in 1393 (Pol. Songs, i. 294) though adding civibus deducentibus eum. But the London accounts say that the Mayor and Aldermen "browte him to Westminster," Mon. Francisc. ii. 166. Cf. "to Westmynster dyde he *ryde*," Nicolas, App. 77; ad Westmonasterium cito equitavit, Strecche, 267 b; tooke his horse and rode to Westmynstre, Caxton, Chron. 146. He rode forthe unto Westmysster and the Mayor and his brethren brought hym there, Greg. Chron. 112; Brie (Brut), ii. 558; also Fabyan, 667, for Henry VI in 1432. For 1453 as the first year in which the procession went by water, see Kingsford, Lit. 99.

[11] For fleur de lys on some houses in Holywell Street and its continuation Butcher's Row, supposed to commemorate this progress, see Knight, London, ii. 151. Besant,

the Abbot was awaiting him with a red-robed choir amid the clanging of the sanctuary bells, and after offering at the confessor's shrine[1] he passed out into the adjoining Palace[2], the people thronging round him up to the very gates[3]. For generations past London had been famed for her ridings and her love of pageantry[4]. There were many living who remembered the pomp and splendour of the devices at the triumphal progresses of Richard II through the streets of London at his coronation in 1377, his first marriage in 1382[5], his reconciliation with the citizens in 1392[6] and his second marriage in 1396[7], as well as the great ridings of Henry IV at his coronation[8] and his marriage[9], when the conduits in the Palace yard[10] had

Westminster (32), thinks there were no houses between London and Westminster except just outside the Ludgate. In 1578 Agas' map shows houses on both sides of the Strand; also Belleforest, Cosmogr. i. 102; Pennant, London, Frontispiece; Wyngaerde's, see Benham-Welch, p. 16. For Visscher's map of the Thames from Somerset House to White Friars (1563) (temp. Jas. I) where the district to the north of the Strand is all open showing Harrow in the distance, see J. T. Smith, Plates. For fancy picture of the road from Westminster to London, see Knight, i. Frontispiece. For picture of Edward VI's procession to Westminster in 1547, see Wright and Smith, 177. For Wyngaerde's view of road from Charing Cross to Westminster in 1543, see Benham-Welch, 16, from Bodl. Lib. For Durham House (from Hollar), see Macfarlane-Thomson, ii. 40; also Savoy Palace (1736) from Virtue, ibid. ii. 754.

[1] For translation of the remains of Edward the Confessor to the shrine behind the High Altar in 1269, see Stow, vi. 48. Cf. "St Peter was now supplanted by St Edward," Besant, Westminster, 111. For the shrine, see Murray-Smith, Frontispiece. Cf.

> Amonges the Relikes the septre oute sought
> Off Seint Edward and to the kyng it brouht
> Thouh it were longe large and off grete weyht
> Yitt on his shouldres the kyng bare it on heyht.
>
> Kingsford, Chron. 113.

[2] For picture of the Palace by Hollar in 1647, see Bradley, Guide, 5; Besant, Story, 18. For view of it from the river, see Wyngaerde's map in Benham-Welch, Plate 1. For other pictures also from Agas' map showing the stairs, see Wright and Smith, 24; Aubrey, ii. 529. For plan of it, see Stow, vi. 66; J. T. Smith, 125; Archaeologia, xliv. 374; Walcott, Frontispiece; Besant, Westminster, 40, whose supposition that it contained 20,000 inmates in the reign of Richard II seems quite impossible. He supposes that everything was made within the enclosure, including guns and bows, and that the inmates were all married with an average of 5 children each. For doorway and Norman windows of the Old Palace, see Knight, London, vi. 121, 124. For plan of the Palace and Abbey, see J. T. Smith, 125; Lethaby, Palace, 142; Wylie, iv. 103, *note* 7. For written account of Palace buildings, see Lethaby, 61. It was abandoned as a royal residence after the fire temp. H. VIII, Wright-Smith, 8.

[3] Gesta, 68. For picture of the Palace Gate approached by a winding road through fields temp. Ed. IV, see Royal MS. 15, E. IV.

[4] For the entry of Henry III on arrival of Eleanor of Provence in 1236, see Malt, Paris Chron. Maj. iii. 336; Jusserand, Lit. Hist. 454. For passage of King John of France with the Black Prince in 1357, see Brayley and Britton, 223; Ling. iii. 86.

[5] Wals. ii. 48; Brayley and Britton, 267.

[6] Not 1393, as Fox-Bourne, 57.

[7] Lingard, iii. 177.

[8] i.e. in 1399, Wylie, i. 44.

[9] In 1403, ibid. i. 310.

[10] J. T. Smith, 28. For position of the fountain, see Agas' map (1578), ibid. For jousts in the Palace Yard in 1399 on completion of the re-roofing and heightening of Westminster Hall, see Stow, vi. 48. For Hollar's picture of Old Palace Yard with Tower, Conduit and Hall, see Wright and Smith, p. 1. For picture of Palace Yard

flowed with wine, but on this day the worshipful and worthy city[1] outdid herself in the splendour of her shows and sights and in the wealth of her disports and disguisings[2]. Cost was not reckoned in those heady days of delirious tumult. The city donned her full garb of gladness[3]; her streets were strawed and spread[4] and hung with cloths[5] and tapestries; her roofs were garnished gay with sarsenets[6]; her houses flagged and royally beseen[7] with boughs[8] and tapets[9] storied with bright imagery[10] of

with Westminster Hall and the Holbein Gate in the distance, see Knight, Shakespeare's Richard II, p. 129.

[1] Pol. Songs, ii. 256; cf. Citee off Citees off noblesse precellyng, Kingsford, Chron. 115.

Urbs locuples opibus pollens epulis opulenta
Plena referta frequens civibus, aere, fero.
Richard de Cluni (temp. H. II) in Wuttenbach, 62.

ἄλβῳ τε καὶ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ οὐδεμίᾳ τῶν πρὸς ἑσπέραν λειπομένη, Chalcocen, 90.

Noble citée très excellent et forte
Riche habondant de gens de guerre
Tres fors hommes pour ennemys conquere (circ. 1507).
Bulletin de l'Hist. de Paris, iii. 44 (1876).

For gross rental of London = £4220 from subsidy roll of 1412, see Archaeol. Journ. xliv. 82; Besant, Survey, i. 101.

[2] Curiositas apparatuum, varietas spectaculorum, Wals. ii. 314; novis et insolitis gaudiis, Vita, 22; Gesta, 68; with joye and merthe and grete renone, Nicolas, 327; do. App. 67; Chron. Lond. 231; Tyler, ii. 202; Maitland, 15, 61. In jubilo et exaltatione, Capgr. De Illustr. 117; ludes et spectacula, Redman, 48; disguising and other disports, Stow, vi. 48; shewyngis and sightis, Brie (Brut), ii. 426.

[3] Omni jucunditatis indumento perornatur civitas, Usk, 129.

[4] Estrainées tendues et parées, Waur. ii. 223; spredde the way on every side, Chron. Lond. 230; Nicolas, 326; cf. "the myddewas were gravelled and sanded," i.e. of Cheapside in 1502, Antiq. Repert. ii. 258. Also at the tilting in Palace Yard, ibid. 296; Lel. Coll. v. 356. For picture of the houses in Cheapside at a riding, temp. Ed. VI, see Legg, Coronation Rec. 280.

[5] Brut, ii. 558, cf. hongyd rychely with rich clothis of gold and silke and of velewettis and clothis of araas. Cf. pannos aureos et holosericos, Wals. ii. 211.

[6] Arnold's Chron. p. li, quoted in Century Dict., s.v.; cf. bedeckt mit guldinen und mit sidenen düchern, Basler, Chron. v. 161, of the Grey Friars at Perpignan in 1415; mith dücher überzogen, Windecke, 64. For triple sarsenet, see Cotgrave, s.v. *Sarsenet* and *Tiercelin*, called tissue de trois espèces de fil, Godefroy, s.v. *Tiercelin*. For une chanise (i.e. book-cover) de veleran noir double de tercelin rouge (1409), see Delisle, Livres d'Heures, 5; Thibault, 383; cf. "in my time wore three-pile," Winter's Tale, iv. 3. 13; for cendal tiercelin for furniture (i.e. triple or three-ply sendal, not Tripoli, as Wylie, ii. 444), see Prost, Tapisseries, 391; Thibault, 149; cf. triple et double, Wylie, iv. 361; tercelin vermeil, Thibault, 708; tiercelin en grain, Guiffrey, ii. 151 (=estolle et fanon); touaille de coton fait en manière de tripe, Guiffrey, i. 272 (who explains "tripe" as une étoffe velouté a poils longs); called laines appeles tripes, Godefroy, s.v. *Triperie* (q.v.).

[7] Perkins, 156; Halliwell, i. 167. Cf. wel beseyn, Lydg. Troy Bk. 48, 50, 52, 96, 244, 253, 295, 326, 337, 375; fressh and wel besein, Lydg. Temp. 48.

[8] Cf. euyry strete hongid rychely with riche clothis of gold and silke and of velewettis and clothis of araas, Brie (Brut), ii. 426; domus exterior scopis emundatur, pavimenta verruntur, rami frondentes in limine statuuntur, Clamenges, i. 143.

[9] Cf. The Chamber sides right to the door
He brings with tapets. R. F. Williams, i. 224.

[10] Richard II, v. 2. 16. Not "the histories of ancient heroes," as Burnet, i. 382; Chappell, i. 24. For "bestes et ystoires" painted for the entry of Louis I, Duke of Anjou, into Angers in 1379, see Darne, 84; cf. tapiz ystoriez, Coyecque, i. 93.

England's greatest kings[1]. Garrets and housetops, leads and battlements were lined with venturous climbers ranged in jeopardy; at every loft[2] and soler[3] her honoured burghers sat in their purple and biss[4] and gold and say[5], while from every casement and lattice[6] beamed out the greedy eyes of her stateliest dames and daintiest daughters[7] in all their freshest[8] finery, and "oh! such horns!" says the narrator, who, while thanking God for exalting the horns of the nation, prayed fervently that the horns of the women might be broken[9].

From the start at Blackheath to the finish at Westminster five crowded hours had been taken up[10], and it should be borne in mind that this was not the progress of an orderly cavalcade through well-kept open streets. The king was only attended by a few of the officers of his household[11] and the leading French prisoners[12] under a guard of soldiers. All had to make their way as best they could through jeering, clapping, singing crowds all out for a gazing[13], with loud shouts of: "Ha! a welcome be ye![14]" at the very top of their voices. At times the shoving and

[1] Quales texturae picturarumque figurae, Pol. Songs, i. 290. Rutilant, fulgent, splendentque plateae, ibid. 291. Cf. couvert de draps of the Rue St Denis in 1389 and the Grand Pont parée (*sic*) et vêtu de drap, Frois. iii. 5. For projecting houses decorated with banners at the windows, see René, Plate XI; Prost, 112. Cf. That hanged their houses with richest hangyng cloths, Melusine, 148, 206, 240; chaffaux parez de sarges et tapisserie, Felibien, iv. 574; Douet d'Arcq, i. 401; ornata civitas tota oloseriis et vexillis armis et pallis, Matt. Paris, Chron. Maj. iii. 336.

[2] Antiq. Repertory, ii. 277.

[3] In Caxton, Dial. 6, sollier et greniers="loftes and garettis." For the "soler tofere," see ibid. 50, where it is a bedroom. Cf. "chambres solers and wyndowes," Kingsford, Chron. 78. For a chamber sollar or lofte above two standings in the shambles, see Exeter Deeds, no. 1615, 1675.

[4] i.e. linen, Halliwell, i. 177; Murray, Dict., s.v. Not to be confounded with the furred animal, Wylie, iv. 337.

[5] Of gold of silk and sum of say, Laud Troy Bk. 351.

[6] Cf. pour les regarder estoient aux fenestres parees en maintes maisons de la rue, Weale, Van Eyck, lxvi.

[7] Spectantur pulchrae dum spectant ista puellae,
Nulla fenestra fuit has nisi quae tenuit. Pol. Songs, i. 290.
There had ye see ladyes and damoyselles at wyndowes in grete nombre, Melusine, 151.

[8] If she be fressche and well arraied, Gower, Conf. Am. 223. Cf.
Adieu vous dy marchandes et bourgeoises
Toutes vous ay trouvez bonnes et belles
Doulces, plaisans, gracieuses, courtoises. Regniert, 125.

[9] Vultibus ornatis utinam sine cornibus, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 128.

[10] i.e. from 10 to 3, Lansdowne MS. 1054, f. 53; Salisbury Records, Hist. MSS. Various Coll. iv. 195 (1907).

[11] Not by "the heroes of the battle arrayed in their war equipments" while "their squires bore the trophies that each had brought away," as Towle, 360.

[12] De quibus Henricus apud suos magnifice triumphavit, Aen. Sylv. Comm. 152.

[13] Sights in vulgar speech called gasyngs, Antiq. Repert. ii*. 286.

[14] Melusine, 151.

pressing[1] was so great it was almost impossible to get along at all[2], while long halts were made at every gate and conduit to listen to the hymns and hear an explanation of the mummery[3]. The king had ordered that no pompous speeches should be made and that the songs appointed to be sung should not be personal laudations of himself[4] but thanksgivings to God alone[5] and he would not wear the bruised helmet[6] and the battered armour that his people longed to see[7], but clad in a purple cloak he seemed to shun applause and rode unmoved with moody look[8] and quiet pace amidst the loud clarions[9] of the minstrels and the plaudits of the jostling throng.

On the day following the great progress through the city (i.e. on Sunday, Nov. 24, 1415) the Mayor and 200 of the leading citizens came out to Westminster to present the king with £1000[10] contained in two gold basins[11], which

[1] Gret was the pres that abrod to se
Of sondri folks that schove fast and croude.
Lydg. Troy Bk. 262.

[2] Tanta erat compressio populorum quod vix equites sed non sine difficultate eis percurrere potuerunt, Gesta, 68; Chron. Giles, 60; causa prepeditionis diversarum ordinationum et munerum eidem oblatorum, Lansdowne MS. 1054, f. 53.
Omnibus in vicis plauditur et comitur. Pol. Songs, i. 289.
Turba premit turbam, jacet hic, ruit hic, cedit iste,
Quippe satis lento passu transitur in urbe
Concursu populi prepediente viam. Ibid. 290.

[3] Tunc adstant bene discutientes
Quid velit haec turris alta vel hi juvenes. Ibid. 291.

[4] As in the case of Richard II in 1392, see Pol. Songs, i. 289, 295.

[5] Elmham, Lib. Metr. 80; Vita, 72; Harpsfeld, 589; non nostris meritis sed Suâ ineffabili Benitati, Rym. ix. 436; Burney, i. 382, who thinks that he was "either so modest or so tasteless," &c. Not that he "ordered this part of the pageantry to cease," as Chappell, i. 24; or that he forbade all ballads to be sung in disgrace of the French, as Sandford, 285. Cf. forbade all further celebrations of his victory either by the poesy or the songs of his obsequious and intoxicated people, Brougham, 126. I can find no authority for Fuller's statement (Church Hist. 169) as to his "going commonly with his head uncovered," cf. Bradley, Guide, 78.

[6] His bruised helmet and his bended sword, Hy. V, Act 5, Prol. 18.

[7] Tit. Liv. 23; Harpsfeld, 589. This is altogether ignored in Mr Dicksee's Academy picture of the Two Crowns, who depicts him with a crown and a splendid suit of armour such as was not worn till a generation after he was dead.

[8] Redman (48) makes him deliberately turn away his eyes ab illis ineptiis and shout out that it was God who had subdued their enemies. For his "sober and even taciturn demeanour," see Oman, Pol. Hist. 260; "a solid aspect," Historians' Hist. xviii. 537, from Knight, ii. 62 (q.v.). Cf. "solemp with semblant so sad," J. Page, 29, of his look when receiving the submission of Rouen; "silent self-restraint that bore witness to anxiety as well as modesty," Radford, 50.

[9] Brut, ii. 426.

[10] A pounde of gold ther Inne yclosed, i.e. in a hanaper of gold, Kingsford, Chron. 114; cf. cum trigenti apparatu, magnâ reverentiâ in *muneribus* et honore, Strecche, 267.

[11] Chron. Lond. 103. For silvergilt goblet containing 100 nobles given by Richard II

themselves were valued at £500[1]. On the following day[2], Nov. 25, a council was held[3], which was attended by Bishops Beaufort and Langley, the Treasurer[4], the Keeper of the Privy (Bishop Wakering), and Roger Leche as Keeper of the Royal Household.

A week after her jubilant welcome to the living came London's solemn tribute to the memory of the dead. The Duke of York's sodden bones[5], which had been delivered to his wife Philippa[6], had rested at his hostel called the Old Inn near Paul's Wharf[7] until Dec. 1, 1415[8], on which day a solemn service was held over them in St Paul's[9]. The king, the Dukes of Clarence, Bedford and Gloucester and the Marquis of Dorset, who had just

to Froissart at Windsor, see Frois. at end. At Barham Down the men of the Cinq. Ports had presented him with "a shippe (i.e. bowl) and gold therin," Brie (Brut), ii. 558. For money presented to Henry V at Coventry in 1421 cum uno cipho aureo, see Cov. Leet, i. 34. For quoddam vas cum argento in massa sent from London to Rouen, see Iss. Roll 8 H. V, m. Feb. 27, 1421; pelves et lavatoria de fulvo metallo, Wals. ii. 211. Cf. basons and potts fulfilled with coynes to a greate summe, Antiq. Repert. ii. 281 (1502). For picture of Charles VII presenting a cup filled with money to the Virgin and Child, see Lecoy de la Marche, 194. For a *bassin* containing 4000 gold crowns presented to the Duke of Orleans on his entry into Orleans on Jan. 24, 1441, see Molandon, 411; cf. Kingsford, Chron. 225 (1498). In Usk, 129, 6 citizens present the king with 2 gold basons full of gold coin at the Cross of Cheap. In the Changers windows in the Lady Chapel of the cathedral at Lemans each of the Changers holds a cup and there are two more cups in the margin, see Hercher, *passim*; do. Etudes, 50; Cembroise, Mon. p. 2, Plate III; Bordier-Charton, i. 409. For the cupful of crowns at Henry VIII's masquerading at York Place, see Cavendish, Life of Wolsey, quoted in Knight, London, i. 136. For zwo itel gulden kanner with 5000 nobles in them presented by Henry V to Sigismund, see Windecke, 80. For vases d'or presented to Charles VI in Paris in 1389, see Rittiez, Hôtel de Ville, 179. For picture of Paris citizens making presents to the Emperor Charles IV in 1377, see Tisserand, i. 206.

[1] Kingsford, Lit. 294; Chron. Lond. 103; Sandford, 282; Besant, Survey, i. 109; not each worth £500, as Cassell, i. 537.

[2] For documents dated at the Palace at Westminster Dec. 9, see Rot. Scut. ii. 215, Dec. 11, 1415, see Rym. ix. 324.

[3] Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 184, 185.

[4] i.e. John Rothenale. On Aug. 19, 1416, Roger Leche is Treasurer of England, Exch. Accts. 48/1.

[5] Not the body, as Kingsford, 155.

[6] For her arms with those of the Duke of York at Wootton-Bassett near Swindon, see Aubrey, Plate XVII.

[7] It had a garden and a brewhouse attached, Inq. p. Mort. iv. 14. For picture of Baynard's Castle (17th cent.), see Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 122. See Vickers, 445, for "a place called the Dukes Wardrobe atte Baynardes Castel in London otherwise called Waterton's Aley," quoting Rot. Parl. v. 239, said to be on the river bank just west of Paul's Wharf bounded on the north by what is now Queen Victoria Street, quoting R. Davey, The Pageant of London (1906), i. 42, 188 (q.v.); also "fayer places on Temmy's side," Pol. Songs, ii. 207; W. J. Loftie (1891), London City, p. 249; site is still shown by Castle Street and Castle Yard, Davey, i. 337.

[8] Wals. ii. 314; Hypo. 468; Sandford, 383; Comp. Peerage, viii. 214, who gives this as the date of the burial at Fotheringhay; also Bibl. Top. Brit. no. xl. 10. Usk (129) says that a funeral service was held at St Paul's on Nov. 24 for all, whether English or French, who had fallen in the war.

[9] Not at Westminster, as Murray-Smith, 63.

come across from Harfleur[1], attended both at the vigils on the previous night[2] and the requiem obsequies in the presence of a large number of lords, bishops and abbots on the morrow[3]. The hearse[4] was hung with black above, below and around, and set with bright banners beaten[5] with the arms of notables worked in gold thread, and an account[6] is still extant which records the amount of gold cloth,

[1] Stow, Chron. 351.

[2] Cf. vigiles au soir et lendemain la messe solemnez, Douet d'Arcq, Enterrement, 130; les vegelles et la messe de l'osseque, ibid. 135. For vigiles des morts, see Taetey, Test. 532; Soleil, 13, 54, 120, 176, 242; servicium mortuorum videlicet Placebo et Dirige (1437), Oliver, Mon. 405; vigiles de mors, recommendasses et messe de requiem à note, Matton, 5; cum Placebo et Dirige et novem psalmis, 9 antiphonis, 9 lectionibus et orationibus cum missa de requiem in crastino cum nota, Raine, Historians, iii. 296; dirige dicebatur cum tribus lectionibus, exequiae cum nota et psalmis, Stone, 8, 10. There was Dirige don ovyr evyn la messe of Requyem on the morowe, Brut, ii. 430; que la dirigie soit dite à vespre et la messe de requiem soit dite le matin après, Wills of Kings, 225.

> The corpses wiche with torches lyght
> They waked had there all that nyght.
> Speght, 364; Sherzer, 106.
>
> Placebo et Dirige also
> The sowle to brynge out of woo
> And also the salmis evenne
> For to brynge the sowle to heven. Pol. Relig. Po. 121.

With de profundus (*sic*) placebo et dirige, Lydg. Min. Po. 80; Kingsford, Lit. 244. For une vigilles à neuf pseaulmes et neuf leçons, see Taetey, Test. 549, 632; also à trois psaumes e 3 leçons, ibid. 633.

[3] Cf. His funeral obseque to-morn we do, Coudrette, 84; when passed (*trespasse*) we shall goo to the corps tomorn to the offrynge, Caxton, Dial. 39; tortis et patis cierges a aller aux offrandes et pour mettre aux autelz, Taetey, Test. 532; Placebo and Dirige at night and masses on the morrow according to custom, Sharpe, Wills, ii. 412. For "morrow-mass," see Dugd. ii. 126; Wills of Kings, 246; "obsecque et funerailles," Matton, 6; "the exequies," Lydg. Troy Book, 357. For pictures of a requiem mass from Sloane MS. 2468, and singing Placebo from Harl. MS. 2971, see Benham, Plate 18; do. Old St Paul's, 56; see also Rock, ii. 394; Schultz, 68. For requiem a notte, vigilles de morts a notte, see Mém. Soc. Archéol. de Touraine, xi. 238; missam de requiem submissâ voce v. altâ voce, Coyeque, ii. 57; messe a notte v. basse messe, Bourgeois, 635.

[4] See page 149. Cf. que le herce soit coveree (*sic*) de drap noir tout entier, item que une tres bele herce de cire de la mesme assise soit sur la herce avant dit, Wills of Kings, 226 (1430). For 16*s.* paid pour le herse ou furent mis les torches, see Douet d'Arcq, Enterrement, 135; also 4*s.* pour taindre (i.e. stain or paint) les herces où furent les cierges et le luminaire au paintre qui le fist, ibid. 131. Called a stand for 7 candles in George, 62; not "a pyramid of candles on an altar," as Ramsay, i. 214.

[5] Baners bright beten with gold, Chron. Lond. 232; Nicolas, 328; cote armour beten for George, Dugd. Warw. 408; gold ful riche in which there was ybete the Minotaur, Chauc. Kts. Tale, 981; brouded or bete upon his cote-armure, Lydg. Troy Bk. 133; bete baners and royal cote armuris, ibid. 165, 306, 406; with baners brode and gold-begon, Laud Troy Bk. 256; Murray, Dict., s.v. *Beaten*. For goldbeters (aurimalliatores), see Letter Bk. I, 9, 49, 127, 147, 153; Wylie, iv. 272; valance, vexill' et pennons vapulat' diversis armis, Exch. Accts. 406/26, 28; moult noble pavillon de drap *batu* en or perles et pierres, Arras, 61, translated as "a fair pavillion *made* of riche cloth of gold" in Melusine, 53; diz grans tapis de soye tous batûz à or de l'ouvrage d'Arras, Lecoy de la Marche, ii. 161. For a "betar of wulle," see Caxton, Dial. 44; batteur (i.e. gold beater), Pitou, 162. For payment to a chasubler for making 18 escussons des armes du trespassé for a funeral in 1380, see Douet d'Arcq, Enterrement, 136.

[6] Exch. Accts. 406/26, 28; pro enternamento, Rym. ix. 334, from Wardrobe Accts.

racaemas, turtrin, buckram[1] and silk fringe that was used in upholstering the ceremony.

The dead man had made his will when the army was encamped before Harfleur[2], and in this he had directed that the expenses of his funeral should not exceed £100, half of which was to be given to the poor in demi-groats, and that his remains should be buried in the church of the college that he was building at Fotheringhay[3], and thither his bones were now conveyed to be buried on Dec. 1, 1415[4], under a flat stone in the middle of the choir. On this was placed a representation of him in brass, which was seen by John Leland in 1534[5], but disappeared when the choir was pulled down with the college in 1552[6]. For 20 years afterwards the coffin lay exposed in the ruined choir[7], together with those of his nephew Richard and his wife Cecily Nevil. In 1573 these coffins were opened and re-interred by order of Queen Elizabeth[8], who had a memorial inscription placed in the south wall of the church, which exists to the present day[9].

The Duke of York left no son, but his title and most

[1] For 4 ells of bokeram viridis et rubei coloris at 2*s*. 4*d*. in 1468, see Stone, 5.

[2] i.e. on Aug. 17, 1415, Gibbons, 146; Rym. ix. 309; Dugd. ii. 157; called Aug. 22, Hunter, 23, quoting Ducarel, see Wylie, ii. 48. In this he arranged for 1000 masses at 2*d*. each to be said by the Carthusians at Witham, Beauvale in Shirwood, Henton (i.e. Charterhouse Hinton near Bath, Monast. vi. 3; Collinson, iii. 366; Test. Vet. 192), Coventry and London, and by the begging friars in London and Stamford. The will was proved at Lambeth on Nov. 30, 1415 (Geneal. vi. 228, from Reg. Chichele, 284, p. 1, where it would appear to have been made at Fotheringhay); also at the Old Temple in London on Dec. 1, 1415, and at Lincoln (Gibbons, 146).

[3] For account of Fotheringhay Church, see Bibl. Top. Brit. iv. no. xl. (1787), p. 20. For contract for building it in 1437, see Gardiner, 311; Wylie, ii. 193, note 2. For picture of it, see Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 659 (1718); Macfarlane-Thomson, ii. 166. For the Duke's arms in the College Hall, see Bonney, 43. For seal of the College, see Birch, 111. For John Bukland or Bokeland, Master of the College, May 18, 1419, see Band, 401; Monast. viii. 1411, from Bridges, 2068 f.; for 40*s*. left to the College in the will of the Duchess Philippa dated March 12, 1431, see Wills of Kings, 227.

[4] Sandford, 383.

[5] Upon whose Tumbe lyithe a flat Marble Stone with an image flatte in Bras, Lel. Itin. i. 6; Dugd. ii. 157.

[6] Bibl. Top. Brit. iv. (xl.) 29.

[7] Fuller, Worthies Durham, i. 326; Bonney, 52. Not that the bones were dug up, as Bibl. Top. Brit. iv. (xl.) 85; nor the body exposed, as Dict. Nat. Biogr. xlv. 4, 13.

[8] Camden (Gough), ii. 182; Peacham, 189, who gives particulars as he heard them from Master George Creuse (or Cruys, Bonney, 68) who lived in the College at the time, Bibl. Top. Brit. iv. xl. (1787), p. 37.

[9] Sandford, 383; Goodwin, 96; Bonney, 52; called two monuments in Camden (Gough), ii. 166; Fuller, Worthies, i. 326; York, xxv, where they are said to be specimens of the bad taste of the day; Evans, 316; figured in Bibl. Top. Brit. iv. xl. 20, 34.

of his vast estates[1] passed ultimately to his nephew Richard[2], son of the Earl of Cambridge, who had just perished on the block at Southampton[3]. At the time of his death he was only 42 years old[4], and to his contemporaries he was known as "the Good Duke[5]" and a "second Solomon[6]" in recognition of his learning, of which we have some evidence not only as regards his poems[7] and his purchases of books[8], but in his translation[9] of Gaston Phoebus' famous *Livre de Chasse*[10], dedicating it to Prince Hal[11] as a fellow sportsman,

[1] Inq. p. Mort. iv. 14, including the castles of Fotheringhay, Stamford and Ewyas-Lacy (Herefordshire) and the park of Rayleigh in Essex.

[2] Called Ric. fil. Ricardi *nuper* comitis Cantebr. in Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 21, Nov. 25, 1415, but on Jan. 16, 1416, he is "Ricardus de Ebor.," heir to the Duke of York (ibid. m. 17), where he is in the king's custody. He was made Duke of York in 1425–6, Comp. Peer. viii. 214; Greg. Chron. 160; Brut, ii. 441; not Oct. 25, 1425, as Doyle, iii. 745. For portrait of him in the church of Penrith, see S. E. Harding.

[3] Vol. I. page 533.

[4] He was born in 1373, Doyle, iii. 742; Claudius C. x. 260 in Brie, 72, where he is 30 years old in 1403 (4 H. IV), though called "the old, the veteran, the venerable" Duke in S. Turner, v. 423, 427, 456. For his seal on which he is also Earl of Cambridge (not "Count of Canterbury," as York, 169), Rutland and Cork and Lord of Tynedale (Doyle, iii. 742), see Sandford, 370, 382; copied on cover of Baillie-Grohman, Burlington Mag. viii. 215. For portrait of him, see S. E. Harding (from MS. B.M. 227); Doyle, iii. 743 (from Harl. MS. 1319).

[5] Peter, Chron. 487.

[6] Godstow, 242.

[7] Wylie, ii. 47.

[8] For 60 gold crowns paid by him when Earl of Rutland for a copy of the Chroniques de France bought from Regnault de Montet, a Paris bookseller, who had to cross to London for his money, see Champeaux-Gauchery, 127.

[9] York, xvii, from Cotton MS. Vesp. B. XII (circ. 1420) and Add. MS. 16,165, written by John Shirley (b. 1366, d. 1456), see York, p. xxvii, which refers to a ballad written by him 1440 in Thoresby. This MS. fixes the authorship proving the supposition in Strutt, Sports, 13, who wrongly attributed it to his father Edmund, Duke of York, who died Aug. 1, 1402, Evans, 305; Wylie, iv. 202. It has been recently edited by W. A. Baillie-Grohman. For another copy written temp. H. IV now lost, see York, 242, who suggests that it may have been written by Richard Frampton (see Wylie, iv. 438). (For Thomas Frampton granting land in Essex to the Abbess of Bouisgard near Saxmundham (called Boysgard in Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 4) in 1404, see Ad Quod Damn. 372.) In it he refers to "Milbourne the kyng otere hunte" (p. 40), i.e. William Melbourne, York, 178; Wylie, iii. 245, note 5, on whose death the office passed to his brother John Melbourne, i.e. on Dec. 12, 1422, see Cal. Pat. H. VI, i. 19, who again was succeeded in the office "del oterhunt" at death by Robert Spender on Feb. 3, 1439, ibid. iii. 235, i.e. with an allowance of 2*d.* per day + 1½*d.* for his groom, and ¾*d.* each for nine dogs. For Robert Melbourne, Escheator in Somerset and Dorset 1429–30, see Cal. Pat. H. VI, i. 504, 541; ii. 49, who held an enquiry in Wilts. in 1429 and was trustee for lands in Wilts. in 1424, 1428, ibid. i. 269, 526, 548. For the otter (=fynbryn), see York, 179; probably a Welsh word=Dyrfgi in Nemnich, s.v. *Mustala.* Cf. pro lutriciis (i.e. otter hounds), see Du Cange, s.v. *Lutra.* For picture of an otter hunt (la loutre), see Coudere, Pl. 65.

[10] Begun May 1, 1387, and presented to Philip le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, York, xxxvii. For MSS. of it, see Werth, 67–81; York, 234. For account of the famous illuminated MS. Fr. 616 in Bibl. Nat. of the "Livre de Chasse," see Coudere, pp. 3–8; York, p. xxxvii; Burlington Mag. viii. 216; Herbert, 267; J. C. Cox, 61.

[11] Whom he calls "my right worshipful and dread lord," "my lord the pryns," York, 3, 111.

not long after his release from Pevensey[1]. This "little simple book," which he had submitted for the Prince's "noble and wise correction[2]," still remains to us under the title of *The Master of the Game*[3], and he wrote it in order "that English hunters might know something of the terms that hunters use beyond the sea[4]." He himself had felt the joy that comes to the hunter's heart; he had loved the grey dawning[5], the clear bright weather and the sweet fair morrow with the song and melody of the birds, and the fresh dew shining on the small twigs and grass at sunrise, and like all good sportsmen who love hounds and hunting and hawking and the lust of beasts he had lived most joyful in this world and knew for certain that he would go to Paradise when he died[6], but modern writers find little that is favourable to say of his public career, which reads as a series of restless intrigues against the reigning house and a succession of betrayals to secure his own interested ends[7]. His wife Philippa, a daughter of John Mohun[8] of Dunster, was allowed the lordship of the Isle of Wight with the castle of Carisbrooke during her lifetime[9], and on Feb. 26, 1416[10], it was arranged that she should have a "reasonable dower" as soon as the inquest

[1] Wylie, ii. 46; called between 1406 and 1409 in York, pp. vii, xii, xvii, xxii, where it is regarded as "the oldest book on hunting in the English language."

[2] York, 3.

[3] York, 99, 100, 102, 107, 108 and *passim*; R. F. Williams, i. 214. "I am maister of this Game with that noble prince your fadere," York, 3, which evidently means "Master of the Hart hounds" (see Wylie, ii. 47; York, xxxii), under which title he made an indenture with the Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset at Dorchester on Oct. 3, 1408, Q. R. Accts. 405/18, translated in York, 169. It shows payment of 6 yeoman berners (or prickers, bernarius, G. F. Turner, 151, cf. beerners on foot, yemen atte hors, York, 94, 100), 2 fewterers and 4 grooms, and the puture of dogs from Sept. 30, 1407, to Sept. 29, 1408. For the Master of the Game to John of Gaunt, see Armitage Smith, Reg. I. p. xii. On April 26, 1397, he was appointed Keeper of the Royal Forests south of the Trent, Doyle, iii. 782; Eng. Hist. Rev. xviii. 113, 115; including Rockingham, Pat. 2 H. V, ii. 39 d, July 12, 1414, where he still holds the same office.

[4] York, 74.

[5] Ibid. 83, 86.

[6] Translated from Gaston Phoebus, York, 8, 9.

[7] For an account of him, see York, pp. xxi–xxv, where he is called "this tumultuous prince." For picture of him from Creton, see Doyle, iii. 743. For his stall-plate in St George's Chapel, see Hope, Plate XLIII. For his seal, see Sandford, 374, 380; Burlington Mag. viii. 215, 361. For his will, see R. F. Williams, i. 211; Wylie, ii. 48, note 1. For Peter Mavan, esquire, and John London, clerk, as two of the executors of his will, see L.T.R. Misc. Enr. Accts. 6/3; for the names of the two others with 4 supervisors, see Rym. ix. 309.

[8] Dugd. i. 498.

[9] Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 6, Dec. 10, 1415; York, xxv. For John Muston, vicar of Carisbrooke, as one of the executors of the Duke's will, see Rym. ix. 309; Wills of Kings, 220.

[10] Claus. 3 H. V, 1.

as to her late husband's estate had been completed, and as a result many manors and lands[1] were set aside for her which were to pass to the Duke of Gloucester[2] at her death. She survived her husband 15 years and did not die till July 17, 1431[3], when she was buried in the Abbey at Westminster[4].

The bones of the Earl of Suffolk were buried in the church of Ewelme[5], and his title and possessions[6] passed to his brother Michael de la Pole, who was then but 19 years of age[7]. Two hundred years elapsed and the fame of Agincourt was fast fading out when patriotic efforts were made in the spacious days to galvanise it into life again in the fond hope that Harry the King and all his heroes would be remembered on St Crispin's Day "to the ending of the world[8]." In this revival the names of the slaughtered

[1] For payments to her as widow of the Duke of York on account of her dowry, see Iss. Roll 6 H. V, Pasch., April 8, 1418. For her estate, see Inq. p. Mort. iv. 137 (1432).

[2] For manors of Castlemartin (Pemb.), Barton in Bristol (Inq. p. Mort. iv. 14; Vickers, 34), Osterlowe, St Clears, and Trane (i.e. Trayn near Llantrissaint in Glamorganshire, Inq. p. Mort. iv. 347), the castles of Llanstephan (which had belonged to a Welshman, Henry Gwyn, who was killed fighting on the French side at Agincourt, Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 9, Feb. 20, 1416; Nicolas, 175; Tyler, ii. 187; Vickers, 34), Kilgerran and Carisbrooke and the lordship of the Isle of Wight, all held by Philippa Duchess of York, for her lifetime, see Pat. 5 H. V, 8, after which they were to come to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, see Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 16, Dec. 28, 1415; Vickers, 34; Ancient Petitions, File 85, no. 4220. Most of these Welsh manors had been granted to him on July 20, 1413, see Vol. I. p. 325, note 2. For the Duke of York's castle at Devizes (said to have been demolished temp. Edward III, Vickers, 34, who gives no reference) with the town (*villa*) of Rowell and the park of Pewisham and Melksham granted to Duke Humphrey, see Priv. Seal Writs, 1423/617. These had come to the Duke of York from Hugh Waterton, kt., who died in 1409 (Wylie, ii. 292), to whom they had come from Queen Joan (ibid. ii. 284). Duke Humphrey succeeded as Keeper of the Royal Forests south of the Trent, which office the Duke of York had held since July 6, 1406, Exch. Accts. 136/9, in which one of his executors, Master John London, clerk, renders an account for the sale of wood, &c.; see also Vickers, 34.

[3] Comp. Peer. viii. 214; not 1433, as Sandford, 382; nor 1415, as Stothard, 88; Bonney, 77. For her will dated March 12, 1430 (? 1431), proved Nov. 13, 1431, see Gough, iii. 99; Royal Wills, 224–228; called 1430 in Geneal. vi. 228, from Chichele, Reg. 428[a], p. 1.

[4] For her tomb in St Nicholas' Chapel in Westminster Abbey, see Wylie, ii. 48; Le Keux, 59; Lyte, 23; Stanley, 127; W. H. Rogers, Plate XXIX; Feasy-Mickelthwaite, 101; F. Bond, 56; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 686; Besant, Survey, ii. 138; Lethaby, 255; F. Bond, 189; do. Guide, 18, 20, with plan of St Nicholas' Chapel. Cf. al autre de Seint Nicolas a quel mon corps fist, Wills of Kings, 226; i.e. the third chapel on the south side of the ambulatory, Monast. i. 264. For dispute as to her sale of Dunster to the Luttrells, see Wylie, ii. 48 n.; Lyte, 118, with cost of paper and parchment Jan. 5, 1406, for writing down the evidence at Bridgwater; see also Hancock, Minehead, 168, from Dunster Muniments, 13 (B. 1).

[5] Napier, 48; called "New-Elm" in R. Baker; or "Ewhelm," Kennett, i. 319.

[6] For his manors and other possessions, see Inq. p. Mort. iv. 17.

[7] Doyle, iii. 436.

[8] Hy. V, iv. 3. 64.

Duke and Earl were again recalled to England's memory when a minor poet sang: "They won, they lost, they live though they are dead[1]"; but Fate has long since sealed them down in her oblivion, from which no artificial trumpeting can ever hope to bring them back[2].

The remainder of the year 1415 was spent at Westminster[3], and Christmas was spent at Lambeth[4], where all went mad with music and revelry in honour of their "most victorious king[5]." For never had England known a king more keen, more manly[6], more unwearied[7], who shared his

[1] Harbert, 49; or Wm. Herbert, Dict. Nat. Biogr. xxvi. 225.

[2] Cf. the feast of Crispin passes by without any mention of Agincourt, Johnson in Boswell, 417, quoted in Courtenay, i. 198.

[3] For documents dated at the Palace at Westminster, Dec. 9 (Rot. Scot. ii. 215), Dec. 11, 1415, see Rym. ix. 324.

[4] Wals. ii. 314; Otterbourne, 277; not at Eltham, as Kingsford, Chron. 123. For £1007. 0*s.* 4½*d.* paid to the king at Lambeth, Christmas, 1415, per manus Thomas Chitterne, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Jan. 10, 1416. For other payments apud Lambeth without specified dates, see ibid. March 18, 1416. For indenture dated at Lambeth, Jan. 1, 1416, see Wardrobe Accts. 406/27, on which day Archbishop Chichele was at Offord near Sevenoaks, Conc. iii. 375.

[5] Victoriosissimus rex, Gesta, 59; Tit. Liv. 22, 54, 55; Elmham, Lib. Metr. 79; très victorieux prince, Rym. x. 430; Rot. Parl. v. 176; Paston Letters, i. 362; invictissimus, Rym. ix. 447; x. 556; Tit. Liv. 16; Anjou Lett. 2, 5, 9, 12; invictissime et gloriosissime regum sacra et metuendissima corona, Rym. ix. 606; most famouse and victoriouse Prynce Harry, Rot. Parl. v. 56, 139; Noblesse, 31, 41; That was on earth King of Kings called, Buswell, 70; The fulle noble and victorious prince of renomme, Noblesse, 32; that mightifull prince of renommee, ibid. 19, 43; most victorious, Lydgate in Pol. Songs, ii. 137; most mighty of puissaunce, ibid. Fall of Princes, xxxiii; victoriosissimi principis, Rym. ix. 444; Ashmole, App. xlv; Blanchard, v. 205; victoriosus rex, Stone, 19; nunquam victus, Strecche, 265 b; regia victoriosa pietas, Tit. Liv. 123; gloriosissimo et victoriosissimo principe, Decembrio, in Eng. Hist. Rev. xxiv. 89 (1909).

Of knyghthode moste famouse
Most avisy and most victorious. Pol. Songs, ii. 137.

Right gracious and right redoubted lord, Orig. Lett. Ser. II. i. 55; "The famous and invincible king," J. J. Bond, 74; The merveillouse werroure and victorious prince Henry V, Pol. Songs, ii. 199 (written 1436); The fyft Henry the myghti conquerour, Lydg. Min. Po. 125. For documents dated at Westminster Feb. 5, 28; March 18; Apr. 7, 1416, see Rym. ix. 330, 331, 332, 337.

[6] Magis laboriose, strenuius, vel humanius, Gesta, 60; wonne by his gret manhode, Noblesse, 16.

No manlier to speke of worthinesse
Of governaunce nor of hy prowesse
Which thurgh his manhode and grete laboure
Lyche a notable worthie conqueroure
For which he may amonge the worthie nyne
Truly be set and reconed for oon. Pol. Songs, ii. 137.
What had this kynge of his magnificens
Of gret corage of wisdom and prudence
Provision, forewitte, audacité,
Of fortitude, justice, agilité
Discrecioun, subtile avisifenesse
At emperaunce noblesse and worthynesse
Science, pro-esce, devocion, equité
Of most his magnanimité. Pol. Songs, ii. 200.

[7] Impatiens quietis ac audax in bello, Strecche, 265 b.

people's toil through such a march[1], fought at their head in such a fight and brought them back with so glorious a triumph and so swift a return[2]. He had gone forth as the dawn to return as the noon-day; he had sailed as a king and come back as a conqueror whose own good strength had crushed the might of France[3], revived his country's old renown and made her the queen of kingdoms and a terror to her foes[4]. His victory had sounded like a thunder-clap and all Europe felt the advent of a mighty conqueror[5]. His people called him "their most unconquered Prince[6]," "a second Hector[7]," and "the king of kings[8]." The Pope addressed him as the arm of his strength[9], and 200 years later he was still the Henry whose name could hale his people "to an hundred mischiefs[10]" and "made all France to quake[11]."

[1] Given as 320 miles traversed in 18 days, "a rate surpassing any continuous marching recorded of late years," Oman, Art of War, 109. The number of days will be reduced to 16, i.e. at the rate of 20 miles a day, if the start was begun on Oct. 8. Called 430 kilometres in 18 days, Viollet-le-Duc, Mobilier, vi. 382. George (87) pronounces this to be "fairly hard marching" with "rather scanty supplies of food."

[2] Where was on lyve a man more victoriouse
And *in so shorte tyme* prynce so mervelouse.
Pol. Songs, ii. 200; Hakluyt, i. 228.
In xv wokes forsothe he wroughte al this.
Chron. Lond. 233; Nicolas, 329.

[3] Por seu boo esforco foi venceder do principal poder de Franca, Duarte, 87.

[4] Vita, 71.

[5] Whose worthines thorou3 the world doth sprede.
Lydg. Troy Bk. 148.
And also fer as Phebus in his spere
From est to west shadeth his bemys bri3t
Thou art y-reknd for the beste acurding to kny3t.
Lydg. Troy Bk. 876 (written 1420).
Puix le temps d'un an le roy d'Angleterre est venu a tres grande puissance, Blanchard, v. 205 (written in 1416).

[6] Inclyti et omnium priorum aetatum praeclarissimi, Bekynton, i. 293; initium tuorum bellorum praeclarum magnificum et omni laude collaudandum a cunctis mortalibus censebatur, Blundel, 32.

[7] Alter Hector in conquestu, Strecche, 265 b.

[8] That was on earth King of Kings called, Buswell, 70.

[9] Rym. ix. 558.

[10] Henry VI, Pt. II. iv. 8. 55.

[11] Ibid. iv. 8. 16. Cf. The scourge of the Frenchmen, Watson, 107.

CHAPTER XL

LAGNY

No record now remains to indicate the manner in which the news of the tribulation[1] of Agincourt was received in Paris. The clerk of the Parliament makes no mention of it at all in his official diary and does not allude to the battle until nearly four weeks after it had been fought, and even then he merely refers to it as "the affair that the English had against the king[2]," and the earliest unofficial mention of it that I have found occurs in a letter written in Paris on Oct. 30, 1415[3], by a merchant of Lucca to the signory of Venice, in which he told them that things were going from bad to worse and the few leaders that had survived the rout were all divided amongst themselves and that if they did not mend their ways the whole country would be lost[4]. There were many still living who remembered the arrival of the crushing news of the great slaughter at Nicopolis some twenty years before[5] and the official services that had then been recommanded for the dead[6]. But though

[1] See page 196.

[2] La besoigne que ont les Angloiz contre le roye, Baye, ii. 224, Nov. 19, 1415. Cf. la besogne de Picardie, Luce, ii. 100. The news reached Tournay on the day after the battle, Vandenbroeck, 126, where it is called "la desconfiture de plusieurs seigneurs de gens du roy faite par les Englés."

[3] It was received in Venice on Dec. 1, 1415, Morosini, ii. 70, and is summarised in Sanuto, 898, 899, who says that it was registered in the Cronica Dolfina a carte, 144.

[4] Sy non muda muodo quel reame eser perdudo, Morosini, ii. 74.

[5] For letters from Paris to Venice dated Dec. 10, 13, 23, 1396, and Jan. 1397, asking for fuller information, see Mas-Latrie, Commerce, 162, 170. For supposition that the news arrived in Paris at the end of Dec. 1396, see Mirot, xxx. 166. Konrad Kyeser, writing in 1405, dates it in 1395 and calls it diem impurum obliquum, curvum retrogradum, eclipticum infelicem et opacum, Romacki, i. 135. Cf. le mal et doloreux vriage de Honguerie, Christine, Œuvres, ii. 197. He calls Sigismund profugum et furibundum. For his escape, see Kling, 103.

[6] St Denys, ii. 522; Guizot, ii. 232; Robinson, 152. For picture of Jacques de Heilli delivering the news to Charles VI in Paris at Christmas, 1396, see Humphreys, Frois. II. Plate XXIX. Cf.

En mains licus noirs vestemens
Porter deuil et courroux pour joye
Sonner pour les trespassemens

several provincial churches at once put up official mourning for the Agincourt dead[1] yet in Paris no such order seems to have been issued now, though the members of the French "nation" of the University met on Oct. 31, 1415, and decided to hold a service of their own in memory of their fathers, brothers, friends and relations whose bodies were amongst the slain[2]. For these accordingly a vigil was held at Martinmas (Nov. 11) in the Chapel of the Collège de Navarre and the mass for the dead was sung on the following day by the Dauphin's confessor and tutor[3], Jean d'Arsonval, Bishop of Chalon on the Saone[4].

While the battle was being fought, the king, the Dauphin and the Duke of Berry were at Rouen[5] looking confidently for cheering tidings. The bad news reached Boulogne on the same day that the battle was lost, and on the following day a messenger started for Montreuil asking urgently for help to meet the expected attack upon the frontier[6]. Thus within four days of the disaster the fatal facts were fully realised at Rouen and it is typical of the impotence of the rulers of France that the chronicler has nothing to record beyond the fact that when the news was broken to the court King Charles and all about him wept and cried out:

> De pluseurs que Pitez envoye
> Au moustier
> Je ne voy que tristesse et plour
> Et obseques soir et matin. Deschamps, viii. 86.

[1] e.g. the Chapter of St Quiriace at Provins, Bourquelot, ii. 56.

[2] Du Boulay, v. 295.

[3] Called his confessor and maitre d'ecole, Archon, ii. 344; Malte Brun, 67; Pannier, 215, 384; cf. cujus eruditor es, Clamenges, Ep. 146; qui regium adolescentem erudiendum suscepisti, ibid. 267. For other letters of Clamenges to him still in the cathedral library at Bayeux, see Hermant, 370, 374, in which he leaves money for a mass in the church at Arsonval near Bar-sur-Aube for the soul of "son ancien maitre le Duc de Guyenne." For his signature to a document (Jan. 7, 1410) certifying that N. d'Oresme's translation of the Ethics of Aristotle which had been in the possession of Jean de Montaigu at Marcoussis has been restored to Giles Malet the librarian at the Louvre, see Delisle, Recherches, i. 257.

[4] Not Arconval, nor Arcamval, as Du Pin, iii. 54; nor Arconville, as Eubel, 158. He is called Arkenvalle, or Arconvalle, by Clamenges (ii. 146, 267, 285), who addressed several letters to him on hearing that he was safe after a rumour had reached him that he was dead, cf. Hermant, 370. For his will dated Paris Aug. 9, 1416, see Gall. Christ. iv. 929; called Aug. 23, 24 in Tuetey, Test. 264. He died on Aug. 27, 1416, Gams, 533; called Aug. 14 in Eubel, i. 158, or Aug. 19, Gams, 384, and was buried in the Paris Charterhouse just outside the Porte de l'Enfer, Gall. Christ. iv. 929. For his brass, where he is called "Arsonvalle," confessor to Charles VI, see Berty, iii. 84. He became a Canon of Tours, Chartres and Paris (Ste Chapelle), Bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône 1413, Pannier, 217.

[5] e.g. Oct. 27, 1415, Regnoult, 124; also Nov. 8, 1415, Add. Ch. 260; not that the French king was at Agincourt, as Mussiou, iii. 259.

[6] Deseille, 424.

"We be all dead and overthrown[1]." The king indeed was but a witless phantom[2], too mad to rule, not mad enough to be deposed but long exploited by ambitious relatives[3]. At times he fancied he was made of glass and must be held together with the baumes[4] of a horse-collar lest he should break[5]. He insisted that his name was not Charles but George, that he was not a king, that his badge was not the fleur-de-lis but a lion hit with an arrow in the flank, that he was not married, that he had no children[6], and it is a touching fact that in these sad November days they sent him down a book[7] from the Library at the Louvre[8] containing plenty of pictures of guns and siege engines to look at if he could do nothing else. The regent Dauphin[9] was a young and wilful[10] debauchee who had not many weeks to live and the Duke of Berry a timid, shattered old man[11] who had thrown in his lot with the faction whose life lay crushed on the battlefield in Picardy. Still there remained a large force intact at Rouen and the Dauphin has been blamed for not at once attempting to recover Harfleur before the English could establish a permanent foothold there[12]. But as a matter of fact he had other foes to face and his first care was to get the king back to Paris and secure the capital if possible against the machinations of

[1] "No som to mors," Brut, ii. 597; gemitu et lachrymis dolorem protestantur, St Denys, v. 574; eussent au cœur grand' tristesse, Monstr. 381; D. Sauvage, 242; tous grandement troublez, Waur. ii. 231.

[2] Un phantome de souverain, Villaret, xiii. 456; le spectre d'un homme et l'ombre d'un roi, Vallet de Viriville, i. 135, 136; fétiche débonnaire, ibid. i. 224; "a gentle kindly unimportant creature," Robinson, 127; "gentle, dull and generous," ibid. 179; chief essoignie, Baye, ii. 219; Felibien, iv. 560; estant malade et sequestré, Martial de Paris, i. 28; occupé et détenu de maladie, Monstr. 420.

[3] Lavisse-Rambaud, iii. 130; triste jouet de toutes ces compétitions, Battiffol, 242.

[4] Attelles de fer, cf. Cotgr., s.v.; Godefroy, s.v. *Astele*=morceau de bois, astell, see Wylie, iii. 191.

[5] Le Laboureur, 242; Prevel, 28; Vallet de Viriville, Isabeau, 48.

[6] St Denys, ii. 86.

[7] Thesaurus regis in quo libro figurantur plures modi ingeniorum belli, Ec. des Chartes, xlix. 426, which shows that the librarian, J. Maulin, brought it from Paris to Rouen in Nov. 1415.

[8] For Giles Malet's catalogues of the Louvre Library, see Wylie, iv. 85, note 5; 136, note 1. They were re-edited by his successors, Antoine des Essarts (July 7, 1411–May 8, 1412) and Jean le Bègue, who began his on Oct. 3, 1413, and finished it on July 10, 1415, Pannier, 215.

[9] On Nov. 15, 1415, he is lieutenant du roy et capitaine général des parties de Picardie et West-Flandres et de toutes les autres frontières de ce royaume, Add. Ch. 133.

[10] Jeune regent plain de sa volonté, Baye, ii. 219; Monstr. 380; Felibien, iv. 560; Duchesne, 824; moult plein de volonté plusque de raison, Bourgeois, 622.

[11] Der schwache Berri, Assmann, iv. 101; Wylie, iv. 69, note 4.

[12] St Denys, v. 582.

the Duke of Burgundy, and when at length news came that Henry had really sailed home from Calais, the large army broke up from Rouen and moved eastwards to take up quarters at Corbeil, Melun, Meaux[1], St Denis, St Cloud[2] and other places on the lines of the Seine, the Oise and the Maine.

On Nov. 29, 1415[3], King Charles entered Paris by the St Honoré gate with a small escort. His long hair streamed down his shoulders and he wore his ordinary dress and cap. No streets were decorated, no work was stopped, no crowds came out with "Welcome Noel[4]." The Duke of Berry alighted at the Hostel de Nesle on the South Bank and the Dauphin rode on Nov. 30[5] from the side of St Denis without pausing to pay the customary visit to the Abbey. He stayed at the newly built Hostel de Bourbon[6] on the river side adjoining the Louvre, where a council was at once held, at which the Count of Armagnac[7] was summoned from the south[8] to take up the office of Constable of France[9] with full command of

[1] Meuillon, 19, who had come up from Dauphiné with 50 men-of-arms had met the Dauphin at Pontoise and been told off to defend Meaux and le Marthe (*sic*), possibly the frontier of Brie and Champagne where the Duke of Burgundy's influence prevailed. For names of the nine squires of his muster in Paris Dec. 28, 1415, whither he had been summoned by the Count of Armagnac, see Roman, p. 21, with other musters from Dauphiné in Paris Nov. 28, Dec. 28, 1415, and Jan. 24, 1416, ibid. 20, 22.

[2] For muster of Guillaume de Paladue with 12 squires at St Cloud Nov. 24, 1415, see Roman, 19; Mirot, D'Orgemont, 157, who gives many more musters.

[3] Not Nov. 22, as Monstr. 381; nor Nov. 25, as Vallet, i. 18; nor Nov. 30, as Morosini, ii. 85 note; nor that he had been left at Rouen, as Meuillon, 19. For a journey from Rouen to Paris in three days, see C. Beaurepaire, Deux Comptes, 243, with halts at Fleury sur Andelle, Écouis, Magny, Villeneuve en Chièvre, Pontoise and St Denis.

[4] See Wylie, iii. 93. [5] St Denys, v. 582.

[6] Juv. 525; au logis de Bourbon, Gollut, 1015; not in the Louvre, as Cousinot, 135; Babeau, 40. It had just been rebuilt (i.e. 1395) by Louis II, Duke of Bourbon, whose arms with those of his wife Anne, Dauphine of Auvergne, were in one of the stained windows of the oratory. In 1396 it was called le grand hostel neuf, Berty, i. 36; ii. 104. For plan and description of it, see ibid. i. 32–39; A. Duchesne, Antiquitez, 109; H. Legrand, 61. For pictures of it, see Berty, i. 133, 135, 138, 146, 149, 317; ii. 133, 171; App. p. vi; Duruy, ii. 65; Babeau, 20, 34, 41, 73. It was afterwards known as the Petit Bourbon, Babeau, 151; it was demolished in 1758, ibid. 221.

[7] i.e. Bernard VII, b. 1367, who succeeded his brother Jean II in 1392 as Count of Armagnac and Rodez, Rouquette, 375, 394; Montlezun, iv. 86. For his seal, see Zeller, Armagnacs, 25; Serrazin, Cauchon, 27, from Archives Nat. no. 352. For his arms, see Anselme, vi. 223. He is called el Conté d'Armignaccha in Sercambi, iii. 235.

[8] He was at Perpignan during King Sigismund's visit in the latter part of Oct. 1415, Bater, Chron. v. 161 (Oct. 22); Zurita, ii. 72. For a letter written by him on June 14, 1415, at Vic (in Bigorre) near Tarbes (Hautes Pyrénées), see Jurade, 181, 227; also another dated Nov. 28, 1415, at Gaye (i.e. Gée) on the Adour below Risde (Gers), see ibid. 282.

[9] Monstr. 381; St Denys, v. 584; not Marshal, as Vita, 71; Pol. Verg. 447, where he is wrongly called John. In Baye, ii. 228; Felibien, iv. 560, he is called le capitaine de Paris before Dec. 11, 1415. For his seal as Constable of France Feb. 28, 1416, see Demay, Inventaire, i. 108; Forestié, Title page.

the general defence. He set out at once from Lectoure with a large company of Gascons[1] and arrived in Paris on Dec. 30[2], taking up his quarters with his father-in-law the Duke of Berry[3] in the Hostel de Nesle.

During those eventful months unquestionably the strongest man in France was the remorseless Duke John of Burgundy[4]. He had taken no actual part in the battle but had kept his forces in reserve and believed that as soon as he appeared he could rouse into furious action the callous mocking spirit of the capital[5]. He had already leagued himself with his country's victorious enemy to forward the factious personal ambition which had been the one consuming passion of his life. For the last three months he had kept a force of 3000 Savoyards, Lorrainers and Germans[6] quartered on the people of Champagne ready to threaten Paris from the east, but when the fact of the great defeat was fully known he seemed to halt irresolute to strike. It is said (though the story is probably apocryphal[7]) that he sent his gauntlet to the conqueror at Calais with a challenge to fight him for having killed his brother the Duke of Brabant who was not a subject of the King of France except as regards a hostel that he owned in Paris, but that Henry courteously returned the gage with an explanation that the Duke's brothers[8] had been really both killed by the French themselves, as some of the prisoners had confessed[9], but that if the scruples of honour could not be

[1] Bonal, 529; Mezeray, ii. 569; aus der abgehärteten Gebirgswohnern des baskischen Landes, Loserth, Gesch. 547.

[2] Bourgeois, 622; Monstr. 383; Le Fèvre, i. 273. Called Dec. 29 in Juv. 527.

[3] Juv. 527. He had married the Duke's daughter Bonne on Jan. 26, 1395, when grand fêtes were held in the Hostel de Nesle, Anselme, iii. 421. For the contract of marriage dated Jan. 8, 1394, or Dec. 1393, see Anselme, i. 107 (D. Godefroy, 675, 676, 677; Durrieu, 16; Mas-Latrie, 1541; not 1393, as ibid. 1704). She had previously married (i.e. in the church of St Pol in Jan. 1377, Voces, 232; called Jan. 18, 1376, in Toulgoët-Treanna, 69, 93, 94, where a clyster is charged for; or 1372 in Chantilly, 61, where he is wrongly called Duke; or Jan. 24, 1378, in Neuville, 95) Amedée VII the Red Count of Savoy who died in 1391, and was the mother of Amedée VIII the first Duke of Savoy. She died at Carlat on Dec. 30, 1435, Bonal, 556; Rouquette, 417, but her body was buried in the church of the Grey Friars at Rodez, Bonal, 556, where since her husband's murder she had passed her widowhood in devotion and was regarded as a saint, ibid. 472, 555. In 1395 she is called Comtesse de Savoie and baronne de Frucignac, Affre, Inv. 228.

[4] Potentissimo signor altra tuty i altoy de Franza, Morosini, ii. 120.

[5] Froid et moqueur, Lavisse-Rambaud, iii. 134; ces bruyants alliés, ibid. 135.

[6] St Denys, v. 584.

[7] Though accepted by Barante, iii. 172; H. Martin, vi. 25; Cassell, i. 538.

[8] Not sons, as Crowe, i. 128.

[9] Juv. 524.

otherwise appeased he would be ready to meet his antagonist at Boulogne in two months' time (i.e. on Jan. 15, 1416) and prove his statement to the hilt[1]. It was even afterwards said that the Duke had actually been himself to Calais and held a personal conference with King Henry[2], but this is altogether disproved by reference to the official records of his accounts which show his whereabouts with exactness from day to day[3]. For 10 days after the battle he remained inactive at Dijon and then began to move slowly towards Paris, having with him Simon Caboche and others of the most desperate leaders of the *émeute* of 1413 who had hitherto always been excluded from the royal pardon[4]. The presence of these men was all along his greatest source of weakness. Negotiations for their pardon had been recently pressed at Rouen and on Nov. 13, 1415[5], a royal ordinance was proclaimed in Paris liberating all prisoners who had been concerned in these events except the 45 special offenders, but the Duke was not satisfied with the prospect[6]. By this time his force amounted to 10,000 men[7], which was afterwards swelled to twice that number[8]. On Nov. 11[9] he arrived at Chatillon, where he was met by the mayor and skevins of Dijon[10] and attended a solemn service for the souls of his two dead brothers in St Nicholas' Church[11]. He then moved onward down the Seine, arriving at Troyes on Nov. 21[12], and two days later[13] envoys came in from the court at Rouen inviting him to

[1] Goodwin, 95. [2] Fenin, 560.
[3] Itin. 560.
[4] Monstr. 382; see page 100.
[5] Juv. 522. With text dated at Rouen Nov. 7, 1415, cf. Ordonnances, x. 249; Coville, Caboche, 400.
[6] Baye, ii. 228; Felibien, iv. 560.
[7] Monstr. 381; Le Fèvre, i. 270.
[8] Monstr. 382; Le Fèvre, i. 271; D. Sauvage, 242. Plancher (iii. 443) supposes that he got this army together pour humilier l'Anglois, le chasser du royaume, &c., &c. Called "grosse puyssance" in Meuillon, 19. Michelet (vi. 49) thinks that he took ten horsemen and galloped straight to Paris only to find that the Count of Armagnac was there before him. In Constance the number was believed to be 40,000, Pulka, 43, writing on Jan. 22, 1416. For 30,000 crowns asked for from the Four Members of Flanders to pay his men, see Delepierre, Ser. II. i. 203, where he claims that he will soon be summoned to Paris by the Queen and the Dauphin to conclude a lasting peace.
[9] Gachard, 231; Itin. 422.
[10] Vallée, 24.
[11] Plancher, iii. 439. For a mass for the dead which he had previously attended in the Charterhouse at Dijon on Nov. 2, 1415, see Monget, ii. 56.
[12] Boutiot, ii. 357.
[13] i.e. Nov. 23, 1415, Itin. 422.

come to the royal presence[1] at Christmas and offering to make him a perpetual member of the King's Council with an annual allowance of 800,000 crowns[2], while his son Philip should be governor of Picardy[3] if he would desist from his menace to the capital and turn his arms against the English.

As soon as his approach was known an order had been published in Paris[4] that no Prince of the Blood should be allowed to enter the city accompanied by troops, that all bridges should be broken and all boats and ferries removed, for everywhere there were indications that the Armagnacs would have to fight for their very life if once the Duke of Burgundy drew near. At Laon the bishop had arranged to quarter some of the royal troops, but townsfolk and countryfolk alike stood out against it, declaring that none should undertake to defend their town except themselves, and the order for admitting outside troops had perforce to be forthwith cancelled. Within the capital all was suspicion and alarm. On the night of Tuesday, Dec. 10, 1415[5], a pie-baker named Robin Copil was charged with having sent a child to Brie-Comte-Robert with a letter urging the Duke of Burgundy to make haste as there were 5000 men in Paris ready to receive him and open for him either the gate of Montmartre or of St Honoré. The man was at once tortured and beheaded at the Halles and his body hung up on the gibbet at Montfaucon[6]. The gates were strengthened[7], the customary panic order was issued that no man was to carry a knife, and any one who was caught talking about the Duke of Burgundy was liable to be thrown into prison. The Provost secretly distributed 4000 axes with blackened blades amongst the Armagnac partisans who roamed about the streets at night clad in black jackets and set upon any Burgundian stragglers who could be

[1] Cf. Belligère (i.e. Isabel) vers lui de fait Envoye ung bergier, Pastoralet, 783.

[2] Called 80,000 *l.* in Mirot, D'Orgemont, 157, quoting Juv. 522.

[3] Not that he should be himself Governor of Picardy, as Godefroy, 431; Mezeray, ii. 569.

[4] i.e. on Nov. 21, 1415, Juv. 522, with text dated at Rouen Nov. 15, 1415; Mirot, D'Orgemont, 159.

[5] Baye, ii. 229; Felibien, iv. 560; Juv. 525; Douet d'Arcq, i. 276; called Goupil in Mirot, D'Orgemont, 160, 162.

[6] Maillard, 83.

[7] Fist-on murer les portes comme autrefois, Bourgeois, 622.

decoyed out of their homes by means of sham rallying-cries while the inmates of the religious houses lay awake all night in hourly expectation of the alarm. Meanwhile the Duke of Burgundy's force was daily growing as he moved steadily up, and at Provins[1] he was joined by 10,000 mounted men under Charles, Duke of Lorraine. In accordance with the negotiations[2] that had passed before he started from Troyes arrangements had been made for the Dauphin and the Dukes of Berry and Brittany to meet him at Meaux and do their best to ward off a collision[3], but before he reached Meaux he found that an order was out forbidding all cities and towns to admit him within their walls or supply him with provisions[4] while there was no evidence of any preparations for the projected meeting. He therefore turned aside to Coulommiers[5] whence he marched to Lagny[6] on the Marne, arriving there on Dec. 10[7]. Here he was only about 15 miles from Paris whither he had already[8] despatched a vigorous message to the Dauphin demanding the promised audience, and he now posted some of his men to take up a position at Le Bourget close up to the walls of St Denis. To his demand an answer was returned that he must first dismiss his troops[9], with an addition that henceforward the Dauphin meant to be his own master and not to be governed by wasters of the country's treasure[10]. The envoys replied that such words were an insult and that the Duke of Burgundy was a peer of France, a prince of the blood, and the father of the Dauphin's wife whom he had discarded. No matter what he was, said the Dauphin in a rage, if he came any nearer he would march against him and have him proclaimed a traitor.

[1] Calmet, iii. 530; Barante, iii. 173.

[2] Page 283, note 1.

[3] Juv. 524.

[4] D. Godefroy, 680; Monstr. 382; Le Fèvre, i. 271.

[5] Michelin, 1167; with plans of the town, ibid. 1160. For Coulommiers, see Aufauvre-Fichot, 197.

[6] Called "Laigni" in D. Sauvage. For account of Lagny, see Desrues, 103; Dulaure, ii. 1; Aufauvre-Fichot, 180. For picture, see Zeiller, Pt. 1; A. France, iii. 112. For its connection with the family of D'Orgemont, see Mirot, D'Orgemont, 73.

[7] Itin. 423; Baye, ii. 229, 308. Not Nov. 15, as Gaguin, Mer des Chron. cxli; nor "by the end of November," as Cassell, i. 538; nor after Dec. 18, as Fenin, 561; nor even after the death of the Duke of Touraine, i.e. April 4 or 5, 1417, Mas-Latrie, 1524.

[8] i.e. on Dec. 5, Juv. 525.

[9] En simple estat et non autrement, D. Sauvage, 243; not that this message was sent to him at Troyes, as Cassell, i. 538.

[10] Dissipatoribus thesaurorum regni, St Denys, v. 584.

Thus when the Duke arrived at Lagny the whole atmosphere in Paris was surcharged with storm, and the shadow of death was lowering heavily around her; and the feeling was still further embittered by the presence in the city of the Duke of Anjou against whom the Duke of Burgundy had vowed special vengeance for the insult offered to his daughter[1].

On Dec. 15[2] a second batch of messages came in from the Duke to the Dauphin, but by this time the young Prince was too ill to be seen. On Dec. 6 he had visited his mother who was lying ill at the Hostel of St Pol[3], but on the following day he was seized with diarrhœa[4] and took to his bed in the Hostel de Bourbon[5] from which he never rose alive. Fever rapidly ensued; there were the usual suspicions of poisoning[6]; and he died in the night on Dec. 18, 1415[7], worn out with dissipation and debauchery[8]

[1] Sachant que pas n'estoit aimé du dit Duc de Bourgogne, Monstr. 382; Le Fèvre, i. 271.

[2] Juv. 526.

[3] For description of it, see Bournon, St Pol, 88–111; called the Hostel d'Orleans in Monstr. 381.

[4] Profluvium ventris, St Denys, v. 586; Brachet, 57; fièvre quotidiane, Songe veritable, p. 396.

[5] Juv. 525; Monstr. 383; Le Fèvre, i. 273; D. Sauvage, 243.

[6] For a rumour that he had been poisoned by his attendants because he was beginning to find out the wickedness of the Armagnacs and wanted to have the Duke of Burgundy at his bedside, see Monstr. 382; Cordeliers, 230; Gollut, 1012 (who shows a strong Burgundian bias); cf. ut ferunt, Vossius, 479; peu vraisemblable, Barante, iii. 176. A charge to this effect was made by the Duke of Burgundy on April 25, 1417, see Monstr. 399; Plancher, III. cccix; Bibl. Nat. MS. Coll. De Camps, no. 48, pp. 651–666, quoted in Pannier, 210; D. Godefroy (Charles VI), 680=comme il est apparent par la manière de sa mort. For supposition that he was poisoned by order of the Duke of Anjou, see Choisy, 333. For 20 florins paid to medicins juifs, viz. Benedict du Carmet of Arles, Bellant of Tarascons, and Mosse Marveau of Marseilles qui ont soigné le roi (Louis II) in his last illness, see Blancard, Inv. 87 (1419–20). For an agitator in Provence who said on Louis' death: O bonas gens al jorn du hey non es coma davant quar la Reyna no fara lo que vodra, quar al jorn du hey nos autres non staram pas amb' ella ma ben stara ella ambe nos, ibid., which records his pardon in 1419. For Guillaume Cardonnel, Archdeacon of Josas, physician to the Dauphin in 1409, see Mirot, D'Orgemont, 129.

[7] Not before August, 1415, as Mazas, Cours, ii. 173; nor Nov. 17, as Norm. Chron. 175; do. (Hellot), 25; nor Dec. 16, as St Denys, v. 586; Lenz, 71; nor Dec. 17, as A. Thomas, Dauphin, 373; nor Dec. 24, as Rapin (Tindal), i. 515; nor Dec. 25, as do. Acta Regia, ii. 137; cf. circiter Dominicum natale, Gaguin, 203; environ le Noel, Maincrot, 272. The news reached Venice between Jan. 21 and Feb. 9, 1416, Morosini, ii. 88, where he is "Ducha de Normandia" instead of Guienne. On Jan. 18, 1416, he is referred to as *feu* puissant Duc de Guienne, Brièle, Doc. iii. 24, where he had given to the Hotel Dieu in Paris 100 crowns qui valent 90 livres.

[8] Hébété par la débauche, H. Martin, vi. 7; par les écarts d'une vie déreglée, Mirot, D'Orgemont, 150.

before he was yet 19 years of age[1]. His injured wife, whom he had openly discarded, was living near by on a small allowance at the Hostel d'Orléans[2] near the Halles and it was only when his last moments were at hand that he could be persuaded to relax in his shameful aversion to her[3]. Her father's messengers had an interview with the Duke of Berry in Paris on the day on which her husband passed away, but he only learnt of his death by the tolling of the bells within the city[4]. When the funeral was over the Duke sent to demand his daughter, and the council answered that she was welcome to go, and she did go on Twelfth Night (Jan. 6, 1416)[5], returning to her mother at

[1] He was born in the Hostel of St Pol on Jan. 22, 1397, St Denys, ii. 522; Coville, 19; Perrens, ii. 203; Beaucourt, i. 3; do. Caract. 350; Pannier, 160, 210; Thibault, 230; Wylie, iv. 78, note 2. Not 1396, as St Denys, ii. 587 note; Meuillon, 19; Villeneuve-Bargemont, i. 381; Nicolas, 9; Tyler, ii. 83; S. Scrope, xvii; cf. de l'aage de vint ans ou environ, Baye, ii. 231; Leroux de Lincy, Chants Hist. i. 295. Christine de Pisan calls him 15 years old at the Peace of Auxerre, i.e. April 22, 1412; Thomassy, 151; Wylie, iv. 79.

[2] Le Fèvre, i. 273. Not at Marcoussis, as Cousinot, 136; Plancher, iii. 445; Barante, iii. 445; Bissey, 38. For its position near the Porte Coquillère in the enceinte of Philippe Auguste, see H. Legrand, 61, 63; called the Porte de Bussi in Sauval, ii. 185, but the Porte de Buçi was on the south side near St Germain des Prés, H. Legrand, 44. It was originally called the Maison de Nesle and afterwards the Hostel de Bohême, and was granted to Louis, Duke of Orléans, by Charles VI, Sauval, ii. 180, 185; A. Barthelemy, 181, 182. During the English occupation of Paris temp. H. VI it was granted to Robert Lord de Willoughby, Longnon, 156, where it is called l'hostel de Behaigne near the Rue de Neelles. The site was afterwards occupied by the Hotel de Soissons (for picture of it, see Bournon, 75) or the Hostel de la Reine (i.e. Catherine de Medicis) who built in its gardens the column which still stands close to the Halle au Blé, Piton, 41, 211; Minerval, i. 225, 453; ii. 32. For picture of the column, see A. Barthelemy, 185; Bournon, 228; Albert Lenoir, Statistique, 250; Mém. de la Soc. de l'Hist. de Paris, vi. 185; Mrs Mark Pattison's Renaissance of Art in Florence. For account of the Hostel d'Orléans, see Mém. de la Soc. de l'Hist. de Paris, vi. 182; Terrasson, 17, 24, 41 (with plans); La Vallée, Jean sans Peur, 73; Leroux de Lincy, Femmes, 409. For the Duke of Orleans' three hostels, viz. Hostel d'Orléans, Hostel de Giac and Hostel des Tournelles (near the Hostel de St Pol), see Bournon, St Pol, 73, 145.

[3] St Denys, v. 558. For their espousals Aug. 31, 1404, see Cartellieri, Beiträge, i. 15; Luce, Dunremy, 300; Wylie, i. 466; iii. 39; not 1403, as Collas, 256. The actual marriage took place in July 1409.

[4] Not that he heard the news on his way back to Flanders, as Heuterus, 203. Cf. les quelles messes seront cliquetées aux deux grosses cloches de la Tour, i.e. that all persons might pray for the dead man's soul, Tuetey, Test. 530; le chevacier (i.e. the Treasurer, Cotgr., s.v.) sera tenu de sonner ou faire sonner durant les vigiles, ibid. 574. For bread and wine and 2 sols for the ringers, see ibid. 531, 570; cf. non pulsatis campanis et submissâ voce (i.e. low-mass), Rym. ix. 615. For payments to le secretaire (? sexton) pour sonner les saintz solempnement au Placebo et vigilles, see Blanchard, iii. 51; cf. sera goubeté par trois fois la plus grosse campanne de l'Eglise...o (avec) celle mesme grosse campanne sera sonné pour lad. messe affin que un chacun de la ville puisse mieux avoir cognoissance de l'heure que elle debvrera estre dicte, ibid.; cf. sonnerye et luminaire et aussi chappes ainsy que est accustumé en anniversaire solempne, Blanchard, iii. 51.

[5] Juv. 527. Not the end of January, as Mirot, D'Orgemont, 163. In Cousinot, 136, she is handed over at Brie-Comte-Robert, cf. Belleforest, Chron. 321.

Dijon by Jan. 23[1] but leaving an awkward question unsolved in regard to the payment of her dower[2].

Thus at this dreadful juncture the Dauphin Louis died unregretted and without a friend[3]. His mother was too ill to visit him and his wife was justly estranged. He had always been delicate[4] from a child, and when he was 11 years of age he was so feeble that a journey from the Hostel of St Pol to the Palace on the Island in the Seine was too much for him in the rains of March[5]. He had taken little pains to show himself in public or even to be courteous to those who had to do with him. He was fat and sluggish[6] and his want of skill in arms had roused the impatience of the nobles while the respectable public was shocked by his late hours[7] and indolent frivolity[8] and called him a glutton and a wencher[9]. He

[1] Plancher, iii. 445; Malte Brun (71) supposes that she was sent to Marcoussis to be out of the "dangerous society" of Queen Isabel, that she remained there till April 1416, and was then taken to Brie-Comte-Robert. She was at Dijon with her mother at the visit of Vincent Ferrer in July 1417, Luce, Dunremy, 300, where she is called Madame de Guienne. She afterwards (1423) married Arthur of Brittany, Count of Richmond. For articles signed at Amiens Apr. 14, 1423, see Plancher, iii. 557; Barante, iv. 96. For the Sobieski Book of Hours now at Windsor Castle, probably executed for her at this marriage, see Herbert, 275; Delisle, Recherches, i. 401, quoting G. F. Warner in New Palaeographical Society.

[2] In 1423 her brother Duke Philip allowed her 6000 livr. on this account, Rossignol, i. 30, where she is called Duchess of Guienne. For expenses of Margaret Duchess of Burgundy and of Madame de Guienne sa fille in 1422, see Rossignol, i. 35. She died in 1441: Delisle, Recherches, i. 401.

[3] Ne fut guere plaint, Belleforest, Chron. 321; Series, i. 962. Not that toute la France porta un extrême regret, as Dupleix, ii. 716.

[4] He suffered from hémoptysie according to Brachet, 56, who concludes that he died of consumption (p. 57).

[5] Kervyn de Lettenhove, Jean sans Peur, 564; Coville, Véritable Texte, 62; Douet d'Arcq, Document, 12.

[6] See Vol. I. 168. Though Pannier (222) thinks that "*il* aimait la chasse avec passion," quoting Douet d'Arcq, i. 325, which merely proves that horse exercise was advised as likely to be profitable for his health et poindre *aucune foiz* des solaz et esbatemens a chacier. For a courser presented to him on June 6, 1408, see Pannier, xxvii. 36. It had been given to Boucicaut by the Florentines as Lords of Pisa which they had captured on Oct. 3, 1406, Zeller, Italie, 289; Römische Quartalschrift, 1894, p. 481; Lodge, 244, 288; Wylie, iii. 372, note 4; not Aug. 26, 1405, as Sercambi, iii. 99. The news reached Venice on Oct. 9, 1406, Morosini, i. 228. For 20 books belonging to the Dauphin Louis (3 of which are still in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Malte Brun, 69, 332), see Pannier, 216, 284. They came to him on Jan. 7, 1410, from Marcoussis after the execution of Jean de Montaigu in 1409, cf. Champeaux-Gauchery, 29.

[7] Vue la vie qu'il menoit, ung homme de tres mauvaise vie, Champion, Document, 37; cf. "over longe slepynges as doth a swyn," see Secreta, 138.

[8] Ab universis reprobato, St Denys, v. 586; de très petit gouvernement, Champion, Document, 37 (see Vol. I. p. 167). In Cousinot (135) he is pompeux, parisceux, inutile, lasche, paoureux, et peu aimoit ceulx de son lignage (i.e. the Duke of Burgundy). Cf. mal conditionné, Belleforest, Chron. 321; of little valour and great toyle, Speed, 787;

[9] For note see next page.

was ridden by self-will[1] and would brook no advice from others; remonstrance meant dismissal and his whole complexion[2] so irritated the officials that one of them has ventured to leave a quite unusually candid appreciation of him in his record[3]. In this he sketches him as handsome in features, slow and awkward in gait, gorgeous in dress[4] and fond of jewellery[5]. He spent large sums in ornaments for the decoration of his private chapel[6], took great delight in organs[7], singers[8] and musicians[9], turned day into night and night into day[10], dined at four in the afternoon (the usual

altier, indécis, porté à la frivolité, à la profusion et au déréglement, Villaret, xiii. 331; inconstant et frivole, Battiffol, 186; a young man of feeble talent and no fixed principles, W. Scott, Tales (France), 1344; extravagant, licentious, unfaithful, brutal, Bearne, 585; rash, headstrong and capricious, Lingard, iii. 482; this worthless Prince, Tyrrell, 288 [168]; a weak and worthless youth, Kingsford, 111; a frivolous and worthless boy, Oman, Pol. Hist. 248; Towle, Engl. 161, thinks that there is no sound reason for calling him cruel and treacherous.

[9] Qu'il estoit devenu gorment et ung putiez, Champion, Doc. 37; do. Vie, 113. See Cotgr., s.v. *Putier*.

[1] Moult plain de sa voulenté plus que de raison, Bourgeois, p. 66, quoted in Brachet, 58; qui ne vouloit faire chose sinon à sa volonté, Wassebourg, 462.

[2] Cf. His complexion is so courageous, Chauc. (S.) iv. 605; Qui ne fut guieres plaint pour ses complexions, Chaumeau, 136; =disposition of the mind, Cotgr., s.v.

[3] Baye, ii. 231; Felibien, iv. 560; Bourgeois, 622; Anselme, i. 113; Villeneuve-Bargemont, i. 381; Michelet, vi. 49; Pannier, 161; Batiffol, 214; called une oraison funèbre sans indulgence in A. Thomas, Dauphin, 373; not said of Dauphin Charles, as Norm. Chron. 247.

[4] Magnificence habit et joyaux, Baye, ii. 231; Aubert, Organisation, 166.

[5] Pannier, 166; Beaucourt, i. 18. For inventory drawn up on Jan. 18, 1416, by Queen Isabel and the Duke of Berry as his executors (though the text of his will has not yet been found, Pannier, xxvii. 33), who pledge 34 articles of plate and jewels for 40,000 francs, see Pannier, 211, 307–312, where the total yield is 33,247 fr. 2*s*. 6*d*. For a diamond made like a fleur de lys given by him to the Duke of Berry in Aug. 1410, see Guiffrey, i. 138, also pearls, ibid. 320. For his jewels, including le Ruby de Guiaune, le Balay de la Chartaique, la grosse Perle de Navarre &c., see Pannier, xxvii. 41; Guiffrey, i. xciv. For his debts, see Guiffrey, i. cxlviii.

[6] For his vestments, see Pannier, 218. For a missal for his chapel given to him by the Duke of Burgundy in 1405, see Prost, Acquisitions, 345. For a breviary given to him by the Duke of Berry with return presents, see Delisle, Livres d'Heures, 5, 13; Bradley, i. 131; Guiffrey, i. cxlviii.

[7] See Vol. i. 168; Brachet (58) calls him un mélomane bizarre, impulsif, émotif et moralement déséquilibré. Cf. fonder of fiddling than fighting, Macfarlane, 28; Craik-Macfarlane, ii. 29; Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 558.

[8] For 4 enfants de musique for his chapel, see Archon, ii. 345.

[9] For minstrel's gallery built by him in the Great Hall in the Louvre in 1413, see Babeau, 39. For his expenses in connection with plays (jeux) in the Louvre on Midsummer Day, 1415, see A. Thomas, Dauphin, 373, who supposes these to have been the mysteries of St John Baptist, his treasurer being Master Francis de Nerly. Pannier (162) finds no records to prove his musical tastes.

[10] Cf. de nocte lucem facimus de luce noctem, Clamenges, Ep. 192; insuevit lucem in tenebras et tenebras in lucem confundere, Blondel, Reductio, 19, of John V, Duke of Brittany. If he be acustomed to ete soberly and at a certayn houre he (i.e. the courtier) shal dyne late and shal soupe in suche facoune that he shal disacustomme hys tyme and hys maner of lyvyng, Curial 7, from Chartier, 395.

hour being eleven in the morning), supped at midnight[1] and did not go to bed till daybreak. These habits certainly landed him in debt[2], but still he managed to put away money to be spent some day in building a magnificent church where he himself should be the centre of the daily services[3], and so they gave him a splendid funeral. His body was embalmed, placed in a leaden coffin and carried to Notre Dame[4] on the shoulders of four men on Sunday, Dec. 22, 1415, but the only relatives that followed him to the grave were his little brother Charles then Count of Ponthieu[5], his great uncle the Duke of Berry "and one other[6]." On the following day[7] they buried him with great ceremony on the right of the High Altar[8] in the church of Notre Dame, intending that his remains should be some day[9] lifted and laid amongst those of the Kings of France in the Abbey church at St Denis.

A week after the funeral the Count of Armagnac arrived in Paris[10] with a large force of Gascons[11] and was invested with the office of Constable[12] with great solemnity[13]. Soon after his arrival he scored some success and made some captures, and thus put a little heart into the city where

[1] For "rear-supper" as an extra meal, see Wylie, ii. 23, note 11; cf. "reresopers," La Tour Landry, 8; called "rere banquets" in 1603, see Murray, s.v. *Bever*.

[2] For his debts, see Guiffrey, I. cxlviii.

[3] St Denys, v. 588.

[4] Not at Compiègne, as Speed, 786.

[5] Baye, ii. 233; Felibien, iv. 561; called "Monseigneur de Ponthieu" on Jan. 1, 1416, in Guiffrey, i. 303; not "le Comte d'Eu," as Bourgeois, 622. He was certainly present and also in Paris on Jan. 10, 1416, Baye, ii. 236; though Beaucourt (i. 18) thinks that he was at Angers with his mother-in-law, see also do. Caract. 353; Vallet de Viriville, i. 17.

[6] Bourgeois, 353.

[7] Juv. 527; Gall. Christ. vii. 142.

[8] Bouvier in Godefroy, 431.

Et fut enterré au devant
Le grand autel de Nostre Dame. Martial de Paris, i. 22.

For 120 l. p. assigned in Nov. 1416 for his obit at Notre Dame, see Mirot, D'Orgemont, 217.

[9] Lorsqu'on le jugeroit à propos, Felibien, St Denis, 335; cf. depuis fut porté à Sainct Denys, Monstr. 382; Le Fèvre, i. 273.

[10] i.e. on Dec. 29, 1415, Juv. 527; Gaujal, ii. 279; not Dec. 23, as Barante, iii. 176; nor Jan. 1416, as Cagny, 102. For a letter written by him at Gage (i.e. Gages near Rodez) on Nov. 28, 1415, see Jurade, 282. According to Bonal, 536, he and the Count of Foix were both present at Narbonne on Dec. 13, 1415.

[11] St Denys, v. 748, 754. He was Count of Armagnac, Fézensac and Rodez and Vicomte de Lomagne and Carlat, Guichenon, ii. 14.

[12] L'office et charge de l'espée, Martial de Paris, i. 22.

[13] i.e. on Jan. 1, 1416, Cochon, 276; Cagny, 102. On Feb. 2, 1416, he is called Mongsgr Darmanhat conestable de France, Charner, i. 205.

bread, cheese, eggs, and all the necessaries of life were rising to famine price. A rumour had been abroad that the Duke of Burgundy had taken Brie-Comte-Robert and slaughtered all the townsfolk, whereupon some envoys of the Duke who were in Paris were seized by the king's order and frightful reprisals might have followed had not the rumour turned out to be untrue[1]. An effort was then made to arrive at some means of procuring peace if only it were not a "Cabochian" one[2]. So when the Duke of Brittany arrived in Paris[3] with fresh musters on Jan. 14, 1416[4], the University approached him to secure his intervention as a mediator in the direction of internal peace and for help to recover Harfleur from the English[5]. Hitherto he had occupied a position of semi-neutrality[6] in the quarrel. He was a son-in-law of the French king[7]; his sister Blanche was married to John, Viscount of Lomagne[8], eldest son of the Count of Armagnac, while he

[1] Trouva-t-on que c'estoit bourde, Juv. 527.

[2] Paix Cabochienne, Juv. 529; Lobineau, i. 530; not *fax* Cabochiana, as Boulay, v. 295.

[3] For musters of troops under the Duke of Brittany for the defence of Paris Nov. 15–Feb. 1416, see Lobineau, ii. 906.

[4] He was in Paris Jan. 14, 23, 24, 25, 27, 29, Feb. 3, 1416, and at Nantes March 17, 1416, Blanchard, I. cxxii; II. 194, 195, 197, 198. Lobineau, i. 530, gives Jan. 14, 1416, as the date of his return to Paris from Lagny, adding that he was lodged first at the Hostel de Bourbon and then at the Hostel d'Alençon. For 100 frs. given by him to the Hotel Dieu in Paris in 1416, see Brièle, Doc. iii. 24, where two-thirds of this amount =64 liv. 6*s.* 8*d.*; also 4 livres given by aucunes (*sic*) gens de Monsieur le Duc de Bretaigne, ibid. For 32 liv. given by the Duke of Brittany on Feb. 28, 1417, see do. iii. 48.

[5] i.e. on Jan. 18, 1416, Baye, 236; Boulay, v. 297; Lobineau, i. 530.

[6] Une sorte de neutralité, Beaucourt, i. 105; cf. sa conduite mesurée, C. Barthélemy, 172; assis au milieu des deux (i.e. French and English) se comporta neutre gras et replet des biens de la terre, Chastillon, ii. 158.

[7] i.e. by his marriage with the Princess Jeanne in 1404, Wylie, iii. 101, note 4; Boudet, Aquitaine, 235; not Margaret, as Mamerot, 270. Cf. nostre très chiere et très aimée compaigne Jehanne fille aisnée du roy de France la Duchesse, Blanchard, iii. 50. For the contract of marriage Jan. 26, 1392, when she was only a year old, see Thibault, 192. For their betrothal Aug. 1, 1396, renewed July 30, 1397, see Thibault, 312, 313; Vallet de Viriville, Assass. 272, where he is called Jean IV; Mirot, Isabelle, xviii. 565; xix. 170. Since the beginning of 1403 they were companions as children in Queen Isabel's household [see Wylie, i. 308]. For reference to the marriage and to her dowry of 150,000 livres tournois, see Blanchard, ii. 101, 106, 109, 119, 133, 187; Broussillon, iii. 119. She was born at Melun on Jan. 24, 1391, Thibault, 178; Vallet de Viriville, i. 230. For a ring given on New Year's Day, 1392, by Louis Duke of Orleans to "la nourisse de Madame Jehanne," see Roman, 20. She made a will signed "Janne" on June 14, 1415, but did not die till Sept. 20, 1433, Mas-Latrie, 1574. For silver ornaments for robes for Charles Duke of Orleans on the occasion of her visit to Queen Isabel at Montargis, see Add. Charter, 2439, Jan. 31, 1415. For story of her husband striking her, see Roujoux, iv. 156; C. Barthélemy, Bretaigne, 172.

[8] i.e. the district round Lectoure part of the Depts. of Gers, Haute Garonne and Tarn et Garonne, Grande Encycl. xxii. 499.

himself had quite recently refused to take sides against the Duke of Burgundy[1], on which account his life was in some danger[2], and he was distinctly regarded with suspicion by the Armagnacs as being more English than French[3]. At any rate his pro-Burgundian sympathies now kept him from any effective interference[4], and when he sent out two barrels of lampreys for the Duke's acceptance the lampreys like the negotiations never got beyond the St Antoine gate[5].

The Dauphin's death had worked a complete change in the political outlook. For the succession had fallen to his next brother[6] John Duke of Touraine of France[7] at 17 years of age[8], who from his infancy had been matched with one of the Duke of Burgundy's daughters[9], and though this marriage had never come about yet the boy had long been separated from France and brought up entirely under the influence of the Duke's sister Margaret, having just married her little daughter Jacqueline, heiress to the counties of Hainault, Zeeland, and Holland. She was born on St James' Day, July 25, 1401, and received the saint's name, being known in her own country as the Lady "Jacque[10]," "Jacquette[11]," or even "Jacob[12]," but there can

[1] i.e. Oct. 22, 1414, see page 122, note 2.

[2] Monstr. 412.

[3] Paradin, 570.

[4] Ne se voulut plus mesler de la guerre de l'une partie ne de l'autre, St Paul, 53.

[5] i.e. on Jan. 17, 1416, Lobineau, 130.

[6] He is called "second né" in Ordonnances, viii. 450; Mamerot, 270, though he was really the 4th son and the 9th child, Luzarche, 4; Mas-Latrie, 1524.

[7] Called Comte de Ponthieu in Norm. Chron. 175, which title he certainly held in 1406 and 1416 (Ordonnances, x. 368). Cf. Hartoghe van Turcynen oncle van Ponteynen, Reygersberg, ii. 182; not "Graf Karl Ponthieu," as Schmidt, ii. 244. The county of Ponthieu was given to Jacqueline as part of her dower, St Denys, vi. 60; Löher, i. 451, 452. In Morosini, i. 234, the Dauphin Louis is called the firstborn (*so fiol hunigenito*).

[8] Called 18 in Wagenaar, iii. 398. He was born in the Hostel of St Pol on Aug. 31, 1398, Anselme, i. 114; Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, xix. 480; Beaucourt, i. 3; do. Caractère, 356; Thibault, 232; Sellier, 47; Wylie, iii. 52, note 3. For picture of him from the Louvre, see Mezeray, ii. 574. On Jan. 2, 1416, he was appointed to succeed his brother as Concierge of the Palais, Ordonnances, x. 368; Anselme, i. 114.

[9] Galhard, 29, 39, with ratification by Queen Isabel on May 6, 1403.

[10] Jacobum nomine, Leyden, 346; "Dame Jacques," Monstr. 397; Mieris, iv. 472; Dynter, iii. 785; Löher, i. 233; "Madame Jacques," Le Fèvre, i. 320; "Jacques de Bavière," ibid. 335; Lydgate in Hammond, 388; Chastellain, i. 209; "Jacque de Hollande," Jacqueline, 147; Dame Jake, Rym. x. 134; "Lady Jaquet," Mirror for Magistrates, ii. 113, 137; or Jacquette, Aen. Sylv. Orat. iii. 205; Heda, 271; Zantfliet, 408; or Jacquet, Löher, i. 233. For Jacquette as a woman's name, see Tuetey, Test. 434; "a nome Jake," Stavelot, 161; la dit Jaket, ibid. 196; or Jacquamina, Zantfliet, 412, 416. For Jacoba as a woman's name in Dauphiny, see P. Guillaume, Gap. 41.

[11] For Jaquette as a woman's name, see Collas, 334.

[12] H.R. vi. 424; Mieris, iv. 399, from her official proclamation.

be no objection to retaining the softer French name of "Jacqueline," by which she is still universally known and the more so as she was officially recognised by that name in her lifetime[1]. The children had been betrothed more than 10 years ago[2], and they were brought up together by the little girl's mother[3]. The marriage had been consummated at the Hague[4] in this very year[5]; the Dutch towns and nobles had acknowledged Jacqueline as their sovereign lady[6], and the young couple were in Hainault[7] either at Mons[8] or Le Quesnoy[9], whither a messenger was despatched from the Armagnac requesting him to bring the new heir

[1] e.g. Mieris, iv. 472, where she is called "Jaqualine." Cf. "Jaqueline de Bavière," Monstr. 439; "Jacqueline en Bavière," Le Blunt, p. ix; Jaqueline or Jacquette, Bouvier, 408. For the big bell at Notre Dame in Paris called Jacqueline, see Bourgeois-Tuetey, p. xix.

[2] i.e. June 26, 1406, Ordonnances, x. 368; Löher, i. 234, 235; Sellier, 40; Wylie, iii. 52; Collas, 259, quoting Le Blunt; not 1404, as Mamerot, 270. For Philip van Dorp's account wagen de bruiloft, see Kronijk van het historisch Genootschap in Utrect (1853), p. 428. For dispensation of Pope John XXIII for the marriage dated Rome Apr. 22, 1411, see Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 291.

[3] Vallet de Viriville, i. 19; Beaucourt, i. 18; not "at Burgundy's court," as Kingsford, 163; Wagenaar, iii. 404; Löher, i. 235.

[4] For letters showing that the young couple were at the Hague on Aug. 15, 1415, see Mieris, iv. 383, 386; also Aug. 6, 1415, Jan. 18, 1416, Beaucourt, i. 14. For a letter sent from the Dauphin at the Hague to Sigismund at Calais in Aug. 1416, see Engebrechtsz, 219. On Aug. 30, 1416, the Dauphin and the Count of Holland rode from Geertruidenberg to Hainault, ibid. 223, 224, 225. For both of them at the Hague, Sept. 18, 1416, see ibid. 210.

[5] See document dated at the Hague Aug. 6, 1415, in Dumont, II. ii. 45; Reygersberg, ii. 182; cf. C. M. Davies, i. 190; Mas-Latrie, 1689; Wagenaar, iii. 398; Löher, i. 252; not 1414, as Namèche, i. 254; Reiffenberg, Hainault, 134.

[6] Landsvrouwe, Mieris, iv. 383, 386; cf. die jung frouwe von Hollant, Windecke, 213; mijnre liever vrowen de Dalphine (1416), Engebrechtsz, 221.

Et la dame de grant valeur
Qui Haynan tint du temps jadis.
Leroux de Lincy, Chants, 20.

Cf. "my lady of Holland" in Lydgate's Ballade, printed in Anglia, xxvii. 385; MacCracken, pp. xv, xxxvi, xli, see Vickers, 390.

[7] En Hainaut, Juv. 533; H. Martin (vi. 23) says that they had long been at Valenciennes and Mons, but gives no reference.

[8] For arrival of Jacqueline and her mother at Mons on Aug. 22, 1416, where they were presented with 2 queues of Beaune and 1 of white wine, 4 piks (bicques), a gold goblet (godet) and a mixer (temproir) ornamented with beryl (vericle, i.e. bericle) and pearls, see Jacqueline, 10. 11, showing that the Dauphin had also been expected by Aug. 19, 1416. For Mons as pulcherrimum oppidum et amoenissimum, see Montreuil, 1417. For 206 queues, 2 pouchons (i.e. puncheons) et 2 quaques (i.e. casks or kegs) de vin, see C. Beaurepaire, Invent. Rouen, 6. For queues pleines de terre, see Monstr. 487. For keuwe, keuve (about 450 litres), see Boutiot, ii. 413; Jacqueline, 3, 172; une queue de vin, Tremville, 39, 50, 61; Meux, Inventaire, 157; Vandenbroeck, 61, 104; cf. candae vacuae, L. Legrand, xxiv. 101, 143; doleis vocat' queues vini, Claus. 4 H. V, 19.

[9] Jacqueline and her mother left Mons for Le Quesnoy (au Kesnoit) or Kaynoit, H.R. vi. 424, on Aug. 23, 1416, the former riding in the place of honour (chevauchoit au deseure). For letters dated tot Kanoyt (i.e. au Quesnoy) April 22, 1416, see Engebrechtsz, 211. For letter of the Dauphin written at Le Quesnoy Sept. 27, 1416, see Beaucourt, i. 140, quoting from Luzarche.

to Paris to help to govern the country and promising him a kind reception provided that the Duke of Burgundy was not with him[1]. But as a reply his father-in-law had him promptly removed to Holland[2] and refused to part with him as long as the sea was so rough[3], while the Duke of Burgundy took good care to have him kept where he was[4]. A little later he was removed to Valenciennes[5] under the charge of the Count of Holland[6].

The first result of the changed position was the issue of an order by the new Dauphin commanding both sides to void and disband. This was certainly prompted by the Duke of Burgundy who was becoming tired of his venture. His men were clamouring for their pay which was falling far into arrears, while the Parisians under the cheering lead of the new Constable were ceasing to be afraid of the bogey that was still lingering at Lagny, and began to mock him as "Long John" or "Johnnie Longcoat who is never in a hurry[7]." With the new Dauphin in his hands he thought it time to cease his lingering at Lagny and accordingly on Jan. 28, 1416[8], he drew off after looting the town for the benefit of his clamorous soldiery. Thus the immediate tension around Paris was for the moment relieved, but the pitiless wretches who had hitherto gathered round the capital now spread themselves throughout the country,

[1] Bouvier in Godefroy, 431; Meyer, 247 b; Vallet de Viriville, i. 19.

[2] Monstr. 399. For a letter of the Duke of Anjou dated Paris Oct. 10, 1416, in which he states that the Dauphin has returned from Holland, see Bouche, ii. 438.

[3] Pour le peril de la mer, D. Godefroy, 601.

[4] Cordeliers, 231.

[5] For the Duke of Burgundy at Valenciennes from Nov. 9 to Nov. 15, 1416, see Itin. 430. For his meeting the Dauphin there and concluding a secret treaty with him, see Mezeray, ii. 569; D. Godefroy, 681.

[6] Meyer, 248; Bess, Bundniss, 642. The Count is called his "curateur" in Gaguin, Mer des Chron. cxli, where the Dauphin John is confused with the Dauphin Charles.

[7] St Denys, v. 592; Monstr. 383; Le Fèvre, i. 275; "Jehan à la longue cotte," Cordeliers, 235; Jehan de Lagni qui n'a hâte, Calmet, iii. 531; Paradin, 599; Cartier, ii. 431; Daniel, iii. 879; Barante, iii. 177; H. Martin, vi. 23; Michelet, vi. 49; Namèche, iii. 60; Puiseux, Rouen, 122; Menorval, ii. 58; Brougham, 131; Michelin, 779; Haggard, 136.

[8] Itin. 423; Juv. 529; Mirot, D'Orgemont, 164, 168; called the beginning of February in St Denys, v. 592, i.e. after about 6 weeks' stay, Luzarche, 11; not 10 weeks, as Monstr. 383; Le Fèvre, i. 274; nor "several months," as Towle, 369; nor 2 weeks, as Cheruel, Moyen Age, 236; nor "aucuns jours," as Cousinot, 136; nor till Carnival, i.e. March 3, 1416, as Lobineau, i. 529; nor Feb. 28, as H. Martin, vi. 23; nor March 8, as Gaguin, Mer des Chron. cxli. His departure for Flanders is noted in a letter written in London on Feb. 24, 1416, which reports a rumour that had reached Harfleur viâ Calais that there had been a "bon escorn" (=scorn, shame, disgrace, Cotgr., s.v. *Escorne*, nil in Godefroy) in Paris (*à Paris*) between the Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Armagnac and that altogether 8000 men had been killed, Jurade, 331.

both sides robbing and thieving alike till all northern France[1] was wrecked and Agincourt was forgotten in the struggle to exist in presence of these blood-stained bands of brigands[2]. The Duke of Burgundy himself moved off to the north-east through Rheims and Douai[3] and by the middle of February reached Mons[4], where he satisfied himself that there was no prospect of the new Dauphin slipping out of his hands. On Feb. 20, 1416[5], he arrived at Brussels where he attempted to establish his claim to act as guardian[6] to his dead brother's children John and Philip[7], the elder of them being only 13 years of age[8]. In this however he was foiled by the watchfulness of the three Estates of Brabant and the firmness of the Council of Regency[9], and he spent the next four months in his own Flemish towns, Ghent, Lille[10], Bruges and Ypres being successively visited amid banquets, jousts and dances[11].

It has sometimes been represented that in all this restless manœuvring the Duke of Burgundy was merely endeavouring to establish himself in power in order the better to drive out the English and rescue his country

[1] Propter metum hominum armatorum et praedonum pro nunc (proh dolor!) ubique in regno Franciae discurrentium et cunctos quibus obviant miserabiliter depredantium, written Dec. 3, 1415, Métais, iv. 125. At St Jean d'Angély the town council decided on May 15, 1416, to retain the Spanish crossbowmen for 15 days longer pour le vuidement des gens d'armes qui pillent et robent le pays de Xaintonge, Aussy, iii. 164. On Jan. 14, 1416, they forbid 4 ousteliers to lodge gens d'armes routiers durant ceste guerre without first obtaining permission, ibid. iii. 130.

[2] St Denys, vi. 81. Under the name of "Begeaux," Cassell, i. 539.

[3] D. Sauvage, 243.

[4] i.e. Feb. 17, 18, 1416, Gachard, 231; Itin. 424.

[5] Where he stayed five days, Itin. 424; not Feb. 13 or 14, as Plancher, iii. 448.

[6] Jus tutele, Dynter, iii. 320, 767; ut tutor, Heuterus, 203; ses pupilles, Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 317.

[7] Monstr. 384; Le Fèvre, i. 275. He was Count of St Pol, a title inherited from his mother Joan, daughter of Waleran, Count of St Pol and Ligny, Paradin, 599. He was born July 25, 1404, and died Oct. 15, 1429, Mas-Latrie, 1676; not that he was 17 years old in 1417 when he made his première armée as a squire with the Duke of Burgundy, as Cordeliers, 237.

[8] Dynter, iii. 309, 311, 322, 758, 768; Berlandus, Rerum, 16; Loyens, 77 (with fancy picture); not 12 years, as Wenzelberger, i. 274. He was born Jan. 18, 1403, Wylie, iii. 62, note 6. For six gold crowns paid to messenger who brought news of accouchement of "Madame de Bethel" to Dijon in 1403, see Gouvenain, i. 25. For his portrait in 1422, see Barante, iii. Frontispiece.

[9] Namèche, Louvain, 25.

[10] On Thursday, Mar. 4, 1416, he was at Lille with the Counts of Charolais and St Pol on which date he entertained ambassadors from the Duke of Brittany, Rossignol, i. 35. For expenses of the Count of St Pol at Liège, Jodoigne, and Hurcèle on his way to meet the Duke of Burgundy at Bruges, see Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 315, March, Apr. 1416. The Duke was at Bruges Apr. 1–6, 8, 12–30, 1416, Itin. 425, 426.

[11] Gilles de Roy, 170.

from their grasp[1], and a modern writer[2] has even surmised that the best chance for France lay in accepting him at once as her only possible deliverer. The first of these theories could only be accepted by ignoring the fact that throughout the whole time the Duke was actually in secret alliance with the English, while the second must remain a mere speculation on the assumption that if he had gained supreme power in France he would have thrown over his English ally and called up the whole power of France to drive him out. Such a doubling had it is true occurred before, but it had only resulted in throwing the Armagnacs into the hands of the English, and it is far more in accordance with the facts to regard the Duke of Burgundy as bent upon the utter destruction of his rivals as his chief aim rather than upon any large patriotic scheme of national defence. It may indeed be taken as certain that without revenge on Armagnac no change would come over Burgundy and the English might depend on him to work their will in France to the full. Indeed no sooner was the Dauphin dead than he despatched ambassadors again to England who arrived there about the middle of January, 1416[3]. Among them was Master Thierry-le-Roy[4], an advocate from Lille who was a member of his council, had made himself useful to him in connection with Jean Petit's defence of murder in 1408, and had just returned from Constance as one of the Duke's envoys, where his diligence had greatly helped to secure a reversal of the condemnation of the thesis[5]. The envoys were well received by King Henry at Westminster, and started to return home about Feb. 9, 1416, with the usual presents of silver cups and ewers[6].

[1] Plancher, iii. [2] H. Martin, vi. 22.

[3] For £6. 13*s*. 4*d*. for expenses of Terry (*sic*) le Roy and other ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy for 28 days, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Feb. 8, 1416.

[4] For safe-conduct dated Jan. 15, 1416, for Masters Thierre le Roy and George of Ostend (not "Doonstede"), one of the Duke's secretaries coming to England to confer, see Rym. ix. 328. Called "Maister Thers le Roy" in Rym. ix. 767.

[5] The decision was given on Jan. 25, 1416, and a copy was received in Paris in February, Juv. 529; Monstr. 384; Le Fèvre, i. 276.

[6] For £16. 15*s*. 0*d*. paid on this account, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Feb. 9, 1416.

CHAPTER XLI

TRADE TRUCE

By this time Henry had quite made up his mind to renew operations in France as soon as the winter was over[1]. Even before he had returned a deputation from the English Parliament had crossed from Dover urging him to follow up his victory without delay[2], and this was still so fixedly his intention that he had even arranged with some of the prisoners at Calais to meet him about their ransom money before Paris at the next Midsummer Lendit, and that if he were not there by that time they should be quit. On Jan. 12, 1416[3], he was present with Archbishop Chichele at a council held in the Tower where copies of the documents connected with the Earl of Dorset's mission to Paris in the previous spring were certified and attested for circulation among friendly sovereigns abroad[4] to show that he had abated nothing of his claims to the crown of France. Before Jan. 23, 1416[5], he had despatched letters to many lords, knights and squires to come to Westminster and confer with him as to his proposed voyage to France and Englishmen believed that the coming year would witness for them the highest, the greatest and the most profitable conquest that the world had ever seen[6]. The king was indeed the darling of the streets where strangers heard the Londoners ever ringing his praises[7]

[1] St Denys, v. 750.

[2] Sans desister aucunement, Juv. 522.

[3] Rym. ix. 208, where Roger Leche, Hugh Mortimer and Master Philip Morgan were also present, cf. Calig. D. v. ff. 136–140.

[4] For arrangements for despatching letters to King Sigismund and the Kings of Castile, Portugal, Aragon, Navarre and Denmark made at the council held on Feb. 25, 1416, see Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 192.

[5] For payments to messengers, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Jan. 23, 1416.

[6] Juv. 529.

[7] Hom ditz et fama publica es, Jurade, 329, written Feb. 24, 1416.

as having for his age[1] the greatest wisdom and prudence that any English king had ever shown, little knowing, as we shall see later, that he was really within an ace of losing every foot of the vantage that he seemed to have gained by the successes of the previous year.

The trade truce with Flanders that had been in force during the last half of his father's reign would expire on June 15, 1416[2]. On the whole it had worked with smoothness, but trouble had recently been caused by alleged infractions on both sides. The English had frequently had to make complaints that rovers from Harfleur or Aberdeen made use of Flemish ports to lie in wait for English shipping which they attacked and captured on the open sea[3]. Thereupon followed retaliation and counter-retaliation, with the result that Flemish ships loaded with madder[4] and other cargoes were detained at Appledore[5], Winchelsea[6] and Southampton[7], and captured English ships at Sluys amidst a flood of diplomatic protest from both sides[8] against these "most extraordinary and strange proceedings."

[1] Segont son atge, Jurade, 331.

[2] Finot, Relations, 140. It had been continued for 5 years (though called 3 years in Finot, Etude, 138, quoting Varenbergh, 500, 572, and Archives de la ville de Bruges, Grönenbach, A. fo. 1) from June 15, 1411, Wylie, ii. 108; iv. 25; Gilliodts van Severen, 312–321; not 1412, as Guthrie, ii. 469.

[3] e.g. 4 English ships were captured in sight of Nieuport, the news of which reached Bruges on April 20, 1415, Gilliodts van Severen, 335, 341, 342, 346, 350; do. Inventaire, iv. 334, where they are captured by "eenighe zeerovers ute Scotland," the cargoes belonging to merchants of England, Ypres, Dynant and Bruges; the prizes were taken to Harfleur; also a Dutch ship with a cargo of goods belonging to merchants of Salisbury (ibid. 339) and a fishing boat of Heyst with 200 halibut (*heilbuttes*) and 2200 cod (*cabeillans*), ibid. 348.

[4] Waranches, Gilliodts van Severen, 347, i.e. garance, garancia Cent. Dict.), warranchia (Du Cange). For growth of madder (warantia) in Normandy, see Delisle, Agric. xli. 328, 332. For picture of the madder plant (*rubia tinctorum*), see Ogilvie, Dict., s.v. For duas balas de madyr, see Maldon Rolls 12/8 (June 13, 1421). For boes (i.e. bois) de garence, see Blanchard, ii. 241.

[5] Called Appeldry in Gilliodts van Severen, 358, Aug. 30, 1415, i.e. complaint as to capture of a crayer with a cargo of wood captured sur la Trade en mer within sight of Nieuport; formerly called Apuldre or Apeldres, Hasted, iii. 119.

[6] In Early Chancery Proceedings, i. 30, Levin Scoteler, burgomaster of Bruges, sues the bailiff of Rye re seizure of a ship of Flanders by 4 balingers of Rye, Winchelsea and Hastings.

[7] For complaint of the Count of Charolais, dated at Ghent Sept. 1, 1415, against the English for seizing ships with 783 barrels of wine of Poitou coming from Rochelle to Bruges and detaining them at Southampton, see Gilliodts van Severen, 353, 356–358.

[8] e.g. letters of the Count of Charolais and the Four Members to Henry V dated at Ghent May 9, 25, July 6, 1415, and Ypres July 15, 1415, in Gilliodts van Severen, 335–345. For tractat' guerrae between Henry V and the Four Members of Flanders deposited in the Exchequer at Westminster Oct. 10, 1415, see Kal. and Inv. ii. 99; Gilliodts van Severen, 480. Two other documents were deposited at the same time, viz. (*a*) a letter signed by Chas. VI, and (*b*) litera pacis Ducis Burgundie sigillata cum sigillo suo.

One of the latest orders issued before the expedition started from Southampton in the previous summer[1] had directed the seizure and sale of any merchant ships of Flanders in reprisal, and in accordance with this two Flemish vessels had been captured and taken in to Shields[2], but at a council which met at Westminster on Jan. 30, 1416, it was ordered that they should be at once given up. Towards the end of February[3] an envoy had arrived in London from the Duke of Burgundy in reference to a prolongation of the trade truce, and it was believed that the matter was practically settled, though this was of course a little premature. At any rate on March 6, 1416[4], Master Philip Morgan and three other English representatives were appointed to negotiate on the subject. They left London for Calais on March 12[5] and met the Flemish commissioners[6] on the border where negotiations were carried on for several weeks. Our side insisted that reparation should be made for some English and Irish vessels which had been seized at Sluys many years ago[7], the value of which they estimated at £10,000. The Flemings asked for particulars,

[1] Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 34 d, Aug. 8, 1415. For order Sept. 4, 1415, by Bishops Beaufort and Langley to restore a ship of Bruges captured at Plymouth, see Coussemaker, 179, from Galba, i. 359, who notes (p. 107) that the commercial relations between England and Flanders "n'étaient pas *complètement* interrompues." For trade of Flanders with La Rochelle, Niort, St Jean d'Angély, Bordeaux, Bayonne and Biarritz, see Finot, Etude, p. v, 82, quoting Gouget, Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. de Niort.

[2] i.e. before Dec. 2, 1415, Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 180; Nicolas, Navy, ii. 413.

[3] Jurade, 329, written on Feb. 24, 1416, where the envoy is called "a knight," and it was reported that the Duke was sending other ambassadors. For payments made by the Frank to the Duke of Burgundy for sending ambassadors to England and to Calais to maintain a libre commerce between the English and the Flemings, see Delepierre, Ser. II. i. 203. For full powers issued by the Duke of Burgundy to the Bishop of Tournai and other ambassadors to renew the treaty of commerce with England, see Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 315 (Dec. 1415–Feb. 1416). For £7. 10*s.* 0*d.* paid for 13 cruses (Canettes, see Cotgr., s.v.) of wine for deputies from Ghent and Ypres who came to Bruges to discuss peace between England and Flanders, see Delepierre, Ser. II. i. 189, April 21, 1416. For alarm lest the English should land at Nieuport and attack the Frank, see ibid. i. 194–196.

[4] He was present at a Council meeting on Feb. 25, 1416, Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 191. The other representatives were John Chirche and John Pickering, Lieutenant and Clerk of the Staple at Calais respectively, and John Michel, an Alderman of the City of London, Rym. ix. 331; Coussemaker, 180; Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 315, who adds John Pickering.

[5] Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 191; For. Accts. 5 H. V shows that Morgan left London on March 12, 1416, and was back in London by May 3, 1416. For expenses of Ralph Rochford, kt. going with Henry Ware to Calais with 39 men and 40 horses to treat with French envoys from March 23 to May 11, 1416, see Mirot, Déprez, lxi. 29, from Exch. Accts. 321/34; L.T.R. Misc. Enrolled Accts. 6, which records £20 paid to him on March 17, 1417.

[6] For safe-conduct for them issued by Wm. Bardolph as Lt. of Calais March 24, 1416, see Coussemaker, 180.

[7] i.e. as far back as 1403, Gilliodts van Severen, 368.

and when these were supplied they naturally required further time and as it seemed idle that the negotiations should be wrecked over such a point as this the consideration of the details was by agreement postponed. These and various other matters involved many sittings and protracted discussions[1], but at length an agreement was drawn up on April 25, 1416[2], extending the truce for another year (i.e. till June 15, 1417[3]). The English envoys were back in London by May 4, 1416[4]; proclamations announcing the result were issued on May 16 and 28[5], and the King of France gave his consent to the transaction in Paris on June 2, 1416[6], and a further understanding was also entered into securing a continuance of peaceful relations between England and Flanders from Midsummer, 1416[7], till Michaelmas of the following year[8]. In the meantime there was no cessation of negotiations. On Aug. 7, 1416[9], the three

[1] Post diversas dictas et tractatus varios et satis proliscos, Rym. ix. 352. For letter of instructions despatched to the English envoys on March 21, 1416, see Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 193; Gilliodts van Severen, 364.

[2] Gilliodts van Severen, 367; Coussemaker, 181; Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 316.

[3] Not Aug. 1416, as Namèche, Hist. iii. 58. For further extensions to Michaelmas, 1419, see Monstr. 394; Le Fèvre, i. 284, and for one year more from Jan. 12, 1420, Finot, Relations, 140.

[4] For expenses of William Michel, to May 4, 1416, see For. Accts. 3 H. V, p. 80. For £18. 13*s*. 4*d*. previously paid to him in connection with this matter, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V. Mich., Feb. 29, 1416.

[5] Rym. ix. 352, 353, 354, 357, 358, 364; Lünig, ii. 2165; Delpit, 218; Letter Book I, 162; Varenbergh, 504. The negotiators on behalf of Flanders were Jacques de Lichterfelde, Lord of Coolscamp (see Plancher, iii. 449), William de Stavele, Burgrave of Furnes, George Goedhals, Dean of Liège, and Master George of Ostend, Varenbergh, 504; Finot, Traité, 48; Gilliodts van Severen, 364. For payments to messengers carrying proclamations to Sheriffs, see Devon, 346, May 27, 1416. For a letter of Henry V (June 1, 1416) certifying that the truce had been proclaimed, see Coussemaker, 182, from Arch. du Nord, B. 561, Tris. des Chartres, no. 15324.

[6] Delepierre, i. 64; Gilliodts van Severen, 364; Coussemaker, 182; Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 316. For original document among the Phillipps MSS. giving the consent of the French king dated Paris, June 2, 1416, with the great seal of Charles VI attached, see Sotheby's Catalogue, Apr. 26, 1911, p. 90, tot. 533.

[7] Monstr. 388; Meyer, 249; called July 30, 1416, Rym. ix. 383; Michaelmas, 1416, in Baye, ii. 264; intervening negotiations had clearly prolonged it to Michaelmas, 1416, Rym. ix. 451.

[8] Rym. ix. 383; Halle, 46; not 1416, as Holinsh. iii. 558. The document was deposited in the Exchequer on June 26, 1416, Kal. and Inv. ii. 95; cf. Delpit, 218; Rym. ix. 469, 470, 477, 483; Monstr. 388, who adds that many people were fort émerveillés pour icelles trèves ainsi faites particulières du royaume de France, which seems to mean a more ultimate private alliance between the Duke of Burgundy and the King of England. For 16*s*. paid by the Burgomasters of the Frank for a copy of the treaty, see Delepierre, Ser. II. i. 205. Gollut (1018) thinks that he made this truce because he was in despair at the death of the Dauphin John. For its promulgation at Artois, Dunkerque, Aire, Furnes, Boulogne, Nieuport, Ostend, St Omer, Sluys and Ghent, see Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 316.

[9] Rym. ix. 375. For John Mitchell, sent to Calais on this business, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., July 29, 1416; also 5 H. V, Pasch., May 17, 1417, where he receives

English envoys who had been previously employed were commissioned to inquire into complaints, and on Oct. 12, 1416[1], an indenture was drawn up at Calais between them and representatives of the Flemings fixing March 10, 1417, for a further meeting in Calais. On April 24, 1417[2], instructions were issued authorising William Bardolph, Ralph Rochford and Master Henry Ware to confer with three envoys[3] of the Duke of Burgundy as to any further interpretation or extension of the truce already concluded between him and the English king in the previous summer. The negotiations were renewed at Calais on May 8, 1417[4], when it was decided to include within its benefits Boulogne and the adjacent country over which the Duke of Burgundy now claimed sway, and that not only should no armed garrisons be kept in any of the towns included in the terms of the truce but that no armed vessels should be allowed to enter any of their ports. On May 10, 1417, five commissioners[5] were appointed to proceed to Flanders to hear and adjudicate upon claims connected with alleged infractions of the truce. Ware and his colleagues were back in London by May 11, and on May 14, 1417[6], the inclusion of Boulogne was agreed to by the king at Westminster. On June 1, 1417[7], safe-conducts were prepared for the

£13. 6*s*. 8*d*., with similar payments to John Urban and Master Thomas Stevens, Canon of York. In Exch. Accts. 328/6, July 29, 1416, John Mitchell receives £10 for this mission.

[1] Gilliodts van Severen, 366, where the Flemish representatives are Jaques van Lichtervelde, Lord of Coolscamp, and 8 others including Simon de Formelles, but none of the representatives of the Duke of Burgundy; called Jacques de Lichtervelde (not Lihternelde, Lord of Boolscampe, as Rym. ix. 364), William de Stavele (not Stanles), burgrave of Fournes, Henry Goethals, Dean of Liège (called Goethalst or Goedals, Finot, Paix, 57, in Gall. Christ. iii. 929, where he is Provost of Lille on Aug. 6, 1422, and died in 1433); he is called Goodhale in Chancery Warrants, Ser. I. 1364/29; Rym. ix. 462. (For Coolscamp, north of Bruges, see Map in Gilliodts van Severen, Bruges, and George of Ostend in Gilliodts van Severen, p. 364.) One of the Duke's envoys, Thierry Gherbode, left Lille for Calais on March 19, 1417, and was back in Lille by May 8, 1417, Coussemaker, 183. John Mitchell's account in For. Accts. 4 H. V, 13 d, shows that he left London on Aug. 16, 1416, and did not return till Oct. 22, 1416, receiving £44. 13*s*. 4*d*., i.e. for 67 days at 13*s*. 4*d*. per day; see also Add. MS. 24513, f. 13.

[2] Rym. ix. 450, 451, 454.

[3] i.e. Wm. de Champs Divers (de Campo Diverso, Rym. ix. 470, 476, 478; not Champeliner, as Chancery Warrants, Ser. I. 1364/29), Thierry le Roy, and Master George of Ostend.

[4] Rym. ix. 452.

[5] viz. Thomas Stevens, Canon of Exeter, together with Alderman John Mitchell, John Urban, John Chirche and John Pickering, Rym. ix. 452.

[6] Rym. ix. 454; Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 321.

[7] See note 3 *supra*: Rym. ix. 457; Gilliodts van Severen, 378; Coussemaker, 184.

three envoys from the Duke of Burgundy to come to England and see the king in person, but how far their mission was commercial and how far political must remain a matter of speculation. The conditions were discussed by the king and the Council at Titchfield on June 8, 1417[1], and on June 24, 1417, the safe-conducts were issued for the Duke's three envoys to cross. On July 23, 1417[2], the Keeper of the Privy Seal (Henry Ware), the Constable of Bordeaux (William Clifford), and William Lyndwood the great canon lawyer, were commissioned to treat with them just as King Henry was about to sail for his second attack on Normandy. The conferences were held in London and resulted in an agreement dated July 31, 1417, to prolong the truce till Easter, 1419[3], independently of any war that might be undertaken between France and England in the meantime. This agreement was ratified by the Duke of Bedford as the king's representative at Westminster on Aug. 12, 1417[4], and by the Duke of Burgundy at Amiens on Aug. 17[5], and proclamations to this effect were published in London and various other places in England on Dec. 5, 1417[6]. Nevertheless there were clearly cross-currents of negotiation, for on March 21, 1418[7], the Earl of Warwick was commissioned to meet Guillaume de Champsdivers and extend the truce with the Duke of Burgundy which would expire at Easter, 1418, and on March 24 of that year[8] this prolongation was arranged till the following Michaelmas.

[1] Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 232.

[2] Rym. ix. 469; Gilliodts van Severen, 378. For reference to a truce concluded by two of these same commissioners with the Duke of Burgundy dated London, June 24, 1416, see letter of Henry V to the Constable of Dover in Ancient Corrdce, lvii. 35. It had been subsequently prolonged till Mich. 1416, and Easter, 1417; also to June 15, 1417, with a view to still further extension as might be arranged (Rym. ix. 459), and on July 23, 1417, this was extended to allow of an audience either in England or France, either in the camp or wherever King Henry might be, Rym. ix. 468.

[3] Rym. ix. 476, 478, 769; Goodwin, 151; Varenbergh, 506, quoting Archives de Lille, B. 1458; called till Easter, 1418, Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 322, where it is supposed to be a treaty between England and France. A letter in Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 354 refers to "the trewe that is for marchantz, cleres, pilgrimes and fisschers that lastith to the forsaid Easter" (i.e. Easter, 1419).

[4] Rym. ix. 481, 482; Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 322.

[5] Rym. ix. 483; Gilliodts van Severen, 378; Itin. 435; Speed, 786; Goodwin, 152.

[6] Rym. ix. 527.

[7] Rym. ix. 561. N.B.—As this includes negotiations as to a marriage of Henry with the Duke's daughter (March 7) it may be taken as distinct from the trade truce.

[8] Rym. ix. 563.

This arrangement was confirmed by the Duke of Burgundy on April 20, 1418[1], all having claims were to be at Verneuil by May 5, 1418[2], to have them considered, and on June 2, 1418[3], William Bardolph, Thomas Field, and David Price or ap Rhys[4] and others were authorised to consider claims arising out of breaches of the truce. On March 24, 1419[5], the authorities of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres and the Frank met at Ghent and asked for a further extension of a year or more of the truce which was about to expire. The letter was received by King Henry at Vernon on April 19, 1419, who sent it on to the Duke of Bedford in England with directions to appoint commissioners to treat at Calais on the subject[6]. The Duke of Bedford appointed William Bardolph and others to represent the English side on May 20, 1419[7]. Their instructions were issued on June 1[8] and deposited in the Exchequer on June 2[9]. On June 19, 1419[10], the Duke of Burgundy authorised his representatives to treat, and as a result an extension of the truce was agreed upon on July 14[11] to last till Nov. 1. This extension was proclaimed on July 28[12], but a final settlement proved more difficult than had been expected, for in addition to recent claims against Flemish corsairs for plundering shipping from Whitby and Sandwich carrying cargoes of salted fish from Iceland[13], the English insisted upon the settlement of claims for £10,000 which had been accumulating since the year 1403, and

[1] Rym. ix. 578. It was ratified by the French king in July 1418, and proclaimed at Artois, Boulogne and St Omer, Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 325.

[2] Rym. ix. 581, April 28, 1418.

[3] Rym. ix. 592.

[4] For expenses of William Bray and David Price to Calais in 7 H. V, see For. Accts. P.R.O. p. 81; Iss. Roll 7 H. V, Mich., Feb. 22, 1420. For £13. 6*s.* 8*d.* each paid to Master David App Rys and William Bray for journey to Calais to prolong the truce with Flanders, see Iss. Roll 7 H. V, Mich., Oct. 13, 1419.

[5] Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 250, 252; Gilliodts van Severen, 391; Rym. ix. 780, 784.

[6] Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 250, 254; Gilliodts van Severen, 394, 396.

[7] Rym. ix. 754, 755; Carte Rolles, ii. 238.

[8] Rym. ix. 760, 762; Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 329.

[9] Kal. and Inv. ii. 99.

[10] Rym. ix. 767; D. K. Rept. xlv. 319, where all Rymer's mistakes are repeated.

[11] Rym. ix. 779; D. K. Rept. xlv. 319; Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 329, showing 100 francs paid to Thierry Gherbode for his journey to Calais and 50 francs to Jean Utenhove for his journey to Pontoise to interview the Duke.

[12] Rym. ix. 784; Varenbergh, 507; Gilliodts van Severen, 397 note, which refers to a copy of the proclamation as deposited in the Exchequer at Westminster on Oct. 12, 1419, see Kal. and Inv. ii. 99. On Oct. 22, 1419, this indenture was handed to Master Wm. Bray, one of the English representatives, who retained it till Jan. 23, 1420, Kal. and Inv. ii. 100.

[13] Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 329.

negotiations were certainly still proceeding on Aug. 15 and Sept. 8, 1419, messengers were despatched to Holland and Flanders as critical emergencies arose[1], and a final answer was to be given at Calais by Oct. 15, when the whole situation suddenly took on a fresh complexion through the murder of the Duke of Burgundy on Sept. 10, 1419, on the bridge at Montereau, a deed, as one of the English negotiators[2] expressed it, "at which every gentle and human and loyal should have pity and that in very truth we have[3]."

Hitherto he had been playing a tortuous and double game, and while secretly in alliance with King Henry had been attempting to keep up the appearance of devotion to the interests of France; but now all semblance of disguise was thrown off and his son, the new Duke[4], proclaimed himself as England's friend and Flanders was free to treat and trade with us as with an open ally. Up to this point the prolonged and reiterated negotiations on the subject had produced an unusually plentiful crop of official documents, though they yield little more than the names of negotiators, dates of safe-conducts, fixtures for meetings, amounts of remuneration and days of departure and return, the puzzling thing about them being that the results are often contradictory and land us only in barren bewilderment, due probably to the fact that double negotiations were at times proceeding and that it is difficult to disentangle the commercial questions from the heap of political intrigue.

But the discussion of the English claim for £10,000 eventuated in a long and interesting memorandum[5] which is so instructive as an illustration of the methods of investigation adopted in such cases in those distant days that a short abstract may perhaps be profitably inserted here. The report was certainly drawn up after September 10, 1419, as it refers to the Duke of Burgundy as "lately dead," and it may be a part of the general reply

[1] For payment to John Handon, esquire, sent to Flanders and Holland on secret business, see Iss. Roll 7 H. V, Pasch., Aug. 25, 1419.

[2] i.e. Wm. Bardolph in Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 330.

[3] Rym. ix. 781.

[4] For renewal of powers by him for representatives to treat at Calais, see Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 330.

[5] Gilliodts van Severen, 477–507.

promised for Oct. 15, 1419. From it we know that the question turned on the damage[1] alleged to have been inflicted on English traders by sea-rovers[2] known as "runners[3]" or "scummers[4]" hailing from Nieuport any time between the years 1403 and 1415. To investigate this question two Flemish commissioners appointed by the Count of Charolais as governor of Flanders arrived at Nieuport on March 5, 1418[5], and proceeded to take evidence. Their first step was to ascertain whether any English had appeared to substantiate their claim, and for this purpose they sent round to the various hostelries usually frequented by our countrymen to ask the hosts and hostesses whether any of them were there now. Not finding any they had notices of their arrival cried in the streets by the bellman[6], and having satisfied themselves that no Englishmen were forthcoming they proceeded to take such evidence as they could get. Their schedule of claims contained 343 items relating to Nieuport and they had 31 witnesses before them, including the bailiff, the two skevins, the Town Treasurer, and a selection of clerks, merchants, fishermen, sailors, sergeants, butchers, carpenters and other oldest inhabitants, all of whom brought their memories to bear in telling what they knew though many of them could only say that they knew nothing at all about it[7]. Nothing whatever of any special interest comes out except in confirmation of the barbarous way in which the crews of the captured vessels were pitched into the sea and left to drown[8]. But one pretty little incident deserves repeating where a ship was captured with two young English ladies[9] on board, one of whom was called Marie Scales and the other "Neezekin," together with a chaplain named

[1] Devienier trespassé, Gilliodts van Severen, 499.
[2] Cf. zerovere, H. R. vi. 158.
[3] Coruers, Gilliodts van Severen, 477, 486, 490.
[4] Escumeurs, ibid. 343, 482. Cf. Rym. ix. 453, 484; Champollion Figeac, Poésies, 78; Aubert, Comp. 106; Nicolas, Navy, ii. 161. For a barge "hid on scomerfare," see Gower, quoted in Halliwell, 712; cf. quae bona et quanta cepissent per scomerfare, Statham, pp. xviii, 86.
[5] Gilliodts van Severen, 487, probably 1419. For authorisation from the Duke of Burgundy to his son Philip in regard to this matter, see Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 328.
[6] Crier et publier au son de la cloche, Gilliodts van Severen, 487.
[7] Nen non scet, ibid. 502.
[8] Les getterent sanz pitie hors des nefz en la mer et les noyerent a grant dolour, ibid. 484; et mis a mort sur mer, ibid. 498.
[9] Englesses damoyselles qui parloient engles, ibid. 496, 499.

John Southern, two horses and a page. The ladies were lodged quite comfortably in Nieuport for nine weeks and several of the witnesses remembered seeing them passing along the streets on their way to church. Oliver Snell[1], the owner of the house in which they stayed, deposed that neither he nor his wife could understand what they said, but they showed them their pretty jewels and made themselves quite friendly and at home. At last the Duke of Burgundy gave orders that they should be released and Snell saw them as far as Gravelines, and they afterwards put in a claim for £96. 16*s.* 3*d.* which had not been paid yet, though the events had happened as far back as the summer of 1403[2].

Then there was a little man[3] named John Kempston, a merchant of St Albans, who had been kept for 10 months in the lock-up[4] at Furnes. After his release he was lodged at the Hostel of the Lion, where he made a claim for 100 marks, and the "crichouder[5]" came over from Furnes to say what he knew about it. There were claims for wainscots[6], for salted fish[7] caught by doggers from Blakeney, Clay, Salthouse and other Norfolk ports[8], a claim for £2000 made by Robert Knolles of London for goods seized in four Flemish vessels by a Scottish barge at Nieuport on April 18, 1415[9], when the Flemish crews abandoned their ships and escaped to land in small boats[10]. After a few days of this kind of primitive hearsay quest the commissioners went on to Ostend on March 12, 1418[11], where they listened to 27 more witnesses, several of whom came in with their testimony from Lombardzide[12] and "Waeraninzide[13]," which may possibly mean the island of Wacheren.

[1] Gilliodts van Severen, 499.
[2] Ibid. 477.
[3] Un petit home, ibid. 480; homme de petite stature, ibid. 500.
[4] En lostel appelle scepelkin; cf. "cep," ibid. 500, 503.
[5] Probably the gaoler, ibid. 500.
[6] Wasgnescot, ibid. 497; cf. "wentscote," Walcott-Osyth, 9; Wylie, ii. 72.
[7] e.g. 4 ships seized with 3000 poisson salez valued at £3 per 100 belonging to Richard Skelington of London captured June 6, 1412.
[8] Ibid. 486, 498, 505.
[9] Ibid. 482.
[10] Ibid. 493.
[11] Ibid. 503.
[12] Called "Lombardie," ibid. 502; cf. Wylie, i. 466.
[13] Gilliodts van Severen, 487, 507.

CHAPTER XLII

PARLIAMENT (1416)

THE king had spent his Christmas at Lambeth[1] and some months were passed either there or at other places in the neighbourhood of London[2]. On Jan. 21, 1416[3], writs had been issued summoning another Parliament to meet at Westminster on March 16. The list of Lords summoned includes several who had been absent in France when the last Parliament had been held and corresponds pretty nearly with the list of those summoned in November 1414[4]. No new names were added, but 14 of the old list are wanting. Five of them had been cut off by death, viz. the Duke of York, the Earls of Suffolk, Arundel and Cambridge, and Henry Lord Scrope of Masham; the Earls of Warwick and Dorset and John Talbot were officially absent in command of Calais, Harfleur and Ireland respectively; three other lords, viz. William Clinton, Henry Fitzhugh and Robert Willoughby received no summons, but their absence was only temporary and their names reappear in the Parliament that met six months later[5], and three others now drop out permanently, viz. William Zouche of Harringworth, Peter Lord Manley[6], and John Lord Lovell of Titchmarsh[7].

[1] Page 275.

[2] He was at the Tower on Jan. 12, 1416, Rym. ix. 208. For his coffer at the Tower on Feb. 10, at Eltham on April 4, at Mortlake on April 14, 1416, and in London on Aug. 19, 1417, see Exch. Accts. 48/1. For statement that he removed to the Tower immediately after Christmas 1415, stayed there till Feb. 26, 1416, and "rode northward" on Feb. 27, see Kingsford, Chron. 123.

[3] Dugdale, Summons, 398; Lett. Bk. I, 145. For payments to messengers, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Jan. 31, 1416.

[4] Vol. I. p. 432.

[5] i.e. Oct. 19, 1416, Dugd. Summons, 400; Cotton, Abridg. 399.

[6] Or De Malo Laiu in Poitou, Comp. Peer. v. 273.

[7] He is referred to as dead in Ad Quod Damnum, 370 (3 H. V).

The first of these had just recently died[1], and his son William being only 13 years of age was not yet old enough to receive his summons. The second had died without male issue at Mulgrave[2] near Whitby and was buried in the Lady Chapel of the Austin Priory of St John at Bridlington, the barony of Manley becoming extinct by his death. The third, viz. John Lord Lovell, son-in-law to Lord Zouche, had died on Oct. 19, 1414[3], also leaving a son John under age[4].

If we were to trust to the published official return[5] we should be led to infer that only 27 county members came up as representatives of 14 counties[6] and two members each from the boroughs of Appleby, Bristol, Canterbury, Carlisle, Derby, Grimsby, Lincoln, Newcastle-under-Lyne, Northampton, Nottingham, Rochester and Stafford, together with one each from Bedford and Oxford, making but the meagre total of 53 members altogether, among whom there is not a single name of any eminence unless it be Sir John Arundel who sat for Cornwall[7] and Thomas Rempston, son of the late Constable of the Tower, who was one of the representatives of the county of Notts[8]. But the list is evidently incomplete for the name of the Speaker himself does not appear in it, and other lists lead certainly to the conclusion that the total number of representatives was by no means abnormal[9].

[1] i.e. Nov. 3, 1415, Dugd. Baronage, i. 692; Anstis, i. 16; Inq. p. Mort. iv. 15; Bridges, ii. 317; Comp. Peer. viii. 223; not between July 26 and Oct. 1, 1415, as Beltz, clvii. For custody of his lands granted to Henry Fitzhugh on May 1, 1416, see Pat. 4 H. V, 20.

[2] For his will dated there on Sept. 5, 1415 (not April 24, 1416, as Comp. Peer. v. 274), and proved Sept. 14, see Test. Ebor. i. 379. For dower of his widow Mathilda, see Claus. 4 H. V, 22, Nov. 22, 1416.

[3] Dugd. Bar. i. 559; Comp. Peer. v. 165; Inq. p. Mort. iv. 8.

[4] For Alianore widow of John Lovell and their son John under age, see Claus. 4 H. V, 6, May 1, 1416. Called William in Comp. Peer. v. 165, where he is 17 years old when he succeeds his father.

[5] Return of Names, 287, and App. p. xx. For incompleteness of the existing returns, see i. 21; also in the Parliament of Feb. 1445, we know that there were 74 knights of the shire and 200 burgesses representing 37 counties and 99 cities and boroughs whose wages amounted to £7. 8*s.* 0*d.* (at 2*s.* per day) and £10 (at 1*s.* per day) respectively, Kingsford, Lit. 343, but the Return (i. 334; App. p. xxiii) shows only 5 names, viz. 2 from Norfolk, 1 from Salop and 2 from Lynn.

[6] viz. Bedford, Berks, Cornwall, Cumberland, Derby, Huntingdon, Kent, Lincoln, Norfolk, Northampton, Nottingham, Oxford, Stafford and Westmoreland, each of which sent two members except Bedfordshire, which only sent one.

[7] Prynne, II. B. 108. [8] Ibid. 124.

[9] In the Preface to the Index volume, p. iii, of the Return of Names, the editor thinks that "it is unlikely that further information can be obtained from the Public Records,"

Whatever their numbers, however, all assembled in the Painted Chamber[1] in the Palace at Westminster on March 16, 1416[2]. The king presided sitting on his throne, and Bishop Beaufort discoursed from the text: "He hath opened for you a way[3]." He told them that out of a good purpose well begun with good and diligent continuance must come perforce a gracious and desirable end, and he misquoted Horace[4] to prove his theme. That the purpose had God's blessing was proved by their three great successes, viz. at Sluis and Poitiers in the reign of Edward III and this recent great victory at Agincourt[5]. Three things also He had taken from the French, viz. their two best harbours (Calais and Harfleur), their courage and their power, and yet this wretched stiff-necked race still refused to recognise the hand of God[6]. So this purpose must go on, and what the king wanted now was the good advice and help of his people. To this end he had called them together and any grievances that were not touched by the ordinary law would receive his gracious consideration.

The Commons then retired to the Refectory of the adjoining Abbey and chose their Speaker. This was a lawyer, Walter Beauchamp[7], a younger son of John Beauchamp,

but many additional ones appear in Prynne's Brief Register III, though as he does not distinguish between the two Parliaments that met in 3 H. V, viz. in Nov. 1415 and March 1416, it is not possible to assign the proper proportion to each. Some however of the missing names may be supplied with certainty, e.g. in Hampshire (J. Uredale and Bernard Boreas), Shropshire (Edward Sprencheaux and Hugh Burgh), Wiltshire (Walter Beauchamp and Robert Andrews), Worcestershire (William Beauchamp and William Russell), and Yorkshire (Brian Stapleton and Robert Plumpton), and the same test might be applied to the long list of borough members in Prynne, IV. 1072; also 4 members for London, i.e. 2 Aldermen (Richard Merlawe and Thomas Fauconer) with William Weston (draper) and Nicholas James (fishmonger), Lett. Bk. I, 145.

[1] "In the chamber de pinct," Cotton, 544; not at Leicester, as Strecche, 267 b, who dates the meeting *after* Feb. 2, 1416.

[2] Rot. Parl. iv. 70, 87, 88, 92; Jurade, 331; not March 1, as Gesta, 69; Elmham, Lib. Metr. 129; Capgr. De Illustr. 117; nor March 3, as Usk, 129; nor March 15, as Chron. Lond. 104; Stow, Chron. 352.

[3] Iniciavit vobis viam, Hebrews x. 20; Rot. Parl. iv. 70; called "vobis viam" in Cotton, 544.

[4] i.e. into a pentameter thus: Dimidium facti qui bene cepit habet, Rot. Parl. iv. 70.

[5] Cf. Slus Pictavense simul Agincort memoratur, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 131.

[6] Gesta, 74.

[7] Manning, 60 (who thinks that the reason for calling this Parliament was to put him in the chair); Dict. Nat. Biogr. iv. 33. He is called "the forensic warrior" in Manning, 73, because he argued the Earl of Warwick's claim to precedence over the Earl Marshal in the Parliament of 1425, Rot. Parl. iv. 267, where he is Walter Beauchamp miles one of the council of the Earl of Warwick.

Lord of Powick[1] (near Worcester) and Alcester[2]. He had just returned from Agincourt[3] and was now one of the representatives of Wiltshire[4]. He was presented to the king and approved on Wednesday, March 18. The chief purpose of the meeting was of course the money question, for the sums due to the captains to pay the wages of the men who had served in the last campaign were still mostly unpaid and the pledges that the king had deposited were so far unredeemed. In France it was believed that he was offering 25 crowns or over £4 a month to secure men to serve[5], meaning ultimately to pay the cost of the war out of the ransom of the prisoners[6]. But both these statements are alike fanciful. The big ransoms were all hanging fire, and the keen spirit of fight that had been roused in the country needed only to be touched to realise substantial help for further adventures. No special premium was wanted, an abundant supply of men was to be found, but money was urgently needed and the Parliament was ready to provide it. Nothing had to be said as to customs and subsidy for they were safe till the end of the reign[7], but the late Parliament had granted a tenth and a fifteenth which would not be payable till next Martinmas[8] (Nov. 11, 1416). The present members were asked to anticipate that date and they at once did so, making the money payable at Whitsuntide instead[9]. The clerical subvention was also advanced by the Convocation which met in St Paul's on April 1, 1416[10], and made payable at Midsummer[11].

[1] Called *William* Beauchamp de Powyk, kt. in Pat. 8 H. V, 20, where he is appointed a J.P. for Worcestershire on July 3, 1420.

[2] Nash, ii. 264.

[3] Nicolas, 376, where he is an esquire with a retinue of 4+12.

[4] Prynne, III. B. 134. In 1420 and 1426 he was patron of the church of Tollard Royal near Shaftesbury, Hoare Chalk, 176.

[5] Juv. 525.

[6] St Denys, v.

[7] Page 237.

[8] Page 238.

[9] Rot. Parl. iv. 71; Dep. Keep. 2nd Rept. App. ii. 186; Rym. ix. 355, 356; Brougham, 126. For payments to messengers sent to collectors of it, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., May 14, 1416; also others to bring proceeds to the Exchequer by June 15, ibid. July 18, 1416. Usk (129) represents that both the Parliament and the Convocation voted two tenths and two fifteenths in the spring of 1416. For collection at Oxford of two tenths granted in 4 H. V, see J. E. T. Rogers, 101.

[10] Conc. iii. 377; Wake, 352, who says that it adjourned for 3 weeks on April 8, and met again when the Parliament did. For $\frac{3}{20}$ths (i.e. a tenth and a half granted by clergy anno 4 (=1416)), see Rec. Roll 6 H. V, Mich., Feb. 23, 1419.

[11] i.e. instead of Martinmas, Dep. Keep. 2nd Rept. App. ii. 186. For the king's

Ten months had already elapsed since the General Council sitting at Constance had deposed Pope John XXIII[1]. They still kept him a close prisoner and no one knew how long it would be before a successor was appointed[2]. Thus there was a general deadlock in the filling-up of vacant bishoprics as there was no recognised Pope to confirm appointments. It was therefore now decided to follow the example set in other countries[3] and accept confirmation of nominees by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York as a substitute for confirmation by the Pope so long as the schism remained unhealed. The king chose to take the alarming view that all the dioceses in England might possibly be left vacant together if something were not soon done. But fortunately this dreaded possibility did not in fact arise. The only case really awaiting solution had been caused at Norwich by the death of Bishop Courtenay at Harfleur[4]. The vacancy thus created was filled by the election of John Wakering[5], Keeper of the Privy Seal. The *congé d'élire* was issued on Nov. 3, 1415[6]; the Norwich chapter elected him, the royal assent was given on Nov. 24, 1415[7], and official notice was sent to the Roman curia at Constance on Nov. 25[8]. But inasmuch as no recognised Pope existed the notification was addressed to the Pope in the abstract without inserting any personal name, while a duplicate letter in identical terms was sent to the Council requesting "the whole of you[9]" to deign to supply the necessary confirmation and no

letter to the Chapter of St Paul's in this sense dated June 5, 1416, see Hist. MSS. 5th Rept. 56.

[1] i.e. May 29, 1415, Capes, 166; Kingsford, Lit. 27; Wylie, Constance, 118. For copy in the archives at Lille, see Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 313.

[2] L'en ne sciet ungore cumbñ s'endurera (i.e. the schism), Rot. Parl. iv. 71.

[3] Rym. ix. 337, April 7, 1416; R. H. Mason, 217.

[4] i.e. Sept. 15, 1415.

[5] See Vol. I. p. 14. For his signature "Johan" in Cotton MS. Vesp. F. vii. 80, see Roy. Lett. ii. 235; Wylie, ii. 396, note 2. The figure in C.C.C. (Camb.) MS. (Archaeologia, ii. 195; Strutt, Reg. Antiq. 79), which has been fancifully supposed to represent him, is probably meant for a sergeant.

[6] Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 21.

[7] Le Neve, ii. 466; Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 22.

[8] Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 380.

[9] Universitati vestrae, Rym. ix. 321; cf. Wylie, iii. 404, note 2; Rym. ix. 404, 451, 455; Acts of Parlt. Scotland, i. 587; Whitwell, 230; universitas Guelphorum Senensium, ibid. 215; universitée (i.e. communauté), Lot, 235; universitas procerum (i.e. probi homines) Ripariae Barchinonae, Blk. Bk. of Adm. III. lxxi. 117; al profect del Cossolat et de la Universitat, Charrier, i. 170, 203; li universiteit de la citeit de Liége (1394),

further steps had yet been taken in the matter. As soon therefore as the new principle had been determined Archbishop Chichele issued the formal approval in accordance with a command from the king[1] without waiting for the election of a new Pope. He confirmed the choice of the chapter on May 27, 1416[2]; the king granted the temporalities on the same day[3], and Wakering was consecrated Bishop of Norwich by the Archbishop in St Paul's on May 31, 1416, in the presence of a great gathering of his brethren[4]. A modern writer has described him as a "pious, chaste, beautiful and affable person showing much prudence[5]," all of which may be perfectly true, but the chief fact that we now know about him is that he was a very successful one. He was a cadet of a family owning land at Great Wakering[6] near Shoebury in the marshes of Essex. He was a lawyer and a churchman and had followed a steady career of progress of uninterrupted promotion from his youth up. He had held the livings of St Sythes[7], otherwise called St Benet Shrog or Sherehog in Size Lane on the Walbrook in London[8], and Orpington[9] in Kent. In 1409 he was made Archdeacon of

Henaux, i. 559; universitatis et hominum villae Tramanni (i.e. Tramin in the Tyrol (1415)), Schmid, 202.

[1] Rym. ix. 370.

[2] Le Neve, ii. 466.

[3] Rym. ix. 354. For Bishops Beaufort and Langley, John Rothenale, kt. and John Spencer, esquire, as custodes of the temporalities of Norwich on Nov. 20, 1415, see Pat. 4 H. V, 19, July 6, 1416; Rec. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., July 8, 1416.

[4] i.e. Archbishop Bowet (York) and Bishops Clifford (London), Fordham (Ely), Repingdon (Lincoln), Patrington (St David's), Mascall (Hereford), Caterick (Lichfield), and Peverel (Worcester), Stubbs, Reg. 85; Blomefield, ii. 528; Gams, 195; Eubel, i. 389; Le Neve, ii. 466; Dict. Nat. Biogr. lix. 3. For Wakering's installation festo Benedicti (i.e. July 11), see Memorials, p. lxvi.

[5] Blomefield, iii. 530, refers to the Wymondham interdict (Wylie, iii. 301) as an evidence of his "haughty mind."

[6] Or Much Wakering, Newcourt, i. 618. For his grandfather, John Wakering of Wakering Place temp. Ed. III, see Morant, i. 306.

[7] Or "Sitha," Lydg. Min. Po. 137.

[8] i.e. from Feb. 21, 1390 (called 1389 in R. H. Mason, 216), to April 21, 1396, Newcourt, i. 304; Hennessy, xlvii. 52, 290, 387; Blomefield, iii. 523; Loftie, i. 261; Dict. Nat. Biogr. lix. 3. Called "Shorhogge" temp. Ed. I, Lib. Cust. 228, f. 87, which disposes of the story in Stow, iii. 27; do. Kingsford, i. 260, who derives the name from a citizen named Shorne or Shrog, cf. Newcourt, i. 303.

[9] i.e. till Aug. 11, 1407, though his name does not appear among the list of rectors in Hasted, i. 138, on which day he exchanged to a benefice called Berton Torf in Norfolk, Archaeologia Cantiana, xiii. 382, quoting Archbp. Arundel's Register, f. 315 b, where I am assured by the Lambeth Librarian that the actual reading is "Berton Togryng," possibly the same as "Togrynd in comitatu Norfolkie," where the Templars had some land, see Knights Hospitallers in England, p. 166 (Camden Society); Rye, 358, or the name may possibly be Barnham Thorpe near Wells on the coast of Norfolk, though Wakering is not mentioned in the list of rectors in Blomefield, vii. 12.

Canterbury[1], and a long list could be made of the prebends that fell to him in connection with the cathedrals of Lincoln, London, Salisbury, Wells and York[2]. On the legal side he had been a Clerk in the King's Chancery[3], Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and on March 2, 1405, he was appointed Keeper of the Chancery Rolls[4] which were then kept in the Converts House which had been built by Henry III in the New Street[5] near the Temple for the reception of Jewish converts[6]. It had been well endowed by his son Edward I, but though it offered a safe refuge and a comfortable house for life with nothing to do and was at first well filled[7], yet it had long since proved a costly failure owing to the extreme slowness with which the London Jews allowed themselves to be converted[8]. Accordingly for the last generation or so[9], the Keeper of the

[1] See Vol. I. p. 294, Pat. 2 H. V, i. 39, Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 22, Nov. 24, 1415, Wylie, iii. 301, note 2.

[2] Hennessy, pp. xlvii, 290; Le Neve, ii. 221; Wylie, iii. 301, note 2.

[3] Vol. I. p. 14, note 2. [4] Ibid.

[5] Newestrete inter vetus Templum et novum Londoniae (1235), G. F. Turner, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, subsequently called Converts' Street (vicus conversorum 1253) or Lane (convers lone in suburbio Londoniae 1338), ibid. 12, 27, 28, 29; in quâdam venellâ vocatâ Chancellerslane or Chaunceler Lane, ibid. 5, 16, 26, 31; now Chancery Lane, see Vol. I. p. 263. It was within the Liberties of the City, G. F. Turner, Lincoln's Inn, p. 5; see Loftie, i. 230; Clay, 20, who says that it was rebuilt by Ed. I. For the domus conversorum at Oxford, see Ingram, iii. 7 (St Martin's). For 4*s.* paid by Hy. Kays, Clerk to the Hanaper in 1416, for carrying Chancery Rolls from the Tower to the Domus Conversorum and back several times, see Exch. Accts. 215/2, which also shows 11*s.* 4*d.* paid for carrying 2 leather bags for rolls and other chancery books to Westminster every day for a year.

[6] i.e. in 1232, Rym. i. 201 (edn. 1816); fratrum conversorum et convertendorum de Judaismo ad fidem Catholicam, G. F. Turner, 26; Loftie, Inns, 67, 273. It was pulled down in 1717, D. K. 57th Rept. 24, when it was known as the "House of Converted Jews in Chancery Lane," Matt. Par. Chron. Maj. iii. 262, where they were to have certum in totâ vitâ suâ domicilium tutum refugium et sufficiens vitae sustentamentum sine servili labore et faenoris emolumento, Adler, 2, 36. For John Wakeryng as Keeper of the Domus Conversorum Apr. 16, 17, 1410, see Adler, 40.

[7] In brevi congregatus est ibidem conversorum numerus copiosus, Matt. Par. Chron. Maj. iii. 262. It is called "an almshouse and an industrial home" in Clay, xxi, where the inmates were employed in school and workshops, ibid. 99.

[8] For Wakering's accounts as Keeper of the Domus Conversorum from June 28, 1413, to June 3, 1415, see Exch. Accts. 251/16, 17, 18; also from 4 H. IV to 3 H. V, For. Accts. P.R.O. p. 53, where he has 2 chaplains and 1 clerk. At this time there were 8 converts, of whom the men received 1½*d.* per day and the women 1*d.* Their names were William Leicester, William St Jake, Harry Woodstock with his two sons Martin and Peter, Elizabeth daughter of Rabbi Moses, and Joan Converse of Dartmouth with her daughter Alice.

[9] For the union of the two keeperships since 1377, see Cal. Pat. R. II, iii. 269; Dep. Keep. Rept. VII. App. 19, 20, quoting Ancient Petitions, no. 888; Hennessy, 378; H. Hall, Studies, 21; Lyte, Catalogue, p. i; not circ. 1300, as Adler, 4. Hence the church came to be known as "the Chapel of the Rolls" (1516). For remains of the original church of Henry III discovered when the rebuilt chapel was finally demolished in 1895, see Dep. Keep. Rept. 57, App. p. 34.

Rolls had been also the Warden of the Domus Conversorum and Wakering held the office and the emoluments till June 3, 1415[1], on which day he was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal[2]. He was succeeded as Keeper of the Rolls by one of the Clerks of the Chancery, Simon Gaunsted[3], who had been a Receiver of Petitions both in the Leicester Parliament and in this Parliament in March 1416[4], and was appointed attorney for Bishop Beaufort during his absence from England in 1416[5]. The whole proceedings as to the Norwich appointment were not finally ratified until the following year (1417) after Martin V had been definitely accepted by most Christians as their Pope[6]. But in the meantime Bishop Wakering had himself been at Constance[7], where he took a leading part at the Council after the death of Bishop Hallam. Wakering held his bishopric for nine years, but his constant public occupation involved continual absence from his diocese. He died at Thorpe on April 9, 1425[8], and was buried in Norwich cathedral[9]. Though he built the Chapter House[10] and a fine cloister in

[1] On which day he was exoneratus, For. Accts. 3 H. V; Pat. 3 H. V, i. 7, June 3, 1415; Foss, Dict. 392; do. iv. 326; not June 3, 1416, as Chron. Ser. 58. For reference to Wakering as *late* Keeper of the Chancery Rolls and of the Converts' House, see Rec. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Dec. 12, 1415; Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Dec. 14, 1415. For John Wakering's accounts as Keeper of Domus Conversorum from 6 H. IV to 3 H. V, see Exch. Accts. 251/8–18. For a document signed "Waker." on April 13, 1415, see Jurade, ii. 163; Rym. ix. 222.

[2] Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Oct. 9, 1415. For 20*s.* per day paid to him as Keeper of the Privy Seal from June 3 to Sept. 30, 1415, see Rec. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Oct. 9, 1415; also from Sept. 30, 1415, to July 7, 1416, Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., July 18, 1416. In Pat. 3 H. V, ii, 36, 40, 43, July 14, 23, 1415, he is Keeper of the Privy Seal. For Edgeware, Kingsbury, and Great and Little Stanmere granted to him for his livery or to other Keepers of the Privy Seal before, see Pat. 3 H. V, i. 13, June 15, 1415. He was present at a Council at Westminster on Jan. 30, 1416, Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 187.

[3] Not Garnsted, as Dugd. Chron. Ser. 58. For a document signed Gaunstede, Dec. 2, 1416, see Rym. ix. 412. For his appointment, see Pat. 3 H. V, i. 7, June 3, 1415, though his account as Warden of the Converts' House is dated from June 3, 1416, in For. Accts. 3 H. V, but this is probably the same mistake as in Exch. Accts. 251/16, 17, 18, p. 312, note 9. For his accts. as Keeper of the Domus Conversorum from June 3, 1415, to Feb. 9, 1422, see Exch. Accts. 251/19, 20, 21, 22; Adler, 52, 53; the last two rolls being those of his executors. The number of Jewish converts had at that time fallen to 4; also 3 H. V to 2 H. VI, For. Accts. P.R.O. p. 53.

[4] Rot. Parl. iv. 16, 70; also in the Parliament of Oct. 1416, ibid. iv. 95.

[5] Rym. ix. 370, July 4, 1416, where Beaufort is going across the sea with the king.

[6] Dict. Nat. Biogr. lix. 4.

[7] He arrived at Constance on Sept. 24, 1416, Mason, 217, quoting Mart. Anec. Not before his consecration, as Weever, 795.

[8] Angl. Sacr. i. 417; Hardt, v. 16; Stubbs, Reg. 85. He made his will on March 29, 1425, and it was proved on Apr. 25, 1425, Hennessy, xlvii.

[9] Le Neve, i. 466.

[10] For his arms over the door, i.e. 3 hawk's lures stringed with a crescent between them, see Blomefield, iii. 530; iv. 41.

his cathedral, yet his visitations and other spiritual duties were mostly done by deputies who served under him as suffragans during the whole of his tenure of the see. The first of these was the Archbishop of Smyrna[1], who had been suffragan bishop of Norwich for the last 18 years, and held the office till his death on Nov. 6, 1423[2]. On April 1, 1424[3], he was succeeded as suffragan by a Franciscan, Robert Windel, who had recently been appointed Bishop of Emly[4] in county Tipperary. Windel died in the following year and the work was then undertaken by another Franciscan named Robert Hingman who bears the interesting title of Bishop of Greenland[5].

Six months after Wakering's consecration a vacancy occurred in the see of Hereford by the death of Bishop Robert Mascal, which happened on Dec. 22, 1416[6]. He was a Carmelite who had been confessor to the king's father[7] and had preached strongly against Oldcastle both in Herefordshire and Salop[8]. By his will dated Nov. 23, 1416[9], he had desired to be buried in the crypt[10] of the White Friars Church just outside Corvegate[11] on the north side of the wall of his native town of Ludlow[12], but as he died in London they buried him in the White Friars in

[1] For renewal of his commission at Charing on June 1, 1416, see Blomefield, iii. 528.
[2] Jessop, Norwich, 235.
[3] Blomefield, iii. 528.
[4] i.e. from Jan. 14, 1423, to Dec. 19, 1425, Gams, 209, 234; Eubel, i. 295.
[5] Called "Gradensis" in Stubbs, Reg. 199, where he is suffragan of Norwich on Dec. 22, 1426, but the title should be "Gardensis," i.e. Greenland, cf. Langebek, vi. 620, the name being derived from the Norwegian Gardar who first sailed round Iceland or Snioland in the 9th century, after whom Iceland was called Gardarsholm or Garthars-holmr, Langebek, ii. 33; v. 315; ix. 228, 343; cf. Gardari Insula, Graesse, 98, 250. The two bishoprics in Iceland were Hola or Holar or Holom in the North (Langebek, iii. 49; vi. 620) and Skalholt in the South, Langebek, vi. 619, 620; Gams, 334, 336; Eubel, i. 289, 479; Encycl. Brit. xii. 620.
[6] Le Neve, i. 463; Stubbs, Reg. 84; not 1420, as Stow, iii. 268, where he is called "Marshall." Not Dec. 21, 1417, as Pits, 598; Tanner, 517, who calls him Bishop Henoferti (i.e. Hereford) and thinks that he died at Ludlow.
[7] Wylie, i. 224; iv. 100, note 5.
[8] See Vol. I. p. 238, note 5; Tanner, 517, who quotes Lel. Coll. iii. 15 (which seems to be a wrong reference) to show that Leland had seen his book against Oldcastle in the Library of Queens' College, Cambridge.
[9] Called Nov. 28 in Gough, II. pt. 2, p. 49[1]. It was proved Jan. 17, 1417, Le Neve, i. 464; Wylie, iv. 101, note.
[10] Sub arcu, Browne Willis, Cathedrals, ii. 578.
[11] Wright, Ludlow, 168. Not "Corngate," as Lel. Itin. iv. 92; do. Coll. v. 12; Monast. vi. 1580.
[12] Ludloviae natus, Pits, 597; Villien de St Etienne, ii. 693; Dict. Nat. Biogr. xxxvi. 405.

Fleet Street[1], of which church he had built the choir, the presbytery and the steeple[2].

The king had his nominee ready in the person of Edmund Lacy, Dean of the Royal Chapel at Windsor[3]. He was the son of Stephen and Sybil Lacy who are buried in the church of the White Friars at Gloucester[4], and was entered as a member of the Mickle Hall in the University of Oxford, of which he became the Master in 1398[5]. On Jan. 4, 1401[6], he was made a canon of Windsor and he subsequently held the prebends of Hinton[7] (Hereford) and Nassington[8] (Lincoln). He accompanied King Henry V to Harfleur as one of his chaplains[9] and was probably present at the battle of Agincourt[10]. The king now granted him the temporalities of the vacant see of Hereford on Jan. 4, 1417[11], in certain anticipation of his coming election. The writ to the Chancellor was issued on Jan. 19[12] and the *congé d'élire* on Jan. 21[13]. On Feb. 17 notification of the election was despatched to the Council at Constance[14]. On Mar. 3 the king signified his approval to Archbishop Chichele and called upon him to do his part[15]. The difficulties as to papal confirmation[16] were got over as they had been in the case of Wakering. A notification of

[1] Apud London, Lel. Itin. 40, from Hereford Martyrology; not at Ludlow, as Tanner, 517.

[2] Stow, iii. 268; Weever, 437.

[3] See Vol. I. 475, 503.

[4] Oliver, Bishops, 100. Barnes, v, where his arms (i.e. 3 shovellers' heads, Izacke, Cat., who gives his motto "Virtu est le plus grand Honeur"; Duncumb, i. 479, quoting Heref. Antiq. p. 196) prove that his family had no connection with the great family of Lacy, Earls of Lincoln. For his seal, see Barnes, xii, and Frontispiece. For his inventory in 1414, see J. T. Smith, 168, from Pat. 2 H. V. For the White Friars at Gloucester, see Fosbrooke, 150.

[5] Wood, Antiq. i. 51, 54; Le Neve, iii. 536; Carr, 52, 56, where he is commissary to Bishop Repingdon in his visitation of Oxford University in 1413.

[6] Le Neve, iii. 382.

[7] i.e. from Sept. 25, 1412, Le Neve, i. 508.

[8] i.e. from 1414, Le Neve, ii. 192.

[9] He is called an executor of the king's will in Barnes, vii; Oliver, Bishops, 100, but his name is not among the list of executors in Wills of Kings, 236; Rym. ix. 289–293; Rot. Parl. iv. 214, 299.

[10] Nicolas, 389.

[11] Pat. 4 H. V, 9; Rym. ix. 422, from Claus. 4 H. V, 7; Priv. Seal 665/745; but Jan. 14 in Notice to Escheators, Priv. Seal 665/747; also Feb. 8, 1417, Le Neve, i. 464.

[12] Chancery Warrants, Ser. I. 1364/27.

[13] Le Neve, i. 464, from Pat. 4 H. V, 9.

[14] Pat. 4 H. V, 4, Feb. 17, 1417, where there is also a duplicate address to the Pope without mentioning a personal name.

[15] Ut quod vestrum est in hac parte exequamini, Pat. 4 H. V, 4. For the see of Hereford still vacant on March 8, 1417, see Pat. 4 H. V, 3.

[16] Electus tempore schismatis, Lel. Itin. viii. 40.

the royal assent was forwarded to the (anonymous) pope on Feb. 17, 1417[1], and a similar one to Archbishop Chichele on Mar. 3[2]. Lacy was consecrated Bishop of Hereford in the lower chapel at Windsor[3] on April 18, 1417[4], by Archbishop Chichele, Bishops Patrington and Peverel, in presence of the king and a large number of lords, one of his sponsors being the chronicler Adam of Usk[5], who had now been pardoned and had returned to his legal practice in England. The new bishop was definitely put into possession of the temporalities on May 1, 1417, but Hereford was a wretchedly impoverished diocese[6], and Lacy had not long to wait for a new promotion.

It was in this Parliament that Hotspur's son Henry submitted himself and did homage, thus closing the chapter of danger that had constantly threatened both the king's father and himself since the deposition of Richard II in 1399. All through the intrigues of the previous summer the eyes of the conspirators had been turned towards the North in expectation of a signal of support from Henry Percy, but he never so far committed himself to be directly implicated in the plot and negotiations still went on for his release. While these plots were thick in the air[7] the English king wrote to the Duke of Albany complaining that the Murdach's redemption money had not been paid and that other promises made in regard to his exchange for Henry Percy had not been kept. Five months later, after his return from Agincourt, King Henry sent word that he was still willing for the exchange, and instructions were at last given for the release of Henry Percy[8], who, in order to facilitate his own release, had undertaken to pay to the English king £10,000 in five yearly instalments[9] instead of Murdach,

[1] Cal. Pat. H. V, ii. 65.

[2] Ibid. p. 62; not that the Papal consent was given on that day, as Le Neve, i. 464.

[3] In inferiore capella castri de Windsor, Barnes, vi; Oliver, Bps. 100, from his Register at Hereford containing 322 pp.; in capella hospitii infra castellum et non in capella collegii (i.e. St George's), Le Neve, i. 464; Stubbs, Reg. 85.

[4] Le Neve, i. 464; Stubbs, Reg. 85, 233; Gams, 189, 190; Eubel, i. 252, 285.

[5] Ubi et responsalis fui, Usk, 132, 318; at a previous vacancy he had been himself nominated to the see, Usk, 85, 256; Wylie, i. 482.

[6] For vestments and other articles afterwards given by him to Hereford Cathedral consideratu ejusdem ecclesie notoria paupertate, see Barnes, vii; Reynolds, 126.

[7] Add. MS. 24062, f. 145; June 28, 1415, Menteith, i. 238; see Vol. I. 576.

[8] Dec. 9, 1415, Rot. Scot. ii. 214; Rym. ix. 244, with translation in Menteith, i. 253.

[9] On Dec. 10, 1415, the English expected 20,000 marks (£13,333. 6*s*. 8*d*.) to be paid in 2 instalments before April 1, 1416, Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 188. Maxwell, i. 142, supposes

the whole sum to be chargeable to his own estates on the understanding that he was to get the money back from the Duke of Albany subsequently as best he could[1]. On Dec. 11, 1415[2], Sir Ralph Eure[3] and others were commissioned to negotiate on behalf of the English king, and according to their instructions[4] both prisoners were to be either at Berwick or Carlisle by March 15, 1416, for the purpose of effecting the exchange. But even this date was in fact anticipated. For before it arrived Henry Percy was brought to Calf Hill near Berwick[5] and an order was issued on Feb. 5, 1416[6], to Richard Lord Grey of Codnor[7] and Sir John Nevil[8], as Wardens of the East and West

the ransom was 50,000 marks, which was the amount asked in 1410, Lang, i. 289; Wylie, ii. 400, note.

[1] Cf. financiam Henrico Percy comiti Northumbriae debitam, Rym. ix. 405. An erased passage in Menteith, i. 250, though not in Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 160, 162, represents that Murdach was returned to Scotland by the Earl of Northumberland (*sic*) *sine redemptione* because Albany had been kind to his grandson. Cf. Fonblanque, i. 244; Major, 294. Capgrave (314) thinks that King Henry "bought him out of prison."

[2] Rot. Scot. ii. 215; Rym. ix. 324. Not that Murdach was released on that day, as Lawson, xviii, xx.

[3] He had been Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1392, 1396, Sheriffs' List, 162; Fuller, Worthies, ii. 526; Drake, 352, but had been granted exemption for the future on Nov. 30, 1399, confirmed May 9, 1415, Pat. 3 H. V, i. 21. He had been one of the representatives of Yorkshire in the Parliaments of 1393, 1397 and 1399, Return Parl. i. 246, 254, 260. He was associated with Henry Lord Fitzhugh at Homilden in 1403, Cal. Doc. Scot. iv. 129, 403. On May 29, 1415, he was on a commission for arraying the troops of the North Riding, Rym. ix. 253 [255]. For his will proved at Stockton Sept. 9, 1422, see Test. Ebor. iii. 222. For his arms in York Minster, see Purey-Cust, i. 130. For inquisition after his death held at Darlington on Sept. 7, 1422, see Inq. p. Mort. iv. 68; see Dep. Keep. Rept. xlv. 190, where his heir is his son William, aged 26; another of his sons being named Robert. For obligations of Wm. Eure, kt. and his brother Robert for military service with the Bishop of Durham in 1447, see Surtees, Durham, I. cxxxiii. William was Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1444, see Sheriffs' List, 162. He had been in the retinue of Henry Lord Fitzhugh (whose daughter Mathilda he married, Purey-Cust, i. 138, with extracts from her will in Test. Ebor. ii. 284) at Southampton in July 1415, Nicolas, 345; Belleval, 345, where he is called William de Evers, kt. It is variously spelt "Evre" in Dugd. ii. 385; or "Iverie," Kingsford, Chron. 60; or "Yver" in Rym. viii. 278; Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 184; Wylie, i. 291; ii. 178, note 4. For William Ivere, kt. appointed a J.P. for North Riding July 3, 1420, see Pat. 8 H. V, 20. The name is derived from the manor of Evere (i.e. Iver near Uxbridge, Lipscomb, iv. 515), Buckinghamshire (Dugd. ii. 385; Inq. p. Mort. iii. 16, iv. 349), which belonged to John Fitz-Robert, who was Lord of Warkworth from 1214 to 1240 (Bates, 89) and whose grandson John de Eure was Lord of Stokesley in 1318. Amongst Ralph Eure's manors in 1422 is "Wotton-in-Weardale," i.e. Witton-le-Wear near Bishop Auckland. For William Eure of Witton (1544), see Comp. Peer. iii. 293.

[4] Dated Dec. 10, 1415, Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 188; Rot. Scot. ii. 215; Menteith, i. 254, 256.

[5] Rym. ix. 244; Rot. Scot. ii. 214; Cal. Doc. Scot. iv. 174.

[6] Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 6; Dep. Keep. Rept. xliii. 581; Cal. Doc. Scot. iv. 173.

[7] See Vol. I. p. 110, note 6.

[8] He was appointed Warden of the West March on May 15, 1414, Rym. ix. 126; Rot. Scot. ii. 210 (with references to the Cloghmaban Stone); also Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 338, where he is Warden of the West March on May 15, 1415; also June 7, July 4, 1416 (Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch.), Nov. 24, 1416 (Rym. ix. 405), Feb. 8, 1417 (Iss. Roll 4 H. V,

March respectively[1], to receive him. On Feb. 18[2] he gave a definite undertaking that the £10,000 for Murdach's ransom should be paid by April 1, and the exchange was actually effected on the 28th of the same month[3].

The secret of this urgent haste at the last is to be found in an eligible marriage scheme whereby young Percy had been betrothed to Eleanor, widow of Richard le Despenser, twelfth daughter of the Earl of Westmoreland[4], whose wife, Joan Beaufort[5], was largely instrumental in bringing about the release[6]. Immediately afterwards the new *fiancé* paid a visit to Raby[7] no doubt in connection with the betrothal scheme. The marriage took place at Berwick[8], and the event has formed the topic for a thin romantic ballad in which the young bridegroom crosses from Scotland, disguises himself as a hunter in the service of the Earl of Westmoreland, rescues the daughter from Scottish raiders, and runs off with her to Scotland for fear of her mother's anger[9]. This production has been regarded by some critics

Mich.), June 7, 8, 1417 (Rym. ix. 458; Rot. Scot. ii. 221, 229), July 24, 1419 (Iss. Roll 7 H. V, Pasch.; also Iss. Roll 7 H. V, Mich., Jan. 20, Feb. 22, 1420).

[1] For authority to them to issue safe-conducts for Scottish negotiators on this matter dated Dec. 11, 1415, see Rym. ix. 324; Rot. Scot. ii. 215.

[2] Claus. 3 H. V, 2 d, where it is pro financia mordaci de Fyf. For his seal, see Birch, 204.

[3] Bates, 110; "about Feb. 1416," Cal. Doc. Scot. iv. p. xxxi; Hume-Brown, i. 208; Lang, i. 296; "early in 1416," Maxwell, i. 142; not "soon after July 1415," as Speed, 772; Dict. Nat. Biogr. xliv. 405. Comp. Peer. vi. 84 wrongly supposes him to have been present at Agincourt; also Towle, 286. The exchange is said to have taken place in the same year in which the English burnt Dumfries and the Scots under Archibald Earl of Douglas burnt "the town of Pennyr" ("Penner," Goodwin, 169, i.e. Penrith), Scottichron. iv. 1183; called Penreth in Pluscard, 350, where these events and the "liberalis commutatio" of Murdach and Percy are placed in 1415; also Tyler, ii. 15; Hume-Brown, i. 205; cf. Wylie, ii. 264, 400.

[4] Vol. I. p. 325; Doyle, ii. 648. For payments to the Earl of Westmoreland for expenses in connection with the exchange of Murdach at Berwick, see Cal. Doc. Scot. iv. 180; Iss. Roll 7 H. V, Mich., Nov. 27, 1419.

[5] She was present at the coronation feast of Queen Catherine in 1421, Chron. Lond. 163; Brut, ii. 446. She died Nov. 13, 1440, see the inscription from her tomb in Lincoln Cathedral in Swallow, 44, 137, 297; Hoccleve, Min. Po. xxv. For payments made in 1415 to the Earl of Westmoreland and Joan his wife from revenues of the domains of Pontefract and Pickering, the castle of Lydall (*sic*), the weapontake of Richmond, and the manors of Hoby and Easingwold, see Duc. Lanc. Accts. Various, 27/6.

[6] Harl. MS. 692, xxv, f. 235, quoted in Bates, 110, i.e. Whitby Register; called "an old chronicle formerly belonging to Whitby Abbey" in Percy, 36. ? The same as Scala Chronicon in Bates, 96.

[7] For payments to the Earl of Westmoreland for expenses after the Earl of Northumberland's arrival at Raby, see Cal. Doc. Scot. iv. 180.

[8] Not "soon after Oct. 1414" (i.e. the supposed date of the death of Richard le Despenser), as Comp. Peer. vi. 84; cf. "in 1414," Dict. Nat. Biogr. xliv. 405; nor "in 1418," as Fonblanque, i. 246.

[9] Percy, Hermit, 11, 12; R. H. Evans, iv. 154, 292; Hutchinson, ii. 266–274.

as "almost unequalled for tenderness of language[1]," while others have rudely dismissed it as "extremely commonplace jingle[2]," and "penny-a-line doggerel[3]." In any case it is but a fanciful embellishment spun round the well-known rude figures carved in the rock in the Hermitage[4] at Warkworth. With all speed Henry Percy proceeded south[5] to Westminster, where he did homage on April 14, 1416[6], during the Easter adjournment of the Parliament[7], receiving back his grandfather's and father's forfeited lands together with the title of Earl of Northumberland[8]. A large portion of these lands had been granted away to the king's brother, the Duke of Bedford, but arrangements had been previously made whereby he would receive £2000 per annum as soon as he had to give them up[9], to be continued until he should be provided with an equivalent value by means of other grants.

Thus did the Percies sail again into safe waters and all their past was forgiven, and on April 11, 1417[10], he was

[1] Hartshorne, 212; cf. "Bishop Percy's beautiful ballad," Note 1 to Marmion (French, 86); his "charming poem," Fonblanque, i. 246.

[2] Bradley, Northumberland, 41.

[3] Bates, 96, 110.

[4] Hutchinson, ii. 262, 264. For description of the Hermitage, see Hartshorne, 212, who supposes that this Percy built the donjon or keep at Warkworth between 1435 and 1440 (ibid. 207), though Bates (165) attributes it to his grandfather the 1st Earl of Northumberland. Cf. Bates, Northumberland, 192; see also Bradley, Northumberland, 40, who describes the figure of "the recumbent female."

[5] For statement that he visited the king at Coventry qui benigne et graciose suscepit eum, see Kirkstall, Chron. 287

[6] Dep. Keep. Rept. xliii. 582; cito post Pascha (i.e. April 19), Kirkstall, Chron. 287; in nomen et habilitatem essendi fil de. Claus. 4 H. V, 17, April 14, 1416.

[7] Claus. 4 H. V, 11, Nov. 22, 1416; Rot. Parl. iv. 71; Dep. Keep. Rept. xliii. 582; Comp. Peer. vi. 81; Dict. Nat. Biogr. xliv. 405. Not in 1414, as Carte, ii. 676; Raine, North Durham, 327; Hassell, 222; i.e. the year in which permission to return had been granted, Kirkstall, Chron. 285; nor 1415, as Sandford-Townsend, i. 33; Doyle, ii. 647, where he is "restored Earl of Northumberland" on May 11, 1414; called May 11, 1415, in Guthrie, ii. 457.

[8] Wals. ii. 300; do. Hypodig. 450; Ott. 275; Dugd. Bar. i. 280. For his signature "H Northm̄byrlonde," see Nichols, Autogr. ii. 22; Doyle, ii. 648. For his seal, see Brenan, i. 89. For exemplification of his petition presented in the Parliament of Nov. 1414, see Pat. 3 H. V, i. 21 (May 11, 1415). Though he is called Earl of Northumberland in a list drawn up apparently before Aug. 8, 1415 (though supposed to be 1460 in Hodgson, III. i. 26), where he is credited with the castles of Alnwick, Warkworth, Alnham and Langley, Bates, 13.

[9] Hardyng, 372. On July 27, 1415, the Duke of Bedford received £2000 per annum in compensation until he should receive an equivalent in other grants, Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 27; Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Mich., Feb. 6, 1417; do. 5 H. V, Pasch., May 8, 1417; do. 7 H. V, Pasch., May 12, 18, July 24, 1419; also Iss. Roll 7 H. V, Mich., Oct. 27, Nov. 22, 30, 1419; Jan. 20, Feb. 22, 1420; Rec. Roll 8 H. V, Mich., Nov. 29, 1420; Dugd. i. 280; Dep. Keep. Rept. xliii. 581; Holinsh. iii. 545; Devon, 350; Fonblanque, i. 245; Wylie, ii. 281.

[10] Rot. Scot. ii. 219, 221; Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 213. For payments to him as Warden

appointed Warden of the East March of Scotland for two years, in succession to Richard Lord Grey of Codnor[1], in which capacity he was commissioned to treat with the Scots on June 7, 1417[2]. And this confidence in him is all the more remarkable as the moment was one of specially critical entanglement. For after repeated raids from both sides of the border, in which the English had burned Dumfries and the Scots under the Earl of Douglas had crossed into Cumberland and destroyed Penrith[3], arrangements had been lately made to call a truce and at the same time to see if some means could not be found to effect the release of King James[4]. Indentures had been already signed whereby it was agreed that the King of Scots should be temporarily set at liberty on providing hostages to the amount of 100,000 marks for his return. These were to be Murdach and his brother John Earl of Buchan, the Duke of Albany's brother[5], Walter Steward Earl of Athol and Caithness and Lord of Brechin, the Earl of Douglas, the Earl of Mar and Garioch (Alexander Stewart), Alexander Lindsay Earl of Crawford[6], the Bishops of St Andrew's (Henry Wardlaw) and Glasgow (William Lawder)[7], George Dunbar son of the Earl of March, Sir William Graham[8], and William Douglas of Drumlaurig, and King James was to travel up to Raby to meet them for the final arrangements. On March 12, 1417[9], the Earl of Westmoreland was empowered to issue

of the East March, see Iss. Roll 5 H. V, Pasch., May 21, 25, Aug. 3, 1415; also Iss. Roll 7 H. V, Mich., Feb. 22, 1420 (£2500); also Rec. Roll 8 H. V, Mich., Nov. 29, 1420.

[1] See Vol. I. p. 328, note 5.

[2] Rym. ix. 458; Rot. Scot. ii. 229.

[3] See page 318, note 3.

[4] Called "Jacobus Stuward regem Scotie," see Rym. ix. 417; Rot. Scot. ii. 219; cf. Cal. Doc. Scot. iv. 179; Wylie, ii. 393; though on June 26, 1417, the Duke of Albany as governor of Scotland refers to him as "my lorde ye kyng," Acts of Parlt. of Scotland, i. 589. On Aug. 1, 1416, the Count of Holland calls them officially "min leven neve Connick von Schotland ende den Hertoge van Albany synen oom," Mieris, iv. 378; cf. "Duc Darbury," Gilliodts van Severen, 341.

[5] He was beheaded in April 1437, after the assassination of James I, Douglas, i. 136.

[6] His father David had died circ. 1412 and he himself died in Jan. 1446, Douglas, i. 376; Exch. Roll Scot. iv. 248, 259; Wylie, ii. 383.

[7] From 1408 to 1425, Gams, 240; Eubel, i. 275.

[8] He was present at the Exchequer Audit when the customers presented their accounts in the chapel near the bridge over the Tay at Perth on June 15, 27, 1416, Exch. Roll Scot. iv. 240, 254, 261.

[9] Rot. Scot. ii. 220. In March 1417, the English council ordered that King James should be taken to Raby Castle and wait there till Easter (i.e. April 11) on the chance of the Scots coming to negotiate for his ransom, it being further ordered that they should only travel by the high road leading from Berwick southward, Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 221.

the necessary safe-conducts, and the lately released Earl of Northumberland was to be associated with him and Bishop Langley in the transaction from the English side[1]. But there was treachery in the air. Evil communications were passing between Albany and the Duke of Orleans at Pontefract[2], and the Lollards in the North were only waiting for the king's departure for France to renew the rising that had been scotched in Fickett's Field. Yet this was the very moment in which King Henry appointed a Percy to be Warden of the Eastern March and as events turned out he had ultimately no cause to repent his choice.

The recent discovery and publication of the missing portion of Adam of Usk's Chronicle have thrown an interesting light upon an episode in the life of the late Earl whose treason and flight into Scotland had been the cause of his grandson's troubles. It refers to the rebel Earl[3] during the interval between his intrigue with the Welsh for the partition of England in 1405 and the time when he returned to meet his death on the wintry field of Bramham Moor[4]. This little authentic touch has been hitherto unknown and the present seems a fairly suitable place for its insertion. He had for some time kept up a friendly feeling towards Flanders and while he was yet in England he had been admitted as a "helping brother[5]" (*frater ad succurrendum*) into the community of the Austin Canons in St Bartholomew's Abbey at Eeckhout or Eschout (i.e. Oakwood) at Bruges, and it was here that he stayed before crossing to try his final throw against the power of Henry IV in the winter of 1407. His fellow-rebel, Lord Bardolph, was staying at an inn in the centre of the town and Adam of Usk, who was in Bruges at the time, had frequent communications with both of them, receiving offers of great promotion if he would join them. He relates how in the evening of Nov. 12, 1407, a ball of fire as big as a tub flew through the air from the direction of England. It lit up the sky, struck against the belfry of St Mary's Church

[1] Rym. ix. 417, 418; Rot. Scot. ii. 219; Lawson, xxi.
[2] Tyler, ii. 219, from Vesp. F. iii. f. 5.
[3] Called "the unquiet and rancorous *old* Earl" in Oman, Hist. 194, 201, 211, 212.
[4] Not that he died "hors de sa patrie," as Larrey, 807.
[5] i.e. on June 7, 1405, Weale, La Flandre, 284, though he was apparently at Berwick at that time, Wylie, ii. 262.

(*onze Frouw*), and then split into two pieces which fell at the doors of the houses where the two conspirators were staying. This it was that probably made Adam turn his coat[1], and when he heard of the disaster at Bramham Moor three months afterwards he comfortably thanked the Searcher of Events that he had remained behind.

After a session of four weeks the members dispersed from Westminster on Wednesday, April 8, 1416, for a three weeks' recess, that each might be present in his own parish church on the coming Easter Day (April 19) according to the time-honoured use and custom[2]. They met again on Monday, May 8[3], when the king was present[4] seated on his throne in Westminster Hall and Bishop Beaufort again addressed them[5]. But this time his note was changed, for the Emperor Sigismund had arrived in England during the recess bringing with him news from Paris that the French were really anxious for peace, and it was believed to be only a question of asking formal advice of the English Parliament before proceeding to ratify and proclaim it. How long the members sat after this re-assembling is not known[6]. The real work for which they had been called was all completed before the Easter break[7], and for all the good that came of waiting for the conclusion of peace on the strength of Sigismund's expectations they might as well have stayed at home as we shall see abundantly hereafter.

Large numbers of petitions were presented but few were of much permanent interest, save perhaps one which already indicates that the satisfaction which was said to be reigning everywhere throughout the kingdom was not altogether unalloyed. From time out of mind it had been the custom that the king in impressing merchant ships in time of war

[1] Sic verti mantellum, Usk, 105 [284].

[2] Rot. Parl. iv. 72. Not that this was the last day of the Parliament, as Stubbs, iii. 94.

[3] Gesta, 77; Brougham, 126; see Vol. I. p. 62, note 10.

[4] He would appear to have spent the recess at Mortlake, see page 306, note 2. For councils held at Colebroke (? Colnebrook near Slough) and Brisham on April 14 and 15, 1416, see Exch. Accts. recording receipts of Henry Kays, Clerk of the Hanaper.

[5] Rot. Parl. iv. 72.

[6] Wake, 352. The mention of the *Christopher of Hull* which did not leave Bordeaux till after Easter, 1416 (Rot. Parl. iv. 85, 103; Vol. I. p. 118, note 7), and was captured by the Genoese carracks (c'est present Au puis le fest de Pasqu') points to a late dissolution.

[7] Gesta, 76; Capgr. De Illustr. 118.

should pay not only the wages of the crews[1] but an allowance at the rate of 3*s.* 4*d.* per ton[2] on the ship's portage for every three months in compensation to the owner for wear and tear. This tontight[3] or tonnage had been much reduced by Henry IV[4] until it stood as low as 2*s.* per ton, and now that such large numbers of ships were wanted for the war with France the owners seized the opportunity to press for the old-established rate of payment, otherwise they urged that there would be no inducement to increase and renew "the Navy" (i.e. the general merchant shipping of England), which was "the great backbone of the good and profit and prosperity of the realm[5]." The king replied that he would see that something right and reasonable should be done. And then a set was made at the Bretons[6] who still formed a part of Queen Joan's household in spite of the prohibition passed in 1406[7], their countrymen being looked upon with intense suspicion as England's greatest enemies[8], and the king now gave an undertaking that all should be forced to leave the country before Midsummer 1416[9]. Objection was taken also to the attempted stoppage of the fisheries of Iceland where English boats had netted great harvests during the last seven years, but were likely now to lose them owing to a recent remonstrance on the part of King Eric of Norway, and a guarded promise was given that the matter should receive consideration[10], eventuating in an ambiguous order that no

[1] Pro denariis nostris rationabiliter solvendis, Rym. ix. 791.

[2] Le possesseur de tiel nief prendrent del tontight 40*d.* en le quart par regard damender la nief a l'appaill di celle, Ancient Petitions, 5477, quoted in Oppenheim, 8, who translates it "by way of reward for repair of the ship and its gear." Not "for every Tonne over and above the fraight," as Cotton, 547.

[3] Cf. le tonage autrement apelle tonnetight, Exch. Warrants for Issues, Feb. 9, 1430, in Oppenheim, 8, who shows that stone and gravel were purchased by the tontight in 1490. Cf. pro quolibet tontigh (*sic*), Issue Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., May 11, 1416. For tontight, see Wylie, iv. 365.

[4] Puis quell temps tang en cea le dit tonnage a este detreie et abetu, Rot. Parl. iv. 79; cf. demenise jesq' 11*s.* (=2*s.*) le tontight, Oppenheim, 8, who dates this reduction from 1385 and says that it remained at that figure for at least 50 years.

[5] Pur taunt que la dit Naveye est la greindre substance du bñ profit et prosperitée du vrē dit Roialme, Rot. Parl. iv. 79; Nicolas, Navy, ii. 413; Clowes, i. 374.

[6] For a Breton named "Walter Hunt that was William's servant" in 1415, see Rot. Parl. iv. 74; cf. Wylie, i. 265.

[7] Wylie, ii. 425.

[8] For attacks by Bretons upon English shipping under letters of marque granted on June 13, 1416, on account of the existence of war between England and France, see Blanchard, ii. 203.

[9] Rot. Parl. iv. 79; Stat. ii. 193.

[10] Rot. Parl. iv. 80.

English were to fish in Icelandish waters except as had been customary of old[1]. This traffic, had it been encouraged, might have brought us into touch with the remote shores of Greenland, which had been discovered by an Icelander in the tenth century, and some colonists from Iceland afterwards landed there and founded settlements and built churches, with a Norse bishop of their own[2], who at this time was an Englishman[3]. But the Scandinavian government had recently forbidden traders to have dealings with them possibly because of the prevalence of leprosy amongst them[4], and henceforward all intercourse with the Greenland colonists practically ceased[5]. Nevertheless the episcopal succession was carried on in a titular sort of way[6] till it sparked out about 1440 as "the island (*sic*) of Greenland had been torn off from Europe[7]." The colonists themselves appear to have been annihilated either by cold or pestilence or by the attacks of Esquimaux, or some of them had passed over to the western or American side of that mysterious icebound land whence they could possibly peep into the new world that lay waiting opposite. At any rate when the Elizabethan explorers touched that coast two centuries later Greenland was reckoned to them as a new discovery as though no Europeans had ever been there before.

It will be remembered that a statute passed at Leicester in 1414 had enacted that enquiry should be made into the abuse of hospitals and their endowments, but so far the bishops who had been commissioned to enquire had taken no steps. They were now required to certify every case before March 1, 1417, and to take suitable action to reform

[1] Antiquitus fieri consuevit, Rym. ix. 322, Nov. 28, 1415; Lett. Bk. I, p. 160; cf. Wylie, ii. 85, note 2.

[2] i.e. since 1112; Gams, 334.

[3] i.e. Robert Hingman, see page 314; Larousse, ix. 809.

[4] McCulloch, ii. 586; Wylie, ii. 251, note 10.

[5] McCulloch, ii. 461.

[6] For Master Jacobus Treppe, a Franciscan appointed of Garden (i.e. *Gardar* in Greenland, Gams, 334; Eubel, i. 270) by Pope John XXIII March 27, 1411, see Eubel, Bullarium, vii. 437.

[7] Gams, 334. For enquiry as to sailing of vessels to "Island" instead of "Northbern" (i.e. Bergen) in 1439, see Cal. Pat. H. VI, iii. 315; called Ysland in Bouvier, Descript. 104, who in 1452 calls it moult grant isle et povre, et y a peu blez et grant foison bestial et chevaulx et tuent le gros bestial et le sallent et amènent en tonneaulx par mer et cuirs et cires et chevaulx et les ménent vendre es pais de Flandres et de Brebant par mer et aussi les poissons qu'ils peschent comme morues, stocphis et saulmons. For the merveilleux et grans poissons in the Arctic Sea (probably whales), see ibid. 102. For capture in 1419 by Flemish corsairs of an English ship with fish from Islande, see Dehaisnes-Finot, i. 329.

abuses within six months from that date under a penalty of £50[1]. To the many instances of reform in these institutions which I have already given[2] may be added the case of the well-known hospital at Sherburn near Durham. It had been originally founded as a home for 65 lepers[3], but the number of inmates had immensely declined, the funds had been wasted, and the hospital buildings were nearly in ruins. Twenty years after the Leicester Parliament fresh statutes[4] were drawn up allotting the remaining proceeds of the charity for the maintenance of 13 poor men and 2 lepers, provided that so many of the latter could be found in these parts[5]; a respectable elderly woman being appointed to wash their clothing, look after them when they were sick and minister to them in other necessary matters[6], and the reformed hospital remains to this present day. Clipping, washing and filing[7] the king's coin were now for the first time declared to be acts of treason and facilities were given for the detection and punishment of offenders, though the king refused to include within the definition those who knowingly brought in bad money from abroad[8], a plague under which the country was smarting sorely; the galley-halfpennies[9], for example, brought in by Venetian traders being debased to quite a third of their face value[10], while Dutch doitkins[11] and Flemish seskins[12] were so utterly bad

[1] Rot. Parl. iv. 81; Vol. I. page 358.

[2] Vol. I. chap. xx.

[3] Lemart. vii. 668; Surtees, i. 127; A. Lambert, 476–478; Wylie, ii. 251.

[4] Called ordinatio nova seu Reformatio hospitalis de Shirburn, July 22, 1434, Langley Reg. ff. 244–246; Surtees, i. 129; G. Newman, 22, 126. For the bull of Eugenius IV consenting to this reform dated Sept. 24, 1431, see Langley Reg. f. 244; Papal Lett. viii. 339.

[5] Duo tamen leprosi si in partibus reperiri poterunt, Langley Reg. f. 244.

[6] De unâ honestâ muliere vetulâ ad servand' ipsos debiles et infirmos, ad lavandum dictorum pauperum vestes et ad ministrandum eisdem in ceteris requisitis, ibid. f. 246.

[7] Ruding, i. 258. For enquiries in Southampton and Nottinghamshire contra factores, falsatores, lotores, scissores et multiplicatores monetae et cunagii in 1416–17, see Pat. 4 H. V, 3 d, 16 d, 18 d; also in Cheshire, Pat. 5 H. V, 4 d, Feb. 14, 1418. For report that there were none in Hampshire in 4 H. V, see Ad Quod Damn. 372. For William Howard a tailor who made counterfeit groats and half-groats at Colchester Sept. 4, 1421, see Benham, 47. For contrafactor misteriae monetae, cunagii multiplicator, lotor auri et argenti, see Rym. ix. 471.

[8] Rot. Parl. iv. 82; Stat. ii. 195; Chron. Lond. 104.

[9] Called the halfpenny of Genoa in Stow, Chron. 352. Cf. oboli Jannensium in Wals. ii. 315; see Blount, s.v. *Gallihalfpens.*

[10] Capgr. 313; Wals. ii. 315.

[11] Called dodekin, Rot. Parl. iv. 69; or dotkin, Stat. ii. 191. Cf. Murray, Dict., s.v. *Dodkin* or *dewskin.*

[12] Or suskins.

that an order had recently been issued that all those in actual circulation must be brought to the King's Change to be broken up[1]. As soon as the Parliament was dissolved intimations as to the legislation that had been passed were despatched to the Sheriffs[2] and by them circulated throughout the country.

[1] i.e. by Easter 1415, Ruding, i. 257, quoting Snelling, View of the Silver Coinage, p. 28.

[2] For payments to messengers, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Mich., Oct. 26, 1416.

In Bateson, Leicester, ii. 228, is a document dated by one of the Henrys at Leicester on May 24, anno 4. It is endorsed as Henry IV in a modern hand (cf. Hist. MSS. 8th Rept. 414), but the editor inclines for Henry V. There is, however, no evidence that Henry V was at Leicester on May 24, 1416. It is signed "Wymbyssh" at the foot, i.e. probably Nicholas Wimbish (? named from Wimbish near Saffron Walden) who was Clerk to the Chancery, temp. Henry VI, e.g. Ord. Priv. Co. vi. 347 (1424); ibid. 350 (1432). He was Archdeacon of Nottingham, held a Lincoln prebend in 1427 and died in 1460, Le Neve, ii. 158. For William Wimbish who resigned the vicarage of Ulting near Maldon (Essex) on Nov. 8, 1396, see Newcourt, ii. 616.

CHAPTER XLIII

VALMONT

THE money voted in this Parliament would certainly be greatly needed, for the French were already manifesting a wonderful power of recuperation. Before Lady Day (March 25) in 1416 an immense aid had been levied for the recovery of Harfleur, the holders of public offices had advanced 3000 livr. tourn., and the clergy were likewise called upon for a large extraordinary contribution[1]. To this end a large number of archbishops, bishops and other high ecclesiastics met in the Green Room of the Palace in Paris[2] and afterwards had a personal interview with the king in the Hostel of St Paul, at which they offered a tenth part of their incomes, to be paid at Midsummer and in August 1416.

Information as to the feeling of provincial France is scanty at that juncture, but something of value may be gleaned from the perusal of a solitary extract that has come down to us from the town records[3] of the port of Boulogne, whose settled population apart from the stream of pilgrims[4] is estimated to have then been about 3000 souls[5]. Three days after the disaster at Agincourt[6] all

[1] Ordonnances, x. 349, March 24, 1416. It was discussed by the Town Council at St Jean d'Angély on April 4, 1416, Aussy, iii. 203, where it is pour avoir galères et navires et faire guerre aux Anglois. In St Denys, v. 758, the taxation is said to have been trebled. For a hearth tax (*foage*) 2500 livr. tourn. levied in the Firez, March 1416, see Fréminville, 3.

[2] Ordonnances, x. 362, May 26, 1416.

[3] All the rest were destroyed by the English in 1544, Deseille, Inventaire, page iii.

[4] For pilgrimages to Our Lady of Boulogne, see Simeonis, 7; Dusevel, Boulogne, 391. For seal of Boulogne, i.e. a swan towing a ship with a knight on board (le chevalier au cygne), see Mém. Soc. Acad. de Boulogne, xii. 74. The swan alone remains in the modern arms granted to the town by Charles X in 1830, see Grande Encycl., s.v. *Boulogne-sur-Mer*.

[5] Rigaux, 1. This is based upon the number of 496 families who paid the hearth tax, taking an average of about 5 per family and allowing for clerics and others that were exempt.

[6] i.e. Oct. 28, 1415, Deseille, 424.

the towns of Northern France were in momentary dread of attack, and so the townspeople turned first for help towards the Duke of Burgundy as neighbours to his lands in Artois, and sent urgent messages to Ghent to his son the Count of Charolais as Governor of Flanders. Within two days[1], however, a force of crossbowmen had come in to help them from Montreuil, and, as soon as it was clear that the English were really moving on to Calais, such archers also came up as could be spared from Hesdin, St Riquier, St Lalen (near Airaines), Amiens and elsewhere, and a strong effort was made to put Boulogne into a better state of defence. On Nov. 15, 1415, the Lord of Viéville[2] came over from St Omer and mustered a force in the town[3]. Gunpowder, with the necessary sieves, plates, sacks, barrels and other appliances for mixing and packing it[4], had been sent from St Omer and the Abbot of Our Lady of Boulogne contributed 40 crowns to help to purchase ingredients[5]. Gunstones were stored in great abundance and millstones (*moulles*) were at hand to manufacture more if needed. The Mayor gave orders to the townsfolk to stock their store-rooms besides laying in large bags of biscuit[6] and supplies of salted meat for public distribution. The slope of the brook[7] was altered to secure a better flow of water to the moat, while masons and carpenters were at work on the walls stopping holes, repairing breaches and widening

[1] i.e. on Oct. 30, Deseille, 425.

[2] In Add. Ch. 13344 he is Lieutenant of West Flanders on Nov. 15, 1415. Called "la Vielzville" in Beauville, ii. 125; Mém. Soc. Acad. de Boulogne, ix. 171, where wages are paid on Dec. 25, 1415, to him and Monseigneur de Moreul (i.e. Moreuil, Somme); cf. Trahisons de France, 130.

[3] For his muster-roll with the names of 10 squires, see Add. Ch. 13344–5; Deseille, 425; Bulletin de la Soc. Antiquaire de Boulogne-sur-Mer, ii. 140.

[4] e.g. 28 cloques de terres (?=lumps, Godefroy, s.v. *Cloche*) pour essuier et afiner les mestiens de poure, 4 tamis (i.e. sieves) pour passer les mestins to the plateaux ou escuielles, 6 gattes (?) loces (?), entonnoir, sasfais de kennevak (=canvas sacks) et pipes ou tonneaux pour les contenir and 2 viefx bachines pour mettre feu, Deseille, 426. For 2 tonniauls plains de pouvre de canon, see La Fons Melicory, Artillerie, 11; 1 pipe of gunpowder (= 864 lbs.), Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 341; salpestre en 2 sacs, du soufre en une pothe (1417), 1 chartée (cart load) de charbon de saulle, Port, 328; barilie xii de polven de bombarder, Sathas, ii. 233.

[5] Deseille, 430.

[6] Polkes de vix bescuit, Regnoult, 70.

[7] Le dodane du rien, Deseille, 426; i.e. dos-d'âne or saddle back, donkey-back, Godefroy, s.v. *Dodasne*. For the Dos d'Ane at Caen, see Huet, 45, 55, where it is described as circeaux de pierre a cause de sa figure plus étroite par haut que par bas; cf. Carel, 199. For la butte de dos d'ane at Traniel on the Orvin in Champagne, see Batiffol, 173.

"windows[1]" for the freer play of the big guns[2] just recently received. On Nov. 6, 1415, the Baillie of Amiens and one of the king's secretaries (Master Gilles Chanteprime[3]) arrived to push forward arrangements to meet the expected attack of their "Mauvoisins[4]" at Calais, but no attack came, though all through the winter messengers[5] were arriving from the king and the Duke of Berry, who was specially anxious for the safety of the place, and claimed it on behalf of his young wife Jeanne who was Countess of Boulogne. At Martinmas (Nov. 11, 1416) vast crowds had flocked into the town as usual for the great three-days free feast[6], and special precautions were needed in the inns to guard against the risk of fire[7]. The winter, however, came and went, but no attack was made. Nevertheless there was every prospect that spring might bring another English fleet and that Harfleur might repeat itself at Boulogne. Accordingly three more large guns were cast at Rouen and made ready for despatch to Boulogne. One of them burst at its trial but the other two were sent on with a troop of artillers in carts[8]. Fourteen days were consumed on the

[1] Une fenêtre de pieries de taille es braiez, Deseille, 427. For wide square loop-holes for guns in walls of Sherborne Castle, see brass of Bishop Wyvill (1375) in Waller, Essenwein, 17, Plates A, VIII; Romocki, i. 164.

[2] A juer les kanons, Deseille, 426.

[3] For seal of Jean Chanteprime, Treasurer of Wars, Aug. 8, 1383, see Demay, Inventaire, i. 231. Called Receveur des Aides pour la guerre in 1389, Thibault, 163. He was Dean of the Chapter of Notre Dame in Paris in 1403, 1407 (Coyeque, ii. 39, 42, 43, showing that he was dead in 1414, with a reference to his will in which he left money to the Hôtel Dieu for masses, ibid. ii. 58). On Aug. 29, 1418, a clerk named Philippe who held one of Chanteprime's bursaries in the college of 18 at the Hôtel Dieu was expelled quia Burgundus, Coyeque, ii. 59. For Jean Chanteprime among the advocates of the Parliament of Paris on Aug. 5, 1417, see Felibien, iv. 563; Delachenal, 386. He was present in the Parliament, Nov. 12, 1416, Baye, ii. 272. For Walter (called "Gauchier" in Batiffol, 144) Chanteprime, King's secretary, commissioned to receive loans in July 1417, see Moranville, Extraits, 432.

[4] For seal of the family of Mauvoisin, see Demay, Inventaire, i. 624.

[5] e.g. Jan. 12, 1416, payment for wine on arrival of Messire Jaques Trousseau, Maistre d'hostel du roy et de Monseigneur de Berry; also Nov. 18, 1415, for a procureur of Madame la Duchesse de Berry, Deseille, 428. Cf. "leur vin," Toulgeot-Treanna, 128.

[6] Cf. le franque feste qui siet par trois jours comme il est acoustumé, Regnault, 148. For the franque feste de St Martin, cf. Deseille, 409. For martiner, chopiner, etc., see Godefroy, s.v. *Martiner*. For figure of a man killing a pig with a hatchet, to represent November in the tympanum of the portal of St Ursin in the cathedral at Bourges, see Girardot, Plate; cf. Wylie, iii. 61, note 1; also for killing and flaying oxen with basket full of salt, Durrieu, Turin, Plate XI. For robes for knights and squires of Duke of Orleans for Feast of St Martin, 1392, see Add. Ch. 2101.

[7] For order by sergeants to "Ostelains" de prendre warde au feu et a la candeille pour le grand nombre de gens alors à Boulongne, see Deseille, 429.

[8] For le grand canon of Amiens carted (sur un car) to Arras during the siege in 1414, see Hericourt, 329.

journey but the guns arrived safely at their destination on Feb. 10, 1416[1], and were duly stocked on two large oaks which had been felled to make the trunks. When spring-time came, and with it no attack, the garrison ventured out on plundering excursions of their own. On April 12, 1416[2], 500 of them sailed along the coast intent on lifting cattle in the marshes. But the men of Calais were ready for them and the whole party was either killed or drowned, and in the following month the Calais men made a counter-raid and brought off 9000 sheep[3].

But it soon became apparent that King Henry had really no intention of attempting to subdue the northern towns, all his energies being fully required to strengthen the precarious foothold he had already grasped at Harfleur. When the maimed and battered[4] fragments of his army started on their march to Calais he had left behind a force of 300 men-of-arms and 900 archers[5] to garrison Harfleur, for the payment of whose wages £3640 was required before the end of the year 1415[6]; and William Lovency was sent across to ascertain the needs of the place, especially in the matter of artillery. A thousand quarters of oats were to be sent over for the horses, the cost of which would be deducted from the wages when the time should arrive for payment; and as there was no money in the Treasury[7] advances were arranged for on the security of the grants. Then gangs of sawyers, carpenters[8], masons, tilers, brickmakers, labourers, and carters[9] were sent across from England to repair the

[1] Deseille, 431, where they pass through Francy between Etaples and Boulogne.
[2] Cleop. C. IV. 28.
[3] Ibid. f. 29.
[4] Foullez, travaillez et navrez, Le Baud, i. 451.
[5] Page 62. For Lancashire and Cheshire archers at Harfleur, see Exch. Accts. 406/29.
[6] Pour un quarī finant le darrein jour de Decembre, Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 185.
[7] Il n'y a de monoie j'a pūnt en la Tresorie, Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 185.
[8] For John Janyn, one of the King's master carpenters, commissioned to bring over to Harfleur 16 carpenters and sawyers (*sarratores*) from Southampton, see Pat. 4 H. V, 8 dors. Dec. 9, 1416. His acct. in For. Accts. 1 H. V, c shows that this was pro factura del Boulwerk; also for repairing houses, bridges and ditches (fossarum) and that he sailed from Southampton on Feb. 8, 1417. Exch. Accts. 406/29 shows payments made before Dec. 31, 1415, for flour and wine for 119 carpenters, 119 miners, 119 labourers, 41 smiths, 20 canoners and 68 servitores together with masons and other artificers; also for oxen, sheep, pigs (for bacon), salt fish, stockfish, sent by water from London to Southampton and delivered to them either there or at Harfleur. For 54 barrels of wine herbergez at Harfleur after the king left, see ibid.
[9] For 20 carectarii and 120 laboratores to be sent to Harfleur, see Pat. 4 H. V, 5 d, Dec. 14, 1416.

walls and buildings, together with ditchers and delvers to dig a fresh moat, and soon the place was again in a strong condition for defence. That the proclamations inviting merchants, artificers and others to cross and take up their abode as settlers resulted in a large influx of permanent English inhabitants[1] is proved by numerous instances where grants of houses and gardens to Englishmen appear on the Norman Rolls, and as the settlers were expected to bring with them supplies of corn, flour, wine, ale, beer, fish, flesh and linen and woollen clothing such as breeches, doublets and hose as well as shoes, sheets, or "any manner ware of armour, artilrye or other stuff[2]," their presence was probably a source of strength from the outset, while quantities of wine[3], wheat, malt and beef, whether live-stock or in bacons, came over in abundance to meet any immediate need[4].

It is generally believed that when King Henry entered Harfleur in triumph he had all the town records burnt in the open street, and it is said that this fact is stated in the charter granted to the place by Charles VIII after our final expulsion. This statement I have not been able to verify, but the fact is probable enough as the same policy was pursued by Henry at the capture of Caen and Lisieux two years later, and a cursory examination that I was allowed to make some years ago of the records still existing in the Mairie at Harfleur seemed to show that all the official documents of a date prior to the siege of 1415 have now disappeared, while there are very many evidences that houses and other property previously belonging to dispossessed French inhabitants passed at once into the hands of the

[1] For John Okehurst of London, fishmonger, in the service of the Earl of Dorset at Harfleur, see Pat. 4 H. V, 3, March 14, 1417.

[2] Letter Book I, 162, where this "cry for common passage to Harfleur" is assigned to June 1416 (also Riley, Mem. b 28), but as it refers to the king as "being at Harflewe" the year would seem to be inappropriate. Sharpe, London, i. 261, throws no light on the difficulty. The proclamation is undated but the settlers are invited to be ready "between this and today sevenyght" with their "ware, stoffure and vitailles" and the Mayor of London will assign them ready shipping and passage.

[3] For £2331. 17*s.* 0*d.* paid to Thomas Chaucer for wine for Harfleur, Jan. 23, 1416, see Exch. Accts. 328/6.

[4] For order dated Jan. 7, 1416, for 300 quarters of wheat and 50 quarters of malt to be sent to Harfleur from Yarmouth; also 1000 bacons collected at Chichester and 2000 Welsh cattle at Haverford West, see Gesta, 226 from MS. Donat (i.e. Sloane), 4600, art. 163.

English intruders. At first the garrison were beset by enemies, and as they had to live largely by plunder they raided the whole country for miles round in order to keep themselves in food; and as every man kept his watch at night he had his mastiff ready in the leash to guard against surprise[1]. Gradually they extended their field of operations until in the last week of November 1415[2], a large party of them[3] under John Fastolf[4] approached within six miles of Rouen and captured 500 prisoners[5] at Le Paulu[6] near Duclair, but they were not able to retain them for they were in turn attacked and several of their own men were lost[7]. Though in another raid on Dec. 19, 1415[8], 800 churls were caught and driven into Harfleur. With the turn of the New Year the first garrison at Harfleur was replaced and a fresh force of 900 men-of-arms and 1500 archers was ordered to cross from Southampton to take their place. The Earl of Dorset was to be in supreme command as Captain of Harfleur with John Fastolf, John Blount and Thomas Carew[9] as his lieutenants, and Englishmen were appointed to fill the offices of Treasurer, Controller, Victualler, Avener[10], Bailiff, Janitor[11] and so forth. But though one of the king's ships, the *Trinity Royal*[12], was prepared

[1] A masty hound at a lyes to berke and warne, Noblesse, pp. v, 15, on the information of John Fastolf; cf. mastyoyns are sare (? save) bytynge dogges in the lytell houses uppon the walls, Caxton, Fayt of Arms, ii. 158, in Cent. Dict., s.v. *Mastiff*. Called mistions, mongrel or grete crosse, in Cotgr., s.v. *Mestif*.

[2] Called Nov. 18, 1415, in Cleop. C. IV. ff. 27, 28; Kingsford, 180; do. Chron. 123.

[3] Called 3000 fighting men in Monstr. 397; Le Fèvre, i. 285; Halle, 73; or 4000 in Waurin, ii. 238; or 1400+2000 in Juv. 531; or 800 in all, Kingsford, Chron. 123.

[4] Scrope, 172.

[5] Called 800 in Wals. ii. 314, who says that they were kept safe in Harfleur. In Kingsford, Chron. 123, the number is given as 2040.

[6] Called "pavelen," "that is foore englisch myle from Rowane" in Kingsford, Chron. 123.

[7] Juv. 522.

[8] Kingsford, Chron. 123.

[9] For statement that he had with him 33 knights and he "contynually defended the towne by the space of 1 year and a half" after the departure of Henry V, see Noblesse, 15; Halle, 62. For his muster at Dartmouth (60+120), April 3, 1415, for safeguard of the sea, see Exch. Accts. 48/9. He landed at Southampton on May 23, 1415.

[10] For Reginald Curteys, vitaller and Robert Castell, avener of Harfleur, see Exch. Accts. 406/29, where the former receives stores from Jordan Bovanyng, master of our ship the *Holigost* before Dec. 31, 1415. Castell had formerly been clerk of the Marshalsea, Exch. Accts. 47/26; Nicolas, Agincourt, where he sails from Southampton in 1415 in the king's retinue with 3 archers.

[11] For William Overe appointed bailiff and William Fynbarogh, janitor of Harfleur on Sept. 27, 1417, see Rot. Norm. 157.

[12] For payments to Stephen Thomas, master of the king's ship called *le Trinite Riall de la Toure* for as many sailors as are wanted for the passage of Thomas, Earl of Dorset

in readiness for the Earl of Dorset's crossing yet he was still in London on Feb. 24, 1416[1], soon after which date the force appears to have crossed from Southampton[2]; and it was not long before they got to close quarters with the enemy at Montivilliers[3] and killed 300 of them[4] in a sharp engagement, while a party of them put across to the south bank of the Seine and plundered the country near the Abbey of Grestain, one of them who was captured being hung up as a spy at the gates of Harfleur[5]. Flushed with their first success they prepared at once for a longer foray which nearly lost them their hold on Harfleur altogether.

In the evening[6] of March 9, 1416[7], the Earl of Dorset accompanied by his two lieutenants, John Fastolf and John Blount[8] started with 1000 mounted men[9] for a three days' raid[10]. They burnt and ravaged to the north sweeping almost to the Channel coast. They set fire to Cany[11] near St Valery,

about to cross in her to Herfleu, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Jan. 31, 1416; ibid. Jan. 11, 1416, has £666. 13*s.* 4*d.* to pay 80 sailors in two large ships, the *Trinity* and the *Holigost*, about to cross to Harfleur in comitiva of Earl of Dorset and stay there for a quarter. For purchase of anchors for the *Holy Ghost*, see ibid. Jan. 23, 1416. For payments to William Catton, clerk of the king's ships, for 2 masters, 2 constables, 2 carpenters and 394 marinarii for *La Trinitee* and *la Holigost*, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., April 20, 1416.

[1] Jurade, 331. See page 269.

[2] Con gens et vitalhas, Jurade, 331.

[3] For document relating to a muster of the French at Montivilliers dated May 1, 1416, with the seal of Boucicaut, though he was then a prisoner in England, see Demay, Inventaire, i. 600, where there is another document with his seal received in Paris on Dec. 20, 1415.

[4] Called 2000 in Usk, *129*; cf. puix le Noel derroin y eut pluseurs et grant nombre de gens tenant à parti dou roy de France mors et tuez, Blanchard, v. 205, where the editor supposes this to refer to Valmont.

[5] Ronciere, ii. 216, from Bibl. Nat. MS. Fr. 26041, p. 5132.

[6] Post cenam clanculo discessit, Strecche, 268.

[7] The fight is dated March 11 in Cleop. C. IV. f. 28; Kingsford, Chron. 123; or in the beginning of Lent (Ash Wednesday being March 4, 1416) in Otterb. 177; Wals. ii. 134; or March 14 in Norm. Chron. 22, 24 (called pages 59, 60 in Cagny, 103, note; quoted in Morosini, ii. 105, note); do. Hellot, 23; Nagerel, 168; or about March 20 in Strecche, 268; shortly before Easter, Bess, Bundniss, 642; not in Dec. 1415, as Raoulet, 155; nor Jan. 1416, as Cousinot, 135; A. Martin, 208.

[8] Raoulet, 155, where they are called Jean Fastol and Thomas Blout chevaliers en garnison.

[9] Called 900 in Capgr. De Illustr. 118; Noblesse, 28; or 1400 in Strecche, 268; or 1500, Wals. ii. 314; 1600+1500 archers, St Denys, v. 752; 3000 in Raoulet, 155; Pol. Verg. 448; toute sa puyssance, Meuillon, 20; which becomes 15000 in Verneuil, 217.

[10] Destrousse, Cagny, 103; Godefroy (=*pillage*); Cotgrave (=*incursion*), s.v.

[11] Sur la rivière de Grainville (i.e. the Durdent which rises near Grainville la Teinturière), Norm. Chron. 173; or Granville, do. Hellot, 23; Nagerel, 167; not "up the Seine," as Gierth, 26; nor "in Rothomagensi agro," as Pol. Verg. 448. In Hellot, 23, the English leave Cany on March 14, 1416; also Holinsh. iii. 556; A. Martin, Leure, i. 208. For account of Cany, see Labutte, 180, who dates these events in 1415 (p. 183). For map of Cany and Valmont, see Ardouin-Dumazet, xvii. 40.

but as they neared Ouainville[1] they found themselves cut off by the Count of Armagnac who was posted at Valmont[2] with a force of 5000 Frenchmen[3], among them being Louis de Loigny[4], one of the Marshals of France, the Viscount of Narbonne[5] and two captains who were also chroniclers, the Gascon Guillaume de Meuillon and the Norman Jean Rollet (or Raoulet), both of whose accounts of the event still remain.

Instantly dismounting his men and sending his horses and baggage to the rear the Earl of Dorset drew up his forces to receive their attack, scorning all summons to surrender. The Frenchmen who remained mounted[6] charged furiously and repeatedly till the English broke and fled in confusion leaving 160 dead[7] on the field, who were afterwards buried where they fell. But while the enemy were busy securing the plunder and killing the keepers of the baggage in the rear the Earl of Dorset, though himself severely wounded[8], collected his captains[9] and managed to

[1] Called Bienville in Norm. Chron. 173; A. Martin, Leure, i. 208; or Vieuville in Nagerel, 167; Hellot, 23.

[2] En un assez beau champ grant, sec
Auprès de Vallemont-en-Caux. Martial de Paris, i. 22.
Called Vallemont-de-Saunosses (possibly de St Ouen de Bosc) in Raoulet, 135; or Vaumont in Gaguin, Mer des Chroniques, cxli; not Vademont, as Speed, 784; nor Villemont, as Kennett, i. 319; nor Vallement, as Bess, Bundniss, 645. Strecche, 268, represents that the English had plundered Valmont. In Verneuil, 217, they are "enclos en l'Abbaye de Valmont" and outnumbered. For account of Valmont with the tomb of Nicholas d'Estouteville, see Labutte, 169.

[3] Gesta, 69; Elmham, Lib. Metr. 130. 600 of them together with 8 cartloads of provisions had come from Rouen, Cotton, 276. The total is given as 1800 in St Denys, v. 750; Juv. 531; about 10,000 in Noblesse, 28; or 4000 on each side, Waurin, ii. 238; or 15,000, Wals. ii. 315; Gesta, 72; magnified to 40,000 in Verneuil, 217; or 50,000 in Strecche, 268.

[4] Called Loys de Ligny in Meuillon, 13; not Lungny, as Raoulet, 155; nor Longny, as Verneuil, 217; Raynal, ii. 472; nor Longwy, as Ramsay, ii. 236. Marascallus longuyacus, Gaguin, 203; i.e. since 1411, Anselme, vi. 775 (where Loigny is in Le Perche); Mas-Latrie, 2182; though Menzeray (ii. 571) considers him as the *successor* of Boucicaut.

[5] Bouvier.

[6] Belle course de chevaulx, Martial de Paris, i. 22.

[7] Reading viii^{xx} for viii^{cc} in Norm. Chron. 174; do. Hellot, 23; Nagerel, 168, as reported by those who buried them; cf. Dupleix, ii. 720, who names the Lord of Villequier as the leader of the attack; A. Martin, Leure, i. 208. Called 22 dead and 200 prisoners in Raoulet, 155; "assez de mors," Meuillon, 20; called 300 in Kennett, i. 319; Echard, 187; or more than 300, Pol. Verg. 448; or 400 in Bouvier, 431; Martial de Paris, i. 22; Meyer, 249; Gaguin, 203; Mer des Chron. cxli; Mamerot, 273; Belleforest, Chron. 321; Speed, quoting "Nich. Giles Alain (i.e. Jean) Chartier"; Duck, 74, who calls the Count of Armagnac "John"; called 600 in Kingsford, Chron. 123, where they are called "foles that wolde not be rewelyde"; or 800 killed and wounded, Monstr. 397; Le Fèvre, i. 285; Duchesne, 826; or 1800 to 2000, Cochon, 276.

[8] Cleop. C. IV. 28; Kingsford, Chron. 123.

[9] Strecche, 268, who names Baron Carew and John Jenico.

extricate himself under cover of the fences of a neighbouring spinny[1], and then in the stillness of the night[2] he effected a stealthy retreat to the coast, not without the connivance of the Count of Armagnac[3], who foresaw a grave difficulty in dislodging him. Abandoning all his horses and stuff[4], he rallied his men in the woods at Les Loges[5] near Etretat, took with him one day's provisions only[6], and after a toilsome night-march along the pebbly shore[7] they at length reached St Adresse some 20 miles away[8]. Here they fancied themselves to be at last secure when suddenly at daybreak they found that the enemy were again upon them.

When the fact of their escape got wind a burst of indignation prevailed in the French camp, and a strong force under the Marshal Louis de Loigny[9] started in pursuit with orders however from the Count of Armagnac not to engage the fugitives but to block their way to Harfleur and hold them till he himself should come up and finally annihilate them[10]. Being mounted while the English had trudged all night a-foot, the Marshal's troops caught up with them at sunrise, and from the slopes of the Chef de Caux[11] they saw their enemy halted in the marshes below[12]. Disregarding

[1] Cagny, 103. For spinny (=taillis, copse), see Duclaux, 178, 270; Halliwell, 782; St Denys, v. 756; en ung jardin de pal dehors, Martial de Paris, i. 22; en un jardin qui estoit avironnez de fortes hayes d'epines, Le Fèvre, i. 285; Monstrelet, 397. For hedges in France, see Monstr. 415; ung petit bouquet, Verneuil, 217, who says that they made ung parc de paux (i.e. a palisade); cf. in quodam crofto, Strecche, 268, who represents that 400 English made a stand here against 4000 French and killed 2000 of them without the loss of a single man.

[2] Called "at daybreak" in Waurin, ii. 239. In Capgr. 313; Wals. ii. 314, they march for a day and a night.

[3] Norm. Chron. 174; Strecche, 268, represents that he offered terms, viz. that every gentleman (*generosus*) should surrender and every archer have his right hand cut off.

[4] Barnage, see Cotgr., s.v. *Bernage*. Cf. all her horse and caryage were there take from hem, Kingsford, Chron. 123.

[5] Empris le chastel de Logez, Cochon, 276.

[6] Strecche, 268.

[7] Dessus les grèves, Nagerel, 168; Norm. Chron. 174; do. Hellot, 24; par les grèves de la mer, Cagny, 103; ad latus maris, Gesta, 71; juxta littus maris, Wals. ii. 315; super tabulam maris ambulando, Strecche, 268, who represents that the French followed super ripam maris; called "the sand of Chief de Caux," in Kennett, i. 319.

[8] Not 20 leagues, as Elmham, Lib. Metr. 130; nor 40 miles, as Ramsay, i. 236.

[9] Bouvier, 432; see page 334, note 4.

[10] St Denys, v. 758; Juv. 531.

[11] De clivo montis, Strecche, 268.

[12] Sur les marais assez près de Harfleur, Monstr. 397; Le Fèvre, i. 285; Bouvier, 432; errants sur la mer, Nagerel, 168; Norm. Chron. 174; do. Hellot, 24; in zabulo maris, in littore maris, Strecche, 268. Called 2 leagues from Harfleur in Waurin, ii. 239; Cagny, 103, calls it a place qui avoit de grans roches et très male descente. In Raoulet, 155, they fight en la falaise de la mer au chief de caux. Cf. prez du chief de caux juxta Kydicaux, Strecche, 268; called the Journey of Kedecaux, Noblesse, 28; bellum de

express orders they scampered down the cliff[1], dismounted at the foot and at once forced on a furious conflict. The English were all worn and footsore with the long night-march[2] and it seemed as if this time they must succumb; but they had the best of the ground[3], and though they lost heavily[4] owing to some unsteadiness in their ranks[5] at the first onset, yet in the end they stood firm and close[6] against great odds[7], using their axes with such deadly effect[8] that they killed 200[9] of the French and would have cut the whole force to pieces had not the Count of Armagnac come up to the rescue of the rest. The English stayed to strip the dead and fling their bodies into the sea[10] and then made their way back with 800 prisoners[11] to Harfleur unopposed, the Earl of Dorset being taken round in a boat because of his painful wounds. He was certainly back at Harfleur by March 24, 1416[12]. The Count of Armagnac then re-established himself for a short time at Montivilliers, whence however he was soon called off to suppress a serious Burgundian rising in Paris. Before leaving he severely reprimanded his subordinates for their rashness[13] in attacking without orders, and with a curious inconsistency he hanged 50 of his men at Caudebec for having run away when the fight had begun[14]. As might have been expected in such

Kedecaux, Worcester Itin. 372. A. Martin, Leure, i. 202, places the fight on the marshes of Leure, or at Bas Sanvil, now totally submerged, do. Chef-de-Caux, 87.

[1] Per rupes in ripam maris, Strecche, 268. Not that the Count of Armagnac was with them, as Wals. ii. 314.

[2] Gens jejuna, lassa, famelica, sannique penuria fatigata, Wals. ii. 314.

[3] In Cagny, 103, the French n'avoient place de chemin agsiée a eulx mestre en ordonnance.

[4] Called 80 or 100 men in Cochon, 276; 400 in Meyer, 248; 500 or 600 in Cagny, 103.

[5] Cleop. C. IV. f. 28.

[6] En belle ordonnance et serrés, Juv. 531. Not that they "charged desperately *up the hill* on which the French were posted," as Kingsford, 181.

[7] Called 1000 against 3600.

[8] Securibus eos ceciderunt, Strecche, 268.

[9] Mais les ditz Angloys en tuèrent
Bien deux cens par leur grant oultrage.
Martial de Paris, i. 23.

Bouvier, 432; Monstr. 397; but called 80 or 100 in Cagny, 103; 1200 in Le Fèvre, i. 286; Waurin, ii. 239; 1500 in Elmham, Lib. Metr. 131; moult de gens, Verneuil, 217, who places these events *before* the battle of Agincourt.

[10] Strecche, 268.

[11] Kingsford, Chron. 123; Montfaucon, iii. 167. Called "multa millia" (i.e. killed and captured) in Strecche, 268.

[12] For a letter written by him at Harfleur on that day, see Jurade, 344.

[13] Pur leur témérité, Bouvier, 432.

[14] St Denys, v. 760; Cagny, 103.

a game of one lose and one win[1], both sides claimed the honours, but the English finished with a win; and it is perhaps not surprising that when the news reached London it was hailed as another merciful intervention on the part of Divine Providence proving once again the justice of King Henry's title to the throne of France[2]. It is true that the Earl of Dorset had extricated himself from a deadly trap with wonderful nerve and pluck, yet his foolhardy adventure had cost him immensely dear in men, horses and material, and he at once sent over a message to Southampton to represent the danger of his weakened position. Seeing no ready prospect of relief he despatched his Treasurer (Thomas Barneby[3]) and his Victualler (Reginald Curteis[4]) on April 14, 1416, with a despairing letter to the Council in England representing his dire need especially in the matter of horses and artillery and such prime necessaries as corn, meal, malt[5] and cheese, and that if these were not at once sent out he would have to evacuate Harfleur by New Lent[6]. They

[1] Une foiz perd et l'autre gaignier, Le Fèvre, i. 286; Waurin, ii. 239; Mezeray, ii. 571.

[2] Gesta, 73.

[3] For an undated document signed Thomas Barneby, treasurer, Simon Ffleet, controller de hareflete (appointed controller March 30, 1416; ? from Dec. 31, 1415), and Regnault Courteys gardein de nos vitailles, see Calig. D. 5, f. 11. (8).

[4] He is still Vitellar of Harfleur in Iss. Roll 6 H. V, Pasch., May 6, 14, 1418. He had been one of the commissioners sent over to Holland to hire ships on April 4, 1415, Rym. ix. 416. In Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 344 (Jan. 27, 1418) he is going to Bruges ad explorandum, i.e. to find out the intentions of the French. He was of Wragby in Lincolnshire and married Margaret daughter of Reginald Lord Cobham of Sterborough, Kirk, lv, through whom he obtained the manor of Westcliff in the Honor Perch in Kent midway between Dover and Deal, Hasted, iv. 28; Inq. p. Mort. iv. 39. He also owned a messuage in Calais, Inq. p. Mort. iv. 64 (=9 H. V). An inquisition held at Dover after his death in 1419 (i.e. 6 H. V) shows that he had a son Reginald who was then 12 years old, but he seems to have died soon afterwards, for in 1422 the son and heir is called Durand Curtis then 13 years old, Kirk, lv. For documents chiefly from French Rolls relating to Reginald Curteys from 1377 to his death in 1419, see Kirk, liii, who starts a very singular theory that he is the same person as Thomas Chaucer on the strength of a payment to Thomas Chaucer "de noun" (which probably means per manus). The theory begins with the statement that Reginald Curtis "*may* be a nickname for Thomas Chaucer" and that "no one can actually deny the possibility of an alias being intended" (p. liii), but two pages later (p. lv) we are told that Thomas Chaucer had "definitely adopted the name of Reginald Curtis," which he *may* have done some time before 1395, and then (p. lvi) that Thomas Chaucer "was the missing Reginald Curteis, jun." or that he *may* have been a stepson of Geoffrey Chaucer (p. lvi) or an adopted son (p. lii) and so on.

[5] Brasei, brees, Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 196; cf. Rot. Parl. iv. 81; Godefroy, s.v. *Brasse*; Du Cange, s.v. *Brace*.

[6] Au nouvel Quaresme, Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 196. This can scarcely mean Quinquagesima or Shrove Sunday (cf. Carnisprivium novum, Du Cange, ii. 179; Nicolas, Chron. of Hist. 128; Rot. Parl. iv. 87) which was already past and would not recur till Feb. 25, 1417. It may however possibly mean the second of the four Fasts of the year, i.e. Whitsuntide, cf. Quatretemps in Grande Encycl. ix. 387, s.v. *Carême*, dating from Leo I (440–461). The date of the letter, viz. "xiiij jour d'avril," is quite distinct in the original,

urged also that at least 6 ships, 8 barges and 12 balingers should be kept afloat to protect the sea and especially the entrance to the Seine, in order to ensure the safe delivery of whatever supplies were to be sent[1]. Such an appeal could not be disregarded and large stores were collected to be forwarded to Harfleur in May 1416[2]. Amblers and trotters were to be brought across[3] and the supplies include 1000 bows, 2000 trusses of arrows, 100 gross of strings[4], 100 crossbows[5], 200 barrels of honey, 100 beef tarts, 2000 bacon tarts[6], besides corn[7], beer, malt[8], oats, peas and beans[9], vinegar, stockfish[10], live cattle[11] and sea coal. But if these welcome supplies ever reached their destination it must have been under serious risk of capture, for communication with Harfleur was by that time becoming very precarious indeed. On May 5, 1416[12], the Earl of Huntingdon was placed in command of the shipping that was gathered from the south, the contingent from the west[13] being under Edward[14] Courtenay, son of the Earl of Devonshire[15].

MS. Calig. D. III. 130 (174), though no year is given. The year 1403 given in the Cotton Catalogue, p. 152, is certainly quite wrong.

[1] "That vitailes may come and go," Calig. D. 5, f. 11. (7), a damaged document in which one of the bearers of the message is called "Sire John," probably John Scudamore (Skydemore, or Skidmere) knight (see O.P.C. ii. 196). He had been Sheriff of Herefordshire in 1409 (List of Sheriffs, P.R.O. p. 60) and had represented that county in the two parliaments of 1414, Return Parl. i. 281, 283.

[2] For £2000 paid to Reginald Curteys on this account, see Exch. Accts. 328/6, May 9, 1416; Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., May 11, 1416; also £86. 16*s*. 4*d*. for beer, ibid. July 6, 1416. For £35. 6*s*. 8*d*. + £133. 6*s*. 8*d*. paid to Reginald Curteys per manus Thomas Barneby, Treasurer of Harfleur, for freightage of goods lately shipped, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., May 27, June 5, 1416. For order dated April 14, 1416, to Simon Flete, Controller of Harfleur, and Robert Barber, Deputy-Victualler, for Reginald Curteys to charter ships for conveying wheat, &c. to Harfleur, also sailors, balistars, workmen and artisans, see Pat. 4 H. V, 36 dors.

[3] Cf. ambulantes, trottantes, Pat. 4 H. V, 34, May 8, 1416.

[4] Also £429. 2*s*. 4*d*. for bows, arrows and strings, Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., July 4, 1416.

[5] For bowstring pro asseris (i.e. stocks) balistarum, see Exch. Accts. 328/6 *ut sup*.

[6] For 1000 bacons for Harfleur to be brought to London cum festinacione, also 2000 Sussex bacons via Winchelsea, see Pat. 4 H. V, 36, Apr. 20, 1416.

[7] For 1000 quarters of wheat for Harfleur, also 1000 quarters of Essex wheat, and 50 do. of Sussex wheat, see Pat. 4 H. V, 36, April 20, May 1, 1416.

[8] For 2000 quarters of malt (*brasei*) for Harfleur, see ibid.

[9] For 500 quarters of peas and the same amount of beans, see ibid.

[10] For £32. 13*s*. 4*d*. paid to R. Curteys for stockfish, see ibid., July 24, 1416.

[11] For 200 cattle for Harfleur (via London), see ibid., May 1, 1416.

[12] Rym. ix. 344. [13] Ibid. 364.

[14] Unless this is a mistake for Hugh, see B. B. Montereau, p. 13.

[15] i.e. son of Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire (b. circ. 1357), and Eleanor daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, Comp. Peer. ii. 386; iii. 104; Doyle, i. 575; Kingsford, 127. For his appointment as Keeper of the New Forest, Nov. 20, 1415, see Pat. 3 H. V, ii. 8. He died before June 9, 1418, Rym. ix. 595. His

They were instructed to make their way direct to Harfleur and get provisions in to relieve the place, after which they were to scour the channel and attack any ships (especially French) that they might come across excepting those of nations with whom England was in league, amongst which were reckoned Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Holland, Prussia, Castile, Portugal and Flanders[1], while at the same time John Clifford, Lord of Skipton[2], was to guard the sea towards the north. Whether these instructions were ever actually carried out, or whether shipping really left Southampton at all may perhaps be doubted, for by the time the orders were issued fresh complications had ensued and Southampton had to look after its own interests even at the risk of leaving Harfleur to its fate.

father made his will at Tiverton Castle June 29, 1419, Dugd. i. 640; Test. Vet. 197, in which he desires to be buried in the Cistercian Abbey at Ford near Axminster, Monast. v. 377. He died at Tiverton on Dec. 5, 1419 (not Nov. 5, as W. H. Rogers, 59), and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son Hugh Courtenay, who in a letter dated Plymouth, July 13, 1421, when he is crossing to Normandy calls himself son of Edward, Earl of Devon, Lyte, Dunster, 108; Worthy, 96. For Hugh Courtenay, Sheriff of Devonshire in 1418–19, see Rec. Roll 7 H. V, Pasch., May 13, 1419; List of Sheriffs, P.R.O. p. 35, where he is called Hugh Courtenay the elder. In Cotton MS. Vespasian art. 40, f. 29, is a letter dated Exeter the day of St Benet, ?Dec. 4 (s.a.), written by Hugh Courtenay fitz Edward le Conte de Devon of which the bearer is Robert Hake. It begins "Dere and Welbyloved" and refers to a protection for Edward Langynow (alias Langnow) and to letters sent by Henry Fortescue to the writer at Stanys to write for protection for "Hanley of Derbemouth" (see I. 330) and many other "that ye do him favour the foresaid Edward." On March 22, 1422, Hugh Earl of Devon, being absent in France, deputes his uncle Hugh Courtenay to represent him as Steward at the installation of Edmund Lacy as Bishop of Exeter, Hist. MSS. Var. Coll. iv. 82.

[1] Rym. ix. 345, May 12, 1416; Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 200.

[2] Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 199. He was now 28 years of age and had married Hotspur's daughter Elizabeth, Comp. Peer. ii. 290; Wylie, iii. 153 note; Beltz, 323. He was made K.G. May 3, 1421 (Beltz, clviii) and was killed at Meaux March 13, 1422. His body was buried in Bolton Abbey in Wharfedale, Whitaker, Craven, 310.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE BATTLE OF THE SEINE[1]

THE advent of the Count of Armagnac had wrought a marvellous change in the prospects of the French. It has long been the fashion to dwell upon his heartlessness and cruelty[2], but there was a time when he was regarded as a lover of justice and fairness, who never did a wrong to any man[3]. There is however no question that to those who suffered under his fierce repressive hand in Paris he seemed a wolf[4] or a devil in human shape[5], and the truth seems to be that he was a strong and forceful baron[6] accustomed to having his own way amongst his people in the south; and if it is true that when thwarted he often showed the blunt brutality of the Gascon[7], it is no less true that in many ways he was the very man to lift his country from the depths of the Agincourt despair. He had arrived in Paris as we

[1] For the two battles, viz. Bedford, Aug. 15, 1416, Huntingdon, July 25, 1417 (not 1416, as Lett. Bk. I, xxix), see Oppenheim, 13.

[2] Sa violence habituelle, son autorité maudite, Ménorval, 5, 58.

[3] Bonal, 544, where he is d'une grande prudence et fort homme de bien.

[4] Bernart d'Ermignac qui coer de renart
Ou de leu ot par fausseté
Par rapine et par malvaisté. Pastoralet, 845, where he is called Lupal and his followers Lupalois (p. 850).

[5] Ung ennemy en fourme de homme, Bourgeois, 133; aussi cruel homme qui fust ancques, do. 629.

[6] Vir providus consulti pectoris et strenuus in rebus bellicis, St Denys, vi. 194. Besides being Count of Armagnac he was also Count of Fezenzac, Pardiac and Rodez, Gaujal, ii. 281, 282.

[7] In Guthrie (ii. 469) he is "a true Frenchman with a laudable patriotism." Cf. "un mechant homme mais un homme de tête et de main," Michelet, vi. 50; Meindre, iii. 67; ein Mann von schroffem finsterem Wesen, Pauli, v. 142; eine ausgesprochene Junkerseele, Caro, Bundniss, 29; soldat énergique et impitoyable, habile au conseil aussi bien qu'aux armes, Puiseux, Docteurs, 21; fit preuve d'énergie et d'habileté et sut tenir tête au péril, Beaucourt, i. 73; brave, liberal, unscrupulous, a faithful friend and a relentless foe, Bearne, 254; a ruthless, unscrupulous border baron with more of the buccaneer than the baron in his character, Oman, Pol. Hist. 261; a domineering but subtle leader, wily, unscrupulous, grasping, savage and bloodthirsty, Haggard, 135, 136, 137.

have seen[1] just as the disastrous year had reached its close and though in title only the Constable he became at once in fact the governor of France[2]. He meant to get prompt wages for his troops and to stop the fearful ravage that was desolating the country wherever they passed[3]; and he swore "by God's head" (his favourite oath[4]) that if his men had but their pay they should not henceforward bring the land to ruin. He was fronted with the old rooted habits of the nobles[5] and would have been powerless to strike effective blows but for the staunch support he received from the southern force that he brought with him from Gascony[6]. With their aid however he enforced his will at Montivilliers where he hung, drowned and beheaded all offenders who were caught red-handed in the act of plundering and thus made it actually possible for four months for the husbandmen to cultivate their fields in the neighbourhood round about[7]. Within a month of his arrival he had shifted the Burgundians from Lagny and laid open the field for a strong effort to recapture Harfleur[8].

The Valmont raid had utterly crippled the garrison and it looked as though the Constable were about to score another great success when news reached him of a formidable movement in the capital which had well-nigh undone all the effect of his real solid gains outside. During his absence the Burgundians had again made head in Paris and sent flattering invitations to their Duke to return. In reply he sent them a letter urging haste if matters were to prosper, informing them that he would soon be at Senlis where his influence still held, and that he would afterwards be ready to come on to Paris as soon as he received a call to pay his respects to the king and enjoy once more his

[1] Page 280.

[2] Estoit lors le royaume gouverné par le dict connestable, Norm. Chron. 176.

[3] Quia stipendia consueta ipsis denegabantur nec condigne ipsorum remunerabantur labores, St Denys, vi. 48. Cf. nullam militarem vigere disciplinam, nulla militantibus praeberi stipendia patriamque illis ad rapinam et quaelibet maleficia impune expositam, Clamenges, Epist. p. 191.

[4] St Denys, v. 760.

[5] Immo vero turbam servorum ad nihil aliud quam ad praedas et spolia instructam unusquisque militantium pestiferâ jam consuetudine apud nos secum ducit a quibus etiam domini isti rationem quotidianam lucri immo quotidianae praedationis solent exigere, Clamenges, Epist. p. 351.

[6] Cousinot, 135.

[7] St Denys, v. 760.

[8] For a tenth raised to drive the English from Harfleur, see Valois, iv. 360.

honeyed conversation[1]. Easter Day, April 19, had been fixed, the watchword ("Franchise") was to be the rallying cry, and the conspirators were to meet in the dead of night[2] at St Innocent or St Germain d'Auxouroys for the *coup*[3], but the Armagnac Provost of Paris, Tanguy du Chastel[4], was too wide awake; the affair got wind, and as soon as open steps began to be taken against them many of the conspirators took to flight. Large numbers of Masters and Licentiates of the University of Paris[5] were involved in the movement which aimed at a reform of the old abuses of taxation and government[6]. The leader was a member of the Parliament of Paris[7] named Nicholas[8] of Orgemont, who was a Canon of Notre Dame[9], Archdeacon of Amiens and Dean of the Collegiate Church of St Martin at Tours[10]. His father Pierre, Lord of Chantilly[11], had been Chancellor

[1] St Denys, vi. 4.

[2] Mirot, D'Orgemont, 181, 269.

[3] Mirot, D'Orgemont, 275. It was originally planned for Good Friday, au jour du grant Vendredi, Cousinot, 136, when the king and the leading men would be out at St Denys for the pilgrimage, Bourgeois, 623; D. Sauvage, 244; le vendredi aouré, Luzarche, 14.

[4] He is called Garde de la Prevosté de Paris in Ordonnances, x. 369, June 25, 1416.

[5] Per gentes ecclesiasticos et alios, Bibl. de l'Éc. des Chartes, xlix. 428. For names of the principal conspirators, see Mirot, D'Orgemont, 169–175, 185, 198, 199.

[6] Juv. 531.

[7] As such he was sent to Troyes to settle a dispute between the skeveyns and the bakers in 1414, Boutiot, ii. 348. He was at Rouen on Nov. 20, 1407, as a commissaire de Echiquier, C. Beaurepaire, Invent. Rouen, 30.

[8] He was Dean in 1382, Mirot, Boiteux, xiv. 309, in succession to his brother Almeric. Nicholas was succeeded as Dean at Tours on May 23, 1416, by Jacques de Bourbon (d. before 1429), Mirot, D'Orgemont, 213. Their brother Pierre had also held the same office, Gall. Christ. xiv. 150, 182; Nouvilleau, 313; Giraudet, i. 197; Le Fèvre, i. 288; Meyer, 248; D. Sauvage, 244; Paradin, 601; Daire, i. 227; cf. Wylie, iii. 68. For Amaury d'Orgemont, Chancellor to Valentine Countess of Orleans, see Collas, 53.

[9] i.e. since 1392, Mirot, D'Orgemont, 99. In this capacity he was one of the provisors (see Vol. I. p. 377, note 6) of the Hôtel Dieu in Paris in 1410, ibid. 104; also in June 1413, 1414, 1415, and May 20, 1416, Coyecque, 47, 50, 51, 52. For a chapel that he intended to found at the altar of St Martin in the Church of Notre Dame, see Fagniez, Inventaires, xxviii. 100. He took part in the examination of Jean Fusoris in March 1416, Mirot, Fusoris, 265. For Villon's "belle heaulmière" as his mistress, see Mirot, D'Orgemont, 119–121.

[10] Mirot, D'Orgemont, 99, 129.

[11] For his seal, see Delisle, Gonesse, 36; Demay, Inventaire, ii. 29 (July 8, 1389). Anselme, vi. 337, gives the date of his death as June 3, 1389; also Ménorval, ii. 20, who calls him "un vilain personnage," thinks that he was rongé de vers, &c. and refers to his tomb in the Church of St Catherine which was demolished in 1767. For his effigy at Versailles, see Gavart, xiii. 76. Princeps senatus Parisiensis, Gall. Christ. xiv. 308. He bought and rebuilt the castle at Chantilly 1386–1393, Luce, ii. 104, 117; Fouquier, i. 203. For Chantilly with its "nappes" or "vivers" called une grande en manière d'estang, Androuet, ii. 14; Mirot, Boiteux, xiv. 389; xv. 57–66; do. D'Orgemont, 81; or pools at Commelle with plans, see Luce, ii. 106; Dulaure, i. 50; though little is known of it before the alterations in the 16th century, ibid. ii. 119. For the modern château built in 1830, see Duclaux, 151–159, 176; Joanne, ii. 847, as a copy of the 16th century one. For plans of it, see Viollet-le-Duc, iii. 178, 179.

of France[1] and had written up the great Chronicle[2] in French for King Charles V; one of his brothers, Pierre d'Orgemont, had been Bishop of Thérouanne[3] and of Paris[4] and had died in his wine-cellar[5] in a shocking condition of disease and neglect. The lands and the title of Lord of Chantilly fell to the eldest brother Aimeric or Amauri[6]. Nicholas d'Orgemont himself had held canonries in connection with many cathedrals and was reputed one of the richest clerks in France[7], but he was lame in one foot and walked with a crutch[8].

[1] i.e. from 1373 to 1382. For account of him, see Mirot, D'Orgemont, pp. 9–19; Boiteux, xiv. pp. 293–304. For a genealogical table of the family of Orgemont, see ibid. 316; do. D'Orgemont, App. 1; also map showing their possessions, do. Boiteux, xv. 48.

[2] Ménorval, i. 468, i.e. Grandes Chroniques de France.

[3] For his gifts to the Cathedral at Thérouanne including vestments and 1 livre catholicon mis au coer derrière le grand autel au coste senestre, see Bled, Invent. 152. For librum meum catholicon as a parish priest's book (1429), see Marest. 145. For the catholicon as a dictionary or a compilation of glosses of Papias and Hugatio by Jean Balbi a Dominican, see Leroux de Lincy, Bibliotheque, 75. For the Duke of Berry's copy, see Guiffrey, ii. 131. For copies at Troyes (1369), see Arbois de Jubainville, ii. 31; also at Winchester, Leach, 162; Wylie, i. 483. For copies in library of Charles V, see Delisle, Recherches, 173. For list of books given by him to the Chapter of Notre Dame in 1402, see Mirot, Boiteux, xiv. 306.

[4] i.e. from 1384 to 1409, Gams, 597; Eubel, i. 410. For account of him, see Mirot, Boiteux, xiv. 304–309; do. D'Orgemont, 22–28; not his uncle, as Barante, iii. 181. For two silver dishes given by him to the Church of Notre Dame, Feb. 2, 1389, see Fagniez, Inventaires, xxvii. 393. For his pontifical, see Mirot, D'Orgemont, 106. He had previously been Bishop of Thérouanne, Delachenal, 72; Mirot, D'Orgemont, 15, 21, 136, i.e. from June 1375 (or May 1376, Eubel, i. 367) to Jan. 1384, Gall. Christ. x. 1562; Gams, 521.

[5] Dans sa cave, Juv. 444; in cella vinaria, Gall. Christ. vii. 143, said to be in the Hostel des Tournelles, Rittiez, Hôtel de Ville, 172. For his will dated April 18, 1406, see Mirot, Boiteux, xiv. 308; Delisle, Gonesse, 36, who has a note on his books (p. 37); Tuetey, Test. 260, where it however is registered in the Parliament on July 10, 1409. He died of the stone (calculari et pediculari morbo, consommé de gravelle et de poux, Godefroy, Charles VI, p. 200) on July 16, 1409, Gams, 597; Eubel, i. 410, from his epitaph in Gall. Christ. vii. 143; not June 3, 1389, as Rittiez, Hôtel de Ville, 172, who says that he died d'une phiteriaste in the Hostel de Tournelles. For his tomb in the Church of Notre Dame at Paris, see Gall. Christ. vii. 140; Mém. de la Soc. de l'Hist. de Paris, i. 102. On Aug. 24, 1411, he is *feu* Monseigneur l'Evesque de Paris, Tuetey, Test. 260.

[6] Mirot, Boiteux, xiv. 313; or Almaury, Mirot, D'Orgemont, 238, 244, 253. For Amaury d'Orgemont, Lord of Chantilly, Montjoye and Marines, made Dean of St Martin at Troyes on July 3, 1376, see Delaville de Roulx, Registres, ii. 200; Mirot, D'Orgemont, 25–30, where he is *younger* brother of Bp. Pierre. He died July 11, 1400, and was buried in the Church of Ste Cathérine du Val des Écoliers in Paris, cf. Gall. Christ. vii. 140; xiv. 183. For chapel built by him in the Cemetery of the Innocents, see Mirot, Boiteux, 313; Coyecque, i. 114, where it is attributed to his brother Bishop Pierre. His son Pierre was killed at Agincourt, Mirot, Boiteux, xiv. 313. He was at the meeting of Charles VI and Richard II at Ardres in Oct. 1396, Mirot, Trousseau, 15, where he receives a robe and 200 martres de prusse to fur it with.

[7] St Denys, vi. 8; Baye, ii. 249; Juv. 532. He was ordained deacon March 17, 1403, but was never priested, Mirot, D'Orgemont, 94. For his property, see ibid. 94, 216.

[8] Impotens tibiis et dextram ligneo apodiamento sustentaret, St Denys, vi. 6; n'avoit qu'un pied, Bourgeois, 623; le boiteux, Gilles, 223 (edn. 1570); Vallet de Viriville, Isabeau, 235; Mirot, D'Orgemont, 93.

Some said that the conspirators were plotting to seize the king and queen in the night, to put the Duke of Burgundy on the throne, and to restore to the King of England his position as Duke of Normandy[1]. Others that the Dukes of Berry and Anjou were to be taken on a tumbril to the Halles with their heads shaved[2] and there put to death, together with the Provost of Paris, the officers of the King's Household and all the leaders of the Armagnacs[3], which is a far more likely proposition. But whatever they meant they wholly failed. The plot was promptly discovered[4]; the Count of Armagnac was summoned from Montivilliers; and 500 citizens were seized in their houses and publicly executed[5]. On April 21, 1416[6], Nicholas d'Orgemont was thrown into the Bastille, whence he was driven three days later on a mud-cart[7] to the Halles[8] to witness the execution of two of his fellow-conspirators[9]. He being a cleric, his case was reserved for special judgment. He was charged with sedition[10] and fined 80,000 crowns[11]. All his goods were confiscated[12] and he was condemned to a bread-and-water[13] imprisonment for life on April 30. He was placed in the pillory and preached at in presence of a vast crowd on the Parvis in front of Notre Dame[14]

[1] Cagny, 105; Morosini, ii. 105 note.

[2] Leur feroient rasé les testes comme folz, Le Fèvre, i. 287.

[3] Juv. 532.

[4] For Bureau de Dammartin, one of the Treasurers of France (Douet d'Arcq, i. 388), the discoverer of the plot, see Le Fèvre, i. 287. He was a member of the Cours d'Amour, Piaget, 428, and it was in his house that Laurent de Premiertait translated the Decamerone of Boccaccio in 1414.

[5] Douet d'Arcq, i. 384.

[6] Baye, ii. 249; Bourgeois, 623. Called April 23 in Ménorval, ii. 59, who notes his arrest dans sa maison du Cloître.

[7] Un tomberel à boue, Bourgeois, 623; ductus viliter in tumbello, Baye, ii. 308.

[8] For the pillory in the Places des Halles as rebuilt in 1542, see Lacroix, 457; Hoffbauer, ii. 39; Lavallée, Jean sans Peur, 261; Grande Encycl. xxvi. 933; Legrand, 52.

[9] i.e. Robert de Belloy, a draper, and Regnault Maillot. For their sentence, see Mirot, D'Orgemont, 254. The Dukes of Anjou and Berry were also present, Morosini, ii. 105.

[10] Propter seditionem excogitatam, Éc. des Chartes, xlix. 438. For his trial and sentence, see Mirot, D'Orgemont, 258–281.

[11] Baye, ii. 308; Mirot, D'Orgemont, 188, 254.

[12] For his goods and house in the close at Notre Dame in Paris, see Mirot, D'Orgemont, 209–211. For some of his forfeited property granted to Hugues de Noyers or Noe (Mirot, D'Orgemont, 217), one of the governors of the Dauphin Charles, see Beaucourt, i. 61, from Archives P.P. 118, f. 79. For his property at Gonesse inherited from his father, see Mirot, Gonesse, 36, who dates the confiscation in 1417, i.e. the date of sale, Jan. 22, 1417, Mirot, D'Orgemont, 222.

[13] Baye, ii. 249; Juv. 532; Le Fèvre, i. 288; ad ecclesiasticum carcerem perpetuo condemnavimus, Mirot, D'Orgemont, 212.

[14] Gilles, 223 (edn. 1570); for "le parviz d'icelle," see Cordeliers, 265; Mirot, D'Orgemont, 194, 280.

and was then[1] secretly removed to a dungeon in the Bishop of Orleans' prison at Meung on the Loire[2] where without hope of release he died soon afterwards[3]. His brother Guillaume was thrown into the Bastille[4], but we should not have known this fact but for a little incident that came out later. Some time afterwards two ladies had "words[5]" in Paris over a black cloth gown furred with secondhand miniver, a collar that had been turned, and a figured bodice (un corset de drap de taffetas figuré d'or) made of taffeta, and in the result they both had to go to prison. One of them had been damoiselle to William d'Orgemont's wife in prosperous days, and when the sergeant searched her he found on her two silver spoons, a gold ring, a sapphire, a little purse made of woman's hair, a kercher and some napery and towels, all of which articles were marked[6] as having belonged to Guillaume d'Orgemont, and it turned out that the young woman had helped herself to them out of her mistress' box and stuffed them up her sleeve (les bouta en sa manche). Guillaume's property was restored to him by Henry V[7] when he became Regent of France, possibly in recognition of the fact that he had entertained his father Henry IV when he fled to Paris in his exile in 1398[8].

When news of these events reached the Count of Armagnac at Montivilliers he at once despatched 800 men to Paris[9], arranged a short truce with the English at Harfleur to last from May 5 to June 2, 1416[10], and set out himself for the capital where he arrived with a further escort of

[1] i.e. July 18, 1416, Mirot, D'Orgemont, 215; Morosini, ii. 105 note.

[2] Cousinot, 137. In Haggard, 139, he is "walled up in such a manner that he could only be fed through a hole in the wall."

[3] i.e. circ. Sept. 1416, Mirot, D'Orgemont, 216.

[4] Longnon, Paris, 9, where he is Lord of Méry on the Oise, Faillonel, Ferrières and Coudron, quoting L'Hermite and Blanchard, p. 15; see also Mirot, Boiteux, xiv. 315; do. D'Orgemont, 32, 225.

[5] Sur quoy se meuvent parolles, Longnon, Paris, 9.

[6] Marqués de la marque ou saing de Guillaume, Longnon, Paris, 9.

[7] i.e. on June 27, 1421, Mirot, Boiteux, xiv. 316; do. D'Orgemont, 32; do. Isabelle, xix. 182.

[8] Ibid. 359. For will of Guillaume d'Orgemont dated Aug. 31, 1417, registered in Parliament Feb. 20, 1422, see ibid. 318–324; Tuetey, Test. 264.

[9] For musters at Paris, May 1, 1416, see Mirot, D'Orgemont, 201.

[10] It was made à la frontière de Harfleur at Easter (Apr. 19), 1416, cf. Morosini, ii. 105 note, quoting Monstr. iii. 141; the King of France agreed to it voulant mettre nostre seigneur de nostre part, Roncière, ii. 218, from MS. fr. 20579, p. 46.

300 men on May 2, 1416[1]. Then more executions followed[2]. All arms were taken from the Quartier des Halles and stacked in the Bastille or the Louvre[3], and with them the chains that used to be stretched across the streets in times of popular commotion[4]. The butchers' guild was suppressed[5]; the great flesh fold in front of the Chatelet was demolished[6]; the stalls were broken up; the site on which they stood was paved as an open space; and four new shambles were erected in various parts of the city[7]. Thus Paris was again dragooned into a temporary sullen submission, but all this savage repression[8] only deepened her resolve to get the Duke of Burgundy back and it was not long before she drank her full revenge.

This absence of the Count of Armagnac had caused a welcome breathing time for the exhausted English garrison at Harfleur, but while stores were gathering in the English ports to be sent across to their relief the Constable was contriving means to block the entrance by the Seine. He saw the absolute necessity for a fleet if Harfleur was to be recovered and further landings stopped, while of seaworthy fighting vessels of her own France was almost wholly bare. The galley-close at Rouen was empty and time would not allow of waiting to build or refit, and nothing was to be done but to gather together what money

[1] Baye, ii. 249–251; Bourgeois, 623; Monstr. 386; called May 5 in Pétigny, Charte, 331.

[2] Cf. ij seditions derrierement avenues puiz Pasques, Baye, ii. 260, Aug. 7, 1416; i.e. in June and August 1416, Luzarche, 15.

[3] i.e. on May 8, 1416, Cagny, 105; Juv. 532; Mirot, D'Orgemont, 204.

[4] Ordonnances, x. 360, where they are returned to the Provost of the Merchants Tanguy du Chastel on May 10, 1416, to be tournées et converties au proaffit, fortification, emparement et decoration de la ville; Mirot, D'Orgemont, 204.

[5] Juv. 532. For la communauté (or corporation) des bouchers in Paris, see Meindre, iii. 47; Lavallée, Jean sans Peur, 179; also at Ghent, see Vigne, Recherches, Plate 4. For order for the suppression of the boucherie at Chartres in Oct. 1416, see Ordonnances, x. 382.

[6] On the pretext that it was insanitary. For order dated May 13, 1416, for its demolition, qui est une des plus notables et communes places de nostre dite ville, see Ordonnances, x. 361, 468; Felibien, iii. 540, 542, 544; Coville, 402; Mirot, D'Orgemont, 206; Schmidt, ii. 255. For the grande boucherie devant Chastelet à l'Apport (i.e. market-place) Paris, see Batiffol, 231, 239; Meindre, iii. 69; Rittiez, Hôtel de Ville, 202; Ménorval, i. 246; ii. 40, who gives also the position of 7 other étaux in Paris. For un estal a boucher at Chauncy, see Matton, 4.

[7] Ordonnances, x. 372, 377, Aug. 1416 and Sept. 3, 1416; Barante, iii. 182; Choisy, 334; H. Martin, vi. 24; Michelet, vi. 53; Mirot, D'Orgemont, 206. For meat sold on the Pont Notre Dame till Sept. 1416, see Bourgeois, 624. For their position, see Ménorval, ii. 59.

[8] Toutes ces ruderies, Juv. 532.

he could and buy a fleet ready made and ready manned to push the invaders at Harfleur to the death. With this in view he had early despatched envoys to Genoa[1] as the great mercenary power of the west, who arrived there immediately after Easter, 1416[2], and laid their request before the Signory.

Even before the close of the previous year[3] three French envoys, including two bishops, had been at Genoa negotiating for the hire of 20 armed galleys to be ready in the following spring. It was only seven years since the Genoese had risen and driven out the French governor Boucicaut[4], but since they had been their own masters[5] they had not had a very harmonious experience among themselves and there was still a considerable section among them who would gladly welcome French intervention again[6]. Moreover, feeling was at this time much inflamed in connection with the recent capture of an English vessel by the Genoese and all explanations had failed to bring about a better understanding with England[7]. There was therefore now no difficulty in burying the hatchet with their old enemy, and a formal truce was arranged with France to last for the next ten years[8]. In accordance with this nine[9] large Genoese two-masted beaked carracks[10] and eight long galleys[11], all

[1] For 20,000 Genoese crossbowmen helping France at Sluys and 15,000 at Crécy, see Gallwey, 4.

[2] Stella, 1268; St Denys, vi. 12.

[3] News of their visit reached Venice between Jan. 3 and 11, 1416, Morosini, ii. 88.

[4] i.e. Sept. 28, 1409.

[5] Tuta la terra e stade in gran combustione e in molta traversa, Morosini, ii. 24.

[6] St Denys, vi. 12. For their treaty with France signed on April 8, 1411, see Morosini, i. 212; Douet d'Arcq, i. 335. On May 14, 1413, Sigismund formally cancelled all engagements made between Genoa and the French, A. Leroux, 177; called May 18 in Perret, i. 113.

[7] Morosini, ii. 44.

[8] On Oct. 3, 1416, dux et communitas Januae appear among the allies of France, Rym. ix. 399.

[9] Morosini, i. 212; Juv. 532; ix carinae valde fortes, Strecche, 269; not 12 or 14, as Basin, i. 25; novem ex majoribus rostratis navibus et munitis binis malis propugnaculistis, St Denys, vi. 12; grosses carraques de Janua, Raoulet, 156; rostratas maximas naves quas istae (i.e. Italian) nationes karak vocant, Tit. Liv. 24; called "carrae" in Vita, 78; 89; "carrykes," Kirkstall, Chron. 287; cf. carracks, galleys, ships and other vessels, Rym. ix. 360.

[10] For carrack as the equivalent of navis (*nef*, *nave*) or cog (*chocha*), see Morosini, i. 152, 182, 185; ii. 36, 41, 109. For carracks of Genoa of 800 or 1200 tons (*bote*), see Morosini, ii. 138; cf. caracis Januae cum navibus atque galeis, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 134; cf. 7 carykes of gene, Caxton, 228; Jennes ou sont les grans carraques et galées, Débat, 33; Pyne, 59, 112. For two-masted ship of early 14th century, see Nicolas, Navy, i. 365. For picture of a Genoese carrack with 3 masts and no castles supposed to be in 1452 but obviously much later, see Clowes, i. 413.

[11] Not 9, as Michelet, vi. 51, who seems to think that the Genoese sent over 300

under the command of Jan Grimaldi[1], set sail from Genoa about the end of April 1416, to take part in the operations against Harfleur in the service and pay of the French[2]. Each of the carracks had 100 crossbowmen[3] on board, and one of them called the *Black Mountain*[4] had even 200[5], and as they approached Galicia they were joined by 60[6] Biscayan ships of smaller build from Bilbao and Laredo[7] lent by the King of Castile[8] with whom a similar bargain had been made[9]. Scotland and Brittany had also been approached for ships and men, and the total assistance thus brought to the French by this well-timed help is reckoned by their chronicler to have amounted to upwards of 300 vessels of various sizes[10], both cruisers, galleys,

vessels and that the carracks were only pour les machines de siége; cf. a gret soume of golde to wagegre (*sic*) schypes and galeys, Rym. ix. 436. For vii galie armade e do galiote e vi choche (1406), see Morosini, i. 220; cf. una galie e una galiota, ibid. i. 208. For 2 carragues, 2 espinasses, 4 galées + 1 galliote with 200 men-of-arms and 1200 crossbowmen mys dessus les naves bound for Sardinia in 1410, see Meuillon, 17, who was to be in command of them.

[1] Called Giovanni de Grimaldi in Giustiniani, ii. 277; or Baptiste de Grimalde in Juv. 532, who gives the motto on his standard as "Respice finem"; Lediard, i. 67. For Janus de Grimault, a merchant of Genoa, who sold a gold necklace (*fermaillet*) and a balay to the Duke of Berry and gave him a square tableau on Jan. 1, 1408, see Guiffrey, i. 37, 61, 286. For receipt by Cosmo Grimaldi for crossbowmen for the defence of Honfleur in 1405, see Demay, Inventaire, i. 451, with seal. For Philippe de Gremaud, or Philippe Grimaldi (see Thomas, Soldats, 68, where 200 livr. are paid to him by the Dauphin on Nov. 17, 1418), assisting the French in the defence of Caen (Sept. 1417), see Rym. ix. 496.

[2] In Morosini (i. 216) 350 ducats per month are paid for arming each galley in addition to 80 gold ducats per month to the Captain-general and 8 gold ducats per month for each arblaster or crossbowman.

[3] St Denys, vi. 12, gives the total number of balisters at 5000, called 5000 archers in Michelet, vi. 51. In Stella, 1268, the total is only 600; also Giustiniani, ii. 277, quoted in Speed, 785, as "Agostino Giustiniano Vescovo di Nobio" (i.e. Bishop of Nebbio in Corsica from Nov. 11, 1514, to 1536, Gams, 768).

[4] "Montagna Nigra," Montaigne Negre, Raoulet, 156. For another Genoese ship with the same name Dec. 29, 1419, see Stella, 1281.

[5] For a gra chocha with 1 mast woolded with wooden bratticing halfway up and carrying 200 crossbowmen, viz. 150 armed with the light crossbow worked with a lever (balestra de lieva) and 50 with the heavier crossbow (balestra de torno, i.e. à tour, Viollet-le-Duc, v. 21) fitted with truckles or pulleys for winding, see Morosini, i. 180. For a coque of 600 tons (*bottes*) with at least 250 fighting men on board in 1417, see Morosini, ii. 153.

[6] St Denys, vi. 38.

[7] Cf. aggregatis sibi quampluribus de Januâ *et aliis*, Pat. 4 H. V, 36 d, May 14, 1416. Guthrie (ii. 470) supposes that the French had "contracted also with a number of *Flemish* merchants."

[8] Qui est bien garny de gros et sumptueux navires et de galées, Débat, 33.

[9] Ordonnances, x. 362; called 30 de Bischaia e de Spagna in Morosini, ii. 110; cf. Hyspanie, St Denys, vi. 12; Juv. 532; cf. a grete navye of carekys, galeyes and shyppis of Spayne, Noblesse, 15, 44; Roncière, ii. 221; Finot, Relations, 154.

[10] Minores et mediocres actuarias scilicet et militares galeas, St Denys, vi. 12; called 500 in Guthrie, ii. 470. Not that the Genoese alone supplied over 300 ships and even hired 5000 Castilian crossbowmen, as Lenz, 94.

brigs[1] and corsairs, not reckoning the skiffs, cutters, pinnaces, spyboats[2] and other such smaller craft which were the necessary companions of every sailing squadron. On the passage they fell in with a fleet of wine-ships sailing from Bordeaux and made a rich capture, the *Christopher of Hull* which carried the convoying admiral losing 199 casks that she had on board while rescuing one of the king's ships called the *Great Hull of Brittany*[3], though Grimaldi the Genoese captain met his death in one of these encounters[4]. The French meantime had themselves collected as strong a naval force of their own as they could, including at least a dozen royal galleys from the galley-close at Rouen[5] and 100 cogs[6]. This force was placed under the command of Guillaume de Montenay[7], and when the Genoese and other mercenaries arrived they were able to block completely the entrance to the Seine and cut off all possibility of relief for the garrison at Harfleur[8]. Indeed, so confident had the blockaders already grown that many of the Genoese crossbowmen[9] were allowed to leave their posts and show themselves in Paris[10], where they marched two and two headed by a captain on horseback in idle parade through the streets for the admiration of the Parisians, in their smart briganders[11] and sallets with their arblasts and well packed sheaves of quarrels[12] to be used all in good time against the hapless English. Emboldened by the inactivity of the enemy a section of the ships was next told off to scour the channel and captured many

[1] Bergantins, Navarrete, i. 330. For Genoese naves, galeas, brigantins et autres fustes at the siege of Savona in June 1396, see Meuillon, 11.

[2] Scaphis, liburnis, paronibus, caeterisque naviculis piraticis et speculatoriis, St Denys, vi. 12; cf. Cent. Dict., s.v. *Spyboat*. For spy = pilot, see Halliwell, ii. 790.

[3] Vol. I. p. 119; Roncière, ii. 218. [4] Stella, 1268.

[5] Cheruel, Pièces justificatives, 3, 4, quoted in Morosini, ii. 104.

[6] Morosini, ii. 104. [7] Roncière, ii. 217.

[8] Qui terrestri marinaque itineribus villam obsessam tenerent continue, St Denys, v. 748; ayant mys sus une grant et notable armée tant par mer comme par terre laquelle armée à present est tele si forte et puissant que bonnement n'en pouvions recouvrer autre, MS. fr. 20579, no. 46, in Valois, iv. 363, from letter of Charles VI, July 26, 1416.

[9] For Genoese and Spanish crossbowmen sent to help Boulogne on June 4, 1416, see Deseille, 433. For Spanish crossbowmen coming to Boulogne circ. Aug. 26, 1415, to enter the service of the King of France but congédiés by the captain of the town, see Regnault, 99.

[10] For two Genoese imprisoned by the Chapter of Notre Dame for making a disturbance in the Hôtel Dieu in 1416 (qui fecerunt heri aliquam violentiam), see Coyecque, ii. 55.

[11] Cf. Paston Lett. i. 106. [12] Juv. 532.

English vessels[1], flinging their crews into the sea. Before Midsummer[2] warning had reached the far shores of the Baltic that trading-vessels should keep within the Sound as the English and Genoese were attacking one another in the western sea. The fleet of Venetian seagoing merchant galleys were just making their annual voyage[3] with spices[4] from the Mediterranean to London and Bruges and were in great dread of attack, but they suffered no injury as the English commanders had received special instructions to respect the trade truce with Flanders[5]. So far from being molested they were treated with special courtesy and reported the fact on their arrival at Sluys on July 29, 1416[6]. About the middle of June[7] the Genoese vessels made their appearance off the Hampshire coast. They were not unexpected, for as far back as April 1416, orders were issued[8] to have a fleet of vessels collected at Orwell to deal with a probable invasion, warning signals had been ordered on the beacon heights, the fencibles of Hants, Wilts, Dorset, and the Isle of Wight had been called out to be in readiness to meet them[9], and three Venetian carracks that were lying at

[1] For a balinger valued at £200 captured when returning from victualling Harfleur, see Rot. Parl. iv. 104.

[2] De Engelschen unde Genevozen tegen andern in der see sijn, H. R. vi. 249, from a letter written at Dorpat, June 24, 1416; not Jan. 27, as Bunge, v. 113.

[3] For the "voyage de Flandre" since 1386 when special exemptions were granted for Venetian ships calling at Aigues Mortes, see Perret, i. 78. For Viagium Aquarum Mortuarum (i.e. Aigues Mortes near the mouth of the Rhone), see Mas-Latrie, Commerce, 105; cf. lo viagio di Fiandra per meter le specie in Ague Morte, see Morosini, ii. 90, 92; Venetian State Papers, i. 54, 56, 57, 58. For la mer morte devers Languedoc, see Débat, 46; Pyne, 82; Joanne, i. 15, 16. For picture of Aigues Mortes, see Bordier-Charton, i. 365; Cohausen, Atlas, 307; Jähns, Atlas, Pl. 45; called Esgue Morte, Bouvier, Descript. 31. For taxes collected in Languedoc for keeping up Aigues Mortes and the Pont-St-Esprit, see Ordonnances, x. 395. Cf. ther cometh iiij or v galeys yerely withouten (i.e. not counting) caracks, Rot. Parl. iv. 321 (1429), showing that only one galley used to come during the reigns of Edward III and Richard II. For une des deux galees de Florence tendans en Flandre, see Weale, Van Eyck, lxviii, lxx. 17, where they touch at Ribedeu in Galicia in 1429 after rounding Cape Ortegal.

[4] Cf. species quae caricabantur super dicta galea, Mas-Latrie, 191 (1422).

[5] Rym. ix. 345; Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 201; see page 299.

[6] Morosini, ii. 102, which shows that they had left Venice on April 14, 1416. Cardinal Fillastre writing in 1417 says that the Venetians took nearly a year to get to Flanders by sea, the land journey (from Bruges) taking about 24 days. See Santarem, xcv, quoting Peritzol, i.e. Abraham Ben Mordicai Farissol (born circ. 1450, d. 1528), Itinera Mundi, chap. xxii. 77, for statement that in the 16th century they still took 18 months or even 2 years over the journey there and back.

[7] Roncière, ii. 218; not May, as Church, 95.

[8] Dated April 5, 1416, Lett. Bk. I, pp. xxix, 151.

[9] Pat. 4 H. V, 36 d, May 14, 26, 29, 1416. For payments to messengers with proclamations that all fencibles were to come before the Duke of Clarence (*sic*) as Custos Anglie when called upon, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., Aug. 10, 1416.

Southampton were promptly hired and victualled in the English service to strengthen a fleet that was prepared under the Earl of Salisbury to beat off their attack[1]. Nevertheless the enemy effected a landing at Portland[2] and burnt and ravaged the country. Thence they passed eastward and landed without opposition[3] in the Isle of Wight[4] and even threatened Southampton, where one of the carracks[5] got on to a bank and had to be abandoned. The English captured 800 sort of leg-harness[6] with her, but most of the crew themselves escaped in their boats[7]. The rest of the crews returned laden with their booty to Dieppe[8] and other places, and it seemed as if they had both sides of the channel at their command[9]. For within a month[10] they were back again in Southampton water threatening to set fire to the king's ships[11] that were assembling there to try to relieve Harfleur, and thus before the English had completed their tardy preparations the Frenchmen this time under the Lord of Montenay were off Portsmouth[12], not only blocking that port but stopping all outlet past the Isle of Wight[13]. Thus was the main portion of the relieving squadron imprisoned in Southampton water and unable to sail out to form a junction with the other vessels that were waiting at other ports for the lead. But the French were unable to

[1] Exch. Accts. 49/29 (1) records receipt of money at Titchfield on June 10, 1416, for victualling 3 carr' de Venic' to make quoddam Insultum ac divus carr' de Geen.

[2] Gesta, 80.

[3] Tant nagèrent qu'ilz se trouvèrent sur la coste d'Angleterre si puissant que nulz ne lez ozoit actendre, Le Fèvre, i. 281.

[4] i.e. before June 21, 1416, Gesta, 78, 81; post Pascha, St Denys, v. 748.

[5] Identified as the "Agace" (called "Agas" in Nicolas, Agincourt, App. 22; or Agns (? Agnes or Agnus) in Nicolas, Navy, ii. 514) in Oppenheim, 13, where she is said to have been taken at Southampton in May, 1416 (not *after* the Battle of the Seine, as Clowes, i. 378), i.e. Agate or Agatha. For Agaice (i.e. Agatha), see Blanchard, ii. 34; or Agasse, Tuetey, Test. 356; or "Agas," Whitford, xxvi. 22. For un nid d'Aguace (=pie's nest), see Calmet, III. ccc.

[6] "Quales legharneys," Wals. ii. 316. The expression is usually supposed to be a mistake for "lightharness," i.e. light-armed troops, see Nicolas, Navy, ii. 425, but there seems no warrant for this. In Roman, 15, 16, "harnois de jambes" consists of greaves and cuisses.

[7] St Denys, vi. 14.

[8] Juv. 533.

[9] In the narrow see willing to abide, Pol. Songs, ii. 199; Hakluyt, i. 227.

[10] Before July 18, 1416, Gesta, 83; Roncière, ii. 218; about the beginning of July, Nicolas, Navy, ii. 419.

[11] Capgr. De Illustr. 119.

[12] Portismuth portum concludunt classibus hostes
Regia ne classis exeat alta freta
Assultata per haec insula vecta datur. Elmham, Lib. Metr. 137.

[13] For le Forland de Wyght, see For. Accts. 8 H. V, m. 29 (page 619 a).

hold out long against the tempestuous weather[1] that swept the southern coast and they had to make their way back hastily to Honfleur, losing many ships, including the commander's flag-ship[2], in the passage across.

But in the meantime the garrison at Harfleur was harder pressed than ever, for not only was all approach cut off by sea but levies were closing round them from Rouen on the land side[3], while a strong body of carpenters, masons, pioneers, smiths, hodmen, stone- and wood-cutters were ready with their gear in the Cotentin[4] to be brought into active requisition as soon as the town should have surrendered. And indeed this event seemed now to be almost inevitable, for months had passed[5] and only one English ship had been able to get through with a cargo of corn by flying the French flag with the white cross[6]. Within the town famine prices ruled and 400 or 500 persons had died of starvation[7]. The garrison had long been killing and eating their horses[8]. Ten marks (or 20 nobles) was asked for the carcase of a cow, with a noble for the head and 3*s.* 4*d.* for the tongue[9]. Yet the relieving fleet took long enough in assembling. As far back as April 1416, an order had been put out that a portion of the force should be gathered at Orwell[10], others were lying in the Pool[11] below London Bridge, and on June 29, 1416[12], orders were put out

[1] Pour la fortune du temps, see Meuillon, 20.

[2] Meuillon, 20, who was on board of her.

[3] Roncière, ii. 219, from Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 26041, p. 5099. In a letter written to the Chapter of St Paul's on June 5, 1416, King Henry urges great need for haste as he must take his voyage to Harfleur which is being besieged by the French *and others*, Hist. MSS. Comm. 5th Rept. p. 56.

[4] For 1000 of them assembled at Montebourg, see Roncière, ii. 220, from MS. fr. 20615, no. 19.

[5] Called nearly 7 months in St Denys, vi. 12, who must be reckoning from some time before the arrival of the Genoese.

[6] St Denys, vi. 13; Strecche (269) who gives the number on board as 50 and the captain's name as John of Rye, as well as his interviews with King Henry both before and after his adventure.

[7] Noblesse, 15; per famis inediam, Gesta, 86, quoting Arundel MS. 48, fo. 324 b in the College of Arms; artissimis casibus constituti, Vita, 78; die stat schier nit mere zu essen hatte, Windecke, 143.

[8] Strecche, 269.

[9] A wrecched cowys hede, Noblesse, 15, where the information is probably all due to Stephen Scrope writing in 1450 from details supplied by John Fastolf who was in the town.

[10] Called portus villae de Orewell in Claus. 4 H. V, 24 d; not "Patent Roll," as Nicolas, Navy, ii. 417; nor "Parliament Roll," as Clowes, i. 375.

[11] For "la Pole," see Lib. Alb. 710; "the pule," Lett. Bk. I, 290.

[12] Lett. Bk. I, 152; Riley, Mem. 629. For proclamations dated May 28, June 8, 1416, fixing the London muster for June 20 and 29 respectively, see Sharpe, London, i.

that all men serving on them must be on board by 2 o'clock in the afternoon to hear instructions that would be then issued to them from the Council. From mid-April to mid-July 1416, ships of all sizes, including many Dutch and German vessels[1], had been chartered at Bristol and on the East coast ports, all of which were to rendezvous at Hull, Boston or Lynn and proceed to Orwell or Southampton. The Duke of Bedford had himself signed an indenture on May 30, 1416[2], in which he undertook to be at Southampton by June 22, 1416, with a force of 200 men-of-arms and 400 archers to serve for three months, the Duke of Gloucester also signing on for an equal number[3], while similar undertakings were entered into for musters of 40 + 80 respectively by the Earls of March[4], Salisbury and Northumberland[5], Lords Bardolph and Fitzhugh, and such old campaigners as Brian Stapleton[6], John Pelham, Thomas Rokeby and Hartonk van Clux[7]. Besides these we have an exceptionally large number of indentures[8] still extant showing the number of men that each captain covenanted to bring with him, from which we may fairly estimate the fighting force at about 10,000[9], though the proportion of archers to heavy armed men is now only two instead of three to one as it had been in the expedition of the previous year. As in 1415 we have here separate provision for a number of surgeons and their assistants[10], and several instances of men rejected

261; Riley, Mem. 268. For general summons dated June 13, 1416, to be at Southampton by July 15, see Rym. ix. 362; Letter Bk. I, 152; Delpit, 218.

[1] For payments to Matys van Dardraugh (i.e. Dordrecht), Herskip van Harlem, Gerard van Enke, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., July 4, 1416.

[2] Rym. ix. 353.

[3] Juv. 533; Bouvier, 432.

[4] He is associated with the Duke of Bedford in Strecche, 269; also Noblesse, 15, 28.

[5] Cf. "with certeyn men of Ser Herry Percy," Capgr. 314. For Richard Graystoke and John Hotham, kts., in his retinue as sub-capitanei sailing in the Mary Knight of London, see Claus. 4 H. V, 15. For a ship (navis) called "la Bartilmewe de Beverlay" chartered for the Earl of Northumberland at Hull pro viagio, see Claus. 4 H. V, June 25, 1416.

[6] For possessions of Miles Stapleton, kt., in Berks., Camb., Lincs., Wilts., York, Norfolk and Suffolk, see Inq. p. Mort. iv. 41 (7 H. V = 1419–20).

[7] Rym. ix. 355, 356, 370; Nicolas, Navy, ii. 418, from Add. MS. 4601, art. 24.

[8] For 40*s.* paid to Thomas Herland a Clerk in the Chancery for transcribing receipts, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Mich., Nov. 17, 1416.

[9] Hardyng (377) gives the total of the force at 2000; "as Heroudes did them calle," cf. Lediard, i. 66; Guthrie, ii. 470; Southey, ii. 54; Low, Navy, i. 7.

[10] e.g. 10 surgien valletz attending on Thomas Morestede and William Bredwardine, Exch. Accts. 48/10; Rym. ix. 363. For order to collect them from London and elsewhere, see Pat. 4 H. V, 24, June 24, 1416, where Morestede and Bredwardine are sururgicis (*sic*) nostris.

on account of age or weak health[1] when the musters came to be held. On May 28, 1416, a proclamation was issued fixing June 20[2] for assembling at Southampton, and on June 13 writs were issued to the sheriffs of Southampton[3] to have the men ready for the musters which were to be held on July 18[4] at Caudener's Down and Culverley Heath. Preparations had been pressed forward, and guns, gunstones, gunpowder, lances, bows, arrows, bowstaves and other necessary stuff (*estuffamenta*) in great abundance had been made ready at the Tower and forwarded to Southampton[5]. On June 5, 1416[6], the king urged the great need for haste, and on June 6, 1416, over £20,000[7] was paid over to a large number of leaders in terms of their indentures. But the news from Harfleur grew worse and worse, and it is certain that at that time he meant to head the expedition himself[8], large payments being made for wine and provisions and other necessaries for his journey[9]. But at that time King

[1] Veillesse et fieblesse, Priv. Seal 664/667–670, 673, 692, June 27–July 4, 1416.

[2] Letter Bk. I, 162; or June 22 in Rym. ix. 355; Dugd. ii. 128; called "mobilmachungs ordre" in Bess, Bündniss, 642, 650. For orders dated May 23, 27, 1416, for every man of the London contingent to be ready to sail on May 28 at 11 a.m. to serve in the coming voyage under "monsyeur de Huntyngdon," see Letter Bk. I, pp. xxix, 151.

[3] Arundel MS. xxix. f. 54, in Heralds' Office; Black, 43.

[4] Pat. 4 H. V, 18, July 14, 1416, where John (*sic*) (should be Robert) Babthorpe, "Controller of the Household," and William Kynolmersshe the Cofferer, are to muster the men-of-arms, archers and hoblers on the following Saturday at Caudenersdond and Culnerleheth respectively, though neither of these names appears in J. S. Davies or Woodward. For monstratio, &c. capta apud le Heth 4 H. V, see Catalogue of the Phillipp's Sale at Sotheby's, Apr. 26, 1911, p. 90. For Caudevere (Hants.), see Inq. p. Mort. iii. 23.

[5] For £26. 13*s*. 4*d*. paid for carriage of these materials to Southampton, see Exch. Accts. 328/6; Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., July 6, 1416. For payments to John Woodward, founder, for guns, gunpowder, &c., see ibid. July 8, 1416; also £60 for 2000 bowstaves bought of Gobell Esterling, ibid. July 24, 1416.

[6] Hist. MSS. Rept. v. p. 56.

[7] i.e. £19,243. 5*s*. 2*d*. + £1246. 13*s*. 4*d*. = £20,489. 18*s*. 6*d*., Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., June 6, 1416, with further sums in subsequent entries.

[8] For summons to his retinue to be ready to accompany him on a voyage across the sea, Devon, 346, though Rapin, Acta Regia, ii. 136, thinks that he "did not make the least preparation," cf. Rapin (Tindal, i. 516). On June 8, 1416, a proclamation was issued that all lords, knights and squires appointed "to goo with oure lord the kyng on this present viage" were to be at Southampton by the Monday after "Myssomeres day," Lett. Bk. I, 151; Riley, 628; they were to come provided with supplies for 3 months, Baines, i. 130, from Claus. 4 H. V, 21 d. For wages of 400 Lancashire and 400 Cheshire archers, also 40 men-of-arms + 80 archers (Cheshire), for king's voyage, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., May 27, June 3, 1416; Exch. Accts. 328/6. For £1092 paid as wages to varlets, archers, &c. of Lancashire and Cheshire for king's retinue, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., July 18, 1416.

[9] For 1000 marks paid for wine and a similar amount for victuals "for the king's voyage," see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., May 27, June 3, 1416; Exch. Accts. 328/6; also £2410. 14*s*. 2½*d*. paid to Richard Cliderowe to pay wages of sailors of Holland and

Sigismund was at Westminster bent on patching up a peace between England and France and opposed to any move that might precipitate the re-opening of hostilities[1] between the combatants. With this view he urged that Harfleur should be placed in his hands, to be retained by him as the trusted friend of both till negotiations for a lasting peace should be finally completed. But as time went on and nothing definite was being done murmurs began to be heard that strong treason might fall to the realm if these delays were allowed to continue, that the king was being fooled by the French prisoners whom he had consulted[2] and by Sigismund, who had his own game to play[3], and soon the position became so critical that the rising indignation of the country could not be restrained and, in spite of protests by Sigismund[4] as to the risks of leaving England at such a crisis, the king resolved on instant action. He left London on June 26[5], and after a few days spent at Mortlake[6] and travelling by Guildford[7], Farnham[8], Tichfield (July 11, 12[9]) and Winchester (July 14[10]), he reached Southampton on July 18, 1416[11]. This was the latest day for all to be ready for a start[12]. Immediately on his arrival

Zealand retained to ship the king and his army to parts of Normandy per John Everdon, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., June 3, 1416. For payment to John Everdon for his journey to Normandy to pay masters of ships, see ibid. July 4, 1416, where he is *late* Treasurer of Wars.

[1] Imperatoria bonitas huic proposito contradicit, Tit. Liv. 25; Vita, 78; Halle, 74; Holinsh. iii. 557.

[2] Kingsford, Chron. 125; Cleop. C. IV. 30, where the commons "grudged with whole heart"; see Letter Book I, 152.

[3] Das parloment verdacht den romschen konig der doch unschuldig daran war, Windecke, 68.

[4] Liv. 25; Kingsford, Lit. 329.

[5] Chron. Lond. 104; Gesta, 82; not "12 days *before* the Count of Holland," as Le Fèvre, i. 280; Waurin, ii. 234; yet cf. Rym. ix. 366.

[6] He left Mortlake on June 30, Kingsford, Chron. 126.

[7] For money paid to the king at Guldeforde, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., June 27, 1416, which must mean that money was awaiting him on his arrival there.

[8] For £5666. 14*s*. 3*d*. sent to him at Farnham, Tichfield and Southampton, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., Sept. 3, 1416. For view of Farnham Castle, see Nichols, Progresses, iii. 90.

[9] Rym. ix. 369, July 11; Ewald, xliv. 583; Lenz, 111; Pat. 4 H. V, 16, 16 d, July 12, 1416, where the Prior is John Fordham. For £908 delivered to the king at Tichfield, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., July 18, 1416.

[10] Pat. 4 H. V, 18.

[11] For documents dated at Southampton, July 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 1416, see Claus. 4 H. V, 15 d; Pat. 4 H. V, 15, 16, 16 d, 19, 20; Ewald, xliv. 582, 583; not that he "hastened to and from Southampton," as Ramsay, i. 236. The document dated at Southampton Aug. 6, 1416, in Pat. 4 H. V, 25, certainly refers to Aug. 6, 1415; not that King Henry was at Southampton in June 1416, as J. S. Davies, 470.

[12] According to an order issued in London on June 14, 1416, Kingsford, Chron. 125.

there he ordered[1] proclamations to be made at Alton[2], Alresford[3], Andover, Basingstoke, Christchurch, Hashunt[4], Stockbridge[5] and Winchester, calling upon all captains and leaders to have their fencibles at Southampton by Saturday, July 25, at latest ready to accompany him on the same night to repel the enemy who were expected to invade at any moment. On July 20[6] the levies of Hampshire, Dorset and Wilts were called on to hurry up to Southampton by the 24th, when he suddenly changed his mind and decided to remain in England and watch the course of Sigismund's negotiations. On July 22, 1416[7], he appointed the Duke of Bedford[8] to represent him as supreme commander at sea for three months, with Thomas Morley[9], a Norfolk knight, and Walter Hungerford[10] to serve under him as Admirals

[1] i.e. July 18, 1416, Claus. 4 H. V, 15 dors; Add. MS. 4601, no. 39 (44).

[2] Called Aulton in Woodward, iii. 309.

[3] Called Allesford in Claus. 4 H. V, 15 d. Cf. Alsford, Alesford, Lel. Coll. iii. 88.

[4] Possibly Havant.

[5] Not Glokebrygge, as Gesta, 83 note, where Alton and Alresford become Milton and Mefford.

[6] Rym. ix. 370.

[7] Locum tenens noster supra mare ac ductor hominum ad arma et sagittariorum, Pat. H. V, 16 d, 20; Rym. ix. 371; Gesta, 85. For his letters of attorney and protection for three months dated July 24, 1416, see Rym. ix. 372.

[8] Chron. Lond. 104. Not "lorde Thomas" (i.e. the Duke of Clarence), as Windecke, 143; Monstr. 393; Le Fèvre, i. 283; Waurin, ii. 235; Meyer, 249; Barante, iii. 186; C. Beaurepaire, Accord, 307; Anselme, vii. 817; nor the Earl of Huntingdon, as Lingard, iii. 506. On July 24, 1416, he is already officially referred to as about to make the expedition, Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch. Cf. My lorde of Bedeforde came out and had the cure, Pol. Songs, ii. 199; Pauli-Hertzberg, 60. Kirkstall, Chron. 287, adds the Earls of March, Huntingdon and Salisbury.

[9] Admirallus nostrae fiotae navium et ductor hominum ad arma et sagittariorum qui in navibus praedictis sunt, Pat. 4 H. V, 22, July 6, 1416. For Thomas Lord of Morley, Marshal of Ireland (i.e. Morley near Wymondham in Norfolk), see Blomefield, ii. 481. He is Thomas de Morley, kt., *defunctus* in Claus. 4 H. V, 9, Dec. 1, 1416; also Priv. Seal 664/688, Oct. 2, 1416, where he is Thomas Sire de Morley. For 13*s.* 4*d.* paid de fine pro homagio by Anna domina de Morley, see Rec. Roll 8 H. V, Mich., Nov. 18, 1420. Cf. Thomas de Morlee, kt. in Norfolk, Ad Quod Damn. 368, appointed (July 6, 1416) Admiral and Captain-General "of all those forces which were come up to London from several ports" who "conducted them to Southampton in order to their going to France," see Pat. 4 H. V, 22; Dugd. ii. 27; Nicolas, Navy, ii. 419, 534; not "of all the forces in France," as Comp. Peer. v. 371. He greatly distinguished himself in the sea-fight and was at Calais in the following month, where he fell ill of the flux, and died at the age of 62 after ten days' illness on Sept. 24, 1416, Beltz. clviii, who refers to the administration of his estate at Lambeth March 3, 1417, cf. Inq. p. Mort. iv. 24. He had been made a K.G. towards the end of the reign of Henry IV, Beltz, clvii. His funeral was attended by King Henry and Sigismund in the church of St Mary at Calais on Sept. 26, 1416, Gesta, 97; Clowes, i. 378.

[10] Pat. 4 H. V, 19, July 26, 1416; Cal. Rot. Pat. 266; not 5 H. V, as Nicolas, Navy, ii. 419, 461, 534. He is called Admiral of England in Exch. Accts. 48/11, 4 H. V; cf. "Ther was present at *both batailles*" (i.e. the sea-fights of 1416 and 1417), Pol. Songs, ii. 200; Pauli-Hertzberg, 15.

of the fleet, the latter of whom took charge of a large number of vessels at Winchelsea. This done he returned to Westminster by way of Guildford[1] to give a friendly reception to any proposals for peace that might be put forward by the French.

The Duke of Bedford was commissioned[2] to hold the musters when he pleased and to weed out the weaklings and undesirables in readiness for a real effective start when the time should come. Then came the second appearance of the enemy in Southampton water[3], and when the Duke of Bedford finally essayed to start he found himself cut off from the Winchelsea[4] squadron and unable to stir. On the departure of the French he moved out but was buffeted about by the tempestuous weather. At length the whole fleet joined hands off Beachy Head[5], and amidst prayers and congratulations and rejoicing all stood across together for the mouth of the Seine. The news of the start was flashed in the night by beacon-signals to the king at Westminster, who prayed fervently that God would again watch over His servants in their struggle for justice and the public weal. In the early morning he sent urgent messages to the hermit at Westminster and the Carthusians both in London and at Sheen, who joined their prayers with his to such good effect that God listened and fought again on England's side[6].

The strength of the Duke of Bedford's fleet is variously estimated by foreign writers at 200[7], 300[8] or 400[9] vessels

[1] For a document dated at Guildford, July 29, 1416, see Pat. 4 H. V, 20; Chancery Warrants, Ser. 1. 1364/32. Another letter in Chancery Warrants, Ser. 1. 1364/33, dated Rotherhithe, July 30 [s.a.], is wrongly dated 1417, it should be 1416.

[2] i.e. on July 25, 1416, Rym. ix. 372, minus idoneos et insufficientes. For order (Sept. 13, 1416) for deserters from the Duke of Bedford's force to be imprisoned in London, see Claus. 4 H. V, 15, 16.

[3] Page 351.

[4] Gesta, 85. For wages paid to sailors at Winchelsea, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., July 18, 1416. For 500 marks received at Winchelsea by John Rothmale, Treasurer of War, from Roger Leche, kt., Treasurer of England, to pay wages of gunners and others at Harfleur, see Add. MS. 4601, art. 40, in Nicolas, Navy, ii. 419. For payments "apud le Cunbre," see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., July 24, 1416; cf. Tit. Liv. 25; Vita, 79; called "la Cumbe," Elmham, Lib. Metr. 139. For "le Cumbre juxta Winchelsea," see For. Accts. 8 H. V, m. 29; le port de la Chambre, Weale, Van Eyck, pp. lvi, 14, 17, who supposes it to be Shoreham.

[5] Bewchief, Gesta, 85; Beauchiefe, Tit. Liv. 25; Vita, 79.

[6] Gesta, 86; Halle, 75; Redman, 49.

[7] St Denys, vi. 34; R. Baker, 172.

[8, 9] For notes see next page.

having on board 3000 archers[1], though a German who was in England at the time sets the number of the ships as low as 70 all told[2], and the French account represents him as having left Southampton early in August[3] to rendezvous at Calais, where he is supposed to have waited ten days before delivering his attack. But most are agreed that, whatever was the course, the English squadron arrived in the mouth of the Seine[4] on the evening of Aug. 14, 1416[5]. They had certainly been expected to land somewhere at any moment, but the opinion seemed generally to be that a great effort in support would be made from Calais where it was innocently believed that the Duke of Burgundy would bear a hand to drive them back[6], and so when news of their approach was signalled in the Seine the French were all on shore[7] before Harfleur and had to make their preparations in extreme haste, and the Commander, Guillaume de Montenay[8], found himself hampered by divided councils. The Genoese ships, which formed the most formidable section, were partly manned by Frenchmen[9] and were under the orders of William, Viscount of Narbonne[10], who

[8] Magnis computatis atque parvis, Stella, 1268; Monstr. 393; Morosini, ii. 106; Meyer, 249, which is considered to be a gross exaggeration by Nicolas, Navy, ii. 420, though accepted by A. Martin, Chef de Caux, 88.

[9] Le Fèvre, i. 282; Hard. 377, who is supposed to have been present at the battle, see Hard. p. v; D.N.B. xxiv. 362; Morley, vi. 157; possibly from his wording "*our* ships" and "*we* might not sayle," see Kingsford, Hard. 463, 478; Norm. Chron. 175; do. Hellot, 26; Stella, 1268; Giustiniani, ii. 277; Lediard, i. 66; Guthrie, ii. 470.

[1] St Denys, vi. 34.

[2] Seebenzig grossen und cleineren schiffen, Windecke, 143, writing several years after. Cf. "Wyth a few nombre yn comparison of the grete French navye," Noblesse, 28.

[3] St Denys, vi. 34; not Aug. 14, as Pauli, v. 134.

[4] Cf. lyeing at Seyn hede before Hareflue, Noblesse, 15. For "the rivere of Sayne," see Orig. Lett. Ser. II. i. 84; the Sein's mouth, Boyle, 33; not "the River of Soame," as Sandford, 282; nor that the fight was at St Vaast de la Hougue, as G. Dupont, ii. 515.

[5] In vigili ventris Sumptae (i.e. Assumptionis) flat vela Mariae, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 139; Gesta, 85; Tit. Liv. 25; Vita, 79; Kingsford, Chron. 71; not Oct. 6, as Norm. Chron. 176. Not that they left Beachy Head on Aug. 14, as Ramsay, i. 238; not 1417, as Windecke, 143.

[6] Que l'on attendoit de jour en jour, Baye, ii. 264, Aug. 12, 1416. For the "banclocque" sounded at Boulogne on June 4, 1416, on an alarm that the English were coming, see Deseille, 433.

[7] Juv. 533.

[8] With him were the Lords of Beaumanoir (called Beaunan in Bouvier, 432; Mamerot, 272) and Garencières, Anselme, ii. 411; vii. 225; viii. 90, 101, 260; Meuillon, 20; Ronciere, ii. 218.

[9] Bouvier, 432.

[10] Anselme, vii. 766; Flourac, 88; not *John*, as Pol. Verg. 448; Halle, 74; Grafton, i. 522; not "Norbon," as R. Baker, 172; nor "Bourbon," as Boyle, 34. He was

kept them under arms all night. But the Spaniards were of a different mind, and when they saw the English ships collecting in the evening light they sheered off to Honfleur and took no part in the engagement, the eight armed galleys of the Genoese and many balingers likewise following their lead[1].

The night was stormy but the sea went down at day-break and the morning haze[2] revealed the French squadron formed up in close order[3] in mid-stream[4]. It was the Feast of the Assumption[5], Aug. 15, 1416, and both fleets prayed to the Queen of Heaven for help. On the English side spy-boats[6] had been despatched to gather information of the position, the captains held a consultation on the flag-ship, and when the enemy were seen blocking the river mouth the horns and trumpets[7] rang out the signal to weigh anchor and run upon them[8]. On they came

attached to the household of the Duke of Orleans, Maulde la Clavière, i. 35.• He was Lord of Arboréa in Sardinia, Ametler y Vinyas, i. 46. For his attempt to overrun Sardinia with the Genoese, see Schmidt, 328. He was taken prisoner by the Burgundians in Paris in May 1418, but escaped the massacre and was killed at the battle of Verneuil, Aug. 7, 1424, J. Garnier, 51; Vallet de Viriville, Conseillers, 7. His body was buried in the Benedictine Abbey of Fontfroide (Aude) near Narbonne, Anselme, vii. 766. He married Margaret, niece (not sister) of Bernard VII, Count of Armagnac, on Nov. 30, 1415, Ametler y Vinyas, i. 55, whence he is called nephew of the Count of Armagnac in Beaucourt, i. 115, 121. He made his will on May 5, 1424. For his seal, July 31, 1424, see Demay, Inventaire, 5.

[1] Stella, 1268; Giustiniani, ii. 277; caeteri fugerunt cum Hispanis navibus, Hakluyt, i. 205.

[2] Gesta, 87; Tit. Liv. 25; in aurora nebilosa, Strecche, 269; not 9 o'clock, as Nicolas, Navy; Clowes, i. 376.

[3] Non separati vel divisi sed uniti et in navigio simul juncto se tenerent, St Denys, vi. 38. For the French ships chained together at the beginning of the battle of Sluys (1340) ne ab invicem possent separari, see Melsa, iii. 45.

[4] Sovra Renfior (i.e. off Harfleur), Morosini, ii. 108; au chief de Caux, Meuillon, 21; Roncière, ii. 222, 224; a l'embouchure de la Seine devant Honnefleur, Bouvier, 432; afore the mouth of Sayne, Hard. 377; Aupres d'Onnefleur, Martial de Paris, i. 23. A. Martin, Chef, 88, supposes that the fight took place dans la rade du chef de Caux, quoting M. Bailleul.

[5] Morosini, ii. 109; Kingsford, Lit. 329; Chron. Lond. 104; Oppenheim, 13; not Aug. 14, as Windecke, 143; Hegel, ii. 108; Chron. R. II to H. VI, 43; nor July, as Dict. Nat. Biogr. xxvi. 49; nor "whyle the king was at Calays" (i.e. between Sept. 5 and Oct. 16, 1416), as Fabyan, 581.

[6] See page 349, note 2. For balingers ad scrutandum et insidiandum inimicos regis supra mare, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Mich., Feb. 27, 1417.

[7] With trompes and taburns and mekill other pride, Minot, 33; Marco Polo, i. lxix. For cors et trumpes de chasses, see Robert, 265. For trumpeters on the poop of ships, see Harl. MS. 4379 in Nicolas, Navy, i. Frontispiece; do. i. 366; ii. 219; Humphreys, i. Plate IV; Clowes, i. 156; also on seal of Winchelsea, Boys, 782, 814; Marco Polo, i. 111; Lewis, iv. 595; Statham, Frontispiece (1392); see also seals of Dover (Boys, 797); Faversham (Hasted, ii. 710); Hythe (Boys, 810); Pevensey (Boys, 810, 815).

[8] Ranne upon their enemys as thundre and tempeste, Melusine, 170.

full sail with banners spread and every man ready at his post[1], and as the sun rose and glittered on their gear they swung round crescent-wise[2] to outflank the serried squadron of the French that lay before them like a fortress waiting for the assault.

If the fighting craft alone were counted the English quite outnumbered their enemy[3], who since the defections of the night before had little more than 100 fighting vessels[4] to oppose to them. But the bigger bulk of the great carracks and the immense reputation of the Genoese both as seamen and marksmen more than equalised the balance and left the English as formidable a task as that generation had ever yet had to face at sea.

The purpose of a sea-fight[5] in those days was to ram and scuttle your enemy, or to manœuvre him into shallow water with your galleys and throw him out of action at the mercy of the sea or to get alongside and disable his tack and tackle, cut his halliards and cordage with shearhooks[6] mounted on long poles[7] and then grapple[8] and board[9] at the waist for a hand-to-hand encounter[10]. Again and again the English got in and chained[11] at close quarters, but again and

[1] Omnibus armamentis decentissimi comptas, St Denys, vi. 40.

[2] Not confertissimâ acie, as Redman, 49.

[3] Though Henty, 362, 366, gives the superior numbers to the French and supposes them to have been "supported by some of the siege batteries" on the shore.

[4] Stella, 1268; Giustiniani, ii. 277; called seven carracks and about 50 other vessels (i.e. hulks, barges, galleys and galliots) in Chron. Lond. 104; or 12 to 14 Genoese carracks cum aliis ex litoribus patriae (i.e. France), Basin, i. 25.

[5] For pictures of sea-fights at close quarters, see Roncière, i. 472; Clowes, i. 376; Kingsford, 184; Durham, ii. 25, from Cotton, Julius E. iv. 6 (Rows); Johnes, Frois. ii. 100; Humphreys, Frois. i. Pl. XLI; Besant, Survey, i. 106; Dewitt, 62; Marco Polo, i. lxv, from fresco by Spinello Aretini in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena; see also Schulz, 606 (1468); Macfarlane-Thomson, i. 385, where a quarrel shot from a bow is taken to be "a bottle of quicklime to blind the opponents."

[6] For sherhokes for the yerde arms, see Oppenheim, Naval Accts. 39.

[7] Christine de Pisan, Faits, 271.

[8] Arches de fer et crampons, Christine, 272. For picture of a grapnel (14th century), see Nicolas, Navy, i. 366, from Royal MS. 20 D; cf. grands crocs et havets de fer tenans à chaines, si les jetoient dedans les nefs et les accrochoient ensemble, Frois. i. 106. For picture of a galley fight from fresco at Siena, see Yule, Marco Polo, i. lxii, by Ambruogio Lorenzetto in the Palazzo Pubblico; cf. Kraus, i. i. 126.

[9] Cf. thei borded together, Melusine, 269; for a "stage thrown over to her deck," see Lediard, i. 67; cf. "let down a sort of gangway and rush over it," C. R. L. Fletcher, 189.

[10] Navibus simul junctis cominus et manutentiam quisque partem adversam gladiis interficere et vasa ejus marina submergere atque flamma voraci consumere conaretur, St Denys, vi. 96. For the French ships at the Battle of the Nile, see Southey, Life of Nelson.

[11] Syne our folk cheyned with them, Melusine, 177; cf. cheyned together, ibid. 270.

again they were foiled by the showers of gavelocks[1] and quarrels[2] rained upon them from the towering carracks, and as their stern castles fell short of those of their enemy by a whole lance's length in height[3] they stood at a murderous disadvantage while the men in the great fighting tops hurled down stones and iron gads[4] to beat off their attack. It is not known whether guns were used in the battle, though this is extremely likely, as an item for them appears among the cost of the equipment in the accounts of the English Exchequer[5], but catapults were certainly employed on the other side which slung great stones with deadly execution from the extra vantage height on poop and prow. For seven long hours[6] both fleets held on, the Genoese ships being handled with consummate skill. Being on the defensive the French ships at first suffered relatively little loss[7], while the English plunges seemed like a series of forlorn hopes, and 700 of their knights and squires were killed or badly wounded, among the latter being the Duke of Bedford himself. Twenty[8] of their smaller craft were sunk with all hands in the thick of the fray and the deaths of the "ignobiles" alone are calculated at 2000[9]. At length, when stones and darts were giving out and both sides had begun to flag[10], a stroke of seamanship brought four of the Genoese carracks[11], a large hulk and four

[1] Gauelokkis (javelins), Laud Troy Bk. 392; Halliwell, i. 394.

[2] Viretons, Juv. 532.

[3] Gesta, 97; Tit. Liv. 26; Vita, 80. Scaphis hastili fuit altior ista carina, Elmham, Lib. Metr. 144; cf. "towered spear-high," Kingsford, 184. For their "marvellous greatness," see Stow, quoted in Oppenheim, 13, who calls this "absurdly incorrect."

[4] Orig. Lett. II. i. 95; Stevenson, i. 421; massae ferreae, Vita, 81; cf. gros barrians de fier forgés pour lancier et effendrer niefs, Froissart, v. 259, in Minot, 92. For picture of them, see seal of Tenderden, Boys, 815. Cf. on doit gecter grosses pierres et bastons de fer bien agus pour percier et rompre la nef, Christine de Pisan, 272; chastieux bretes-kiés pourveux de pierre et caillaux pour jeter, Frois. v. 259. For picture of drowning man being speared in the water, see Sercambi, ii. 37.

[5] Devon; Kingsford, 190.

[6] Called three hours in Kirkstall, Chron. 287.

[7] St Denys, vi. 42.

[8] Called "near 500" in Sandford, 282.

[9] Plures occidunt, Stella, 1268; grande perte de gens, Juv. 533; non absque larga effusione cruoris, Vita, 81, though Gesta (88) only admits a loss of 100. Towle (369) thinks that the English victory was easy and that they had few killed or wounded.

[10] Gesta, 88; Vita, 82.

[11] Windecke, 143; Kingsford, Chron. 71; do. Lit. 329; called two in Juv. 533; Bouvier, 432; or three in Kirkstall, Chron. 287. Strecche (269) supposes that they captured seven out of the nine carracks and many other *naves*; cf. et eut environ cinq ou six grans navires gagnées de leur, Martial de Paris, i. 23.

balingers[1] into English hands, and then finding themselves thus utterly disabled[2], the rest of the carracks[3] sheered off in the direction of Honfleur, one of the largest of them running on to a shoal and breaking up before she could make the harbour[4].

The day was won but our ships were too battered to pursue. They therefore divided into two sections in mid-stream, one of which put back to Southampton with their prizes and their wounded, while the other sailed on triumphantly to greet their beleaguered countrymen at Harfleur. The fight had taken place full in sight of the famished garrison[5] and some of the blockading galleys were still lying in the road, but the Duke of Bedford despatched a few barges to clear them off[6], and as our countrymen watched the victors sailing proudly up the creek they gave thanks to God for the great deliverance, and the chronicler again expresses his amazement at the fatuous stubbornness of the poor misguided Frenchmen[7] who could take such awful punishment and still refuse to see that God was fighting on the side of justice[8], while hundreds of swollen corpses were cast up on the shore or drifted in and out with every tide and cried in vain for human burial to save them from feeding the fishes

[1] Wals. ii. 316; cf. one "hook" (i.e. carrae aequalem), Vita, 82; unâ hulcâ submissâ, Gesta, 88; Lib. Metr. 139; cf. Chron. Lond. 104; Caxton, 228; R. Baker, 172; "and drowned a grete hulke called the Blak Hulke off fflaunders," Kingsford, Chron. 71. Low, Navy (i. 8), thinks that the French lost 500 vessels. Cf. holk, hollic, H.R. vi. 251, 253, 288; hulk sive navis, Pat. 6 H. V, 11 dors. Dec. 21, 1418.

[2] Though Lenz (123, 124, 127) thinks that the French fleet was im Wesentlichen intakt geblieben and that their Kriegsmacht keiner Weges gebrochen war.

[3] Called four in Tit. Liv. 26; Le Fèvre, i. 282; evadentibus reliquis dum se sustinere non posse viderent, Stella, 1286; Gesta, 88.

[4] Wals. ii. 316; Morosini, ii. 114; called the "Mountnegrie" in Chron. R. II to H. VI, p. 43; or Montnegrie, Woodward, ii. 253 (quae mater omnium caracarum dicebatur); Kingsford, 185, 190, where she is "rent and bored in the sides," do. Lit. 60; cf. "lateribus disruptis," Vita, 81; Ramsay, i. 239, who supposes that she went down in the Channel. For Montaigne-negre, see Raoulet, 158, quoted in Vallet de Viriville, 55, for the Earl of Huntingdon's fight in 1417. On Feb. 21, 1417, news reached Venice that the English had captured a Genoese cog (*choche*) and that another had broken up (s'était brisée) at Falmouth (Falamude), Morosini, ii. 128.

[5] Devant Harefleu, Norm. Chron. 176; do. Hellot, 26; not at La Hogue, as G. Dupont, ii. 515; nor bei Honfleur, as Lenz, 120, 126; nor "not far from Southampton," as J. S. Davies, 470.

[6] Tit. Liv. 26; Vita, 82. This is represented by Brougham, 129, as a second naval battle.

[7] For the French boast that ung vaisseau de France à la mer tant pour tant desconfit toujours ung vaisseau d'Angleterre, see Débat, 32; Pyne, 57.

[8] Gesta, 89.

on the sea-ground[1]. The French narrator, who had his information from heralds who were present in the battle[2], lays stress upon the enormous losses of the English and leaves it to his readers to say on which side the victory lay, while an eyewitness who fought with the Viscount of Narbonne on one of the Genoese carracks even claims that the victory rested with the French at least as far as concerned the particular ship on which he served[3]. But there can be no doubt of the verdict given by the general consent of Europe at the time and all other contemporaries declare without hesitation that the French had been again "sore bet[4]," and French writers themselves usually attempt to give reasons for their discomfiture. Some blamed the Spaniards for shirking on the approach of danger[5]; others said that the Genoese would not fight because the French would not pay[6], meaning apparently the eight Genoese galleys, for the fighting of their carracks was universally applauded[7] and their death roll was conspicuously heavy[8]. Some said that the French put in their own captains on the carracks[9] and altogether undermanned them[10], while the Genoese charged the French with leaving all the hot work to them and keeping safely out of range themselves[11], and

[1] Minot, 33. Cf. The bodies flete amonge our shippes eche daye, Hard. 377. For the joke that if the fishes could talk they would speak French after devouring so many Frenchmen after the battle of Sluys in 1346, see Melsa, iii. 45.

[2] St Denys, vi. 40. Duchesne, 825, doubts whether any battle took place at all.

[3] S'en partirent a lonneur, Meuillon, 21, who was on board the carrack Campyonne, named from her commander Ser Diomede Campione. For the names of other Genoese captains, see Morosini, ii. 110. Meuillon had lost his eldest son Aymer at Agincourt, Roman, 21, 89, where he is called Meulhon or Mevouillon; cf. Morosini, ii. 112, 115; Roncière, ii. 223.

[4] Hard. 377; desconfits, Norm. Chron. 176; do. Hellot, 26; Nagerel, 168; Le Fèvre, i. 282; Waurin, ii. 236; Cousinot, 139; Juv. 533; kregen vil schif und vil gevangen, Hegel, ii. 108; Got gap den Engelschen das glück, Windecke, 143; Destroyed they were by that discomfiture, Pol. Songs, ii. 199; Hakluyt, i. 227.

[5] St Denys, vi. 38.

[6] Bouvier, 432; Raoulet, 156, who blames the Treasurer Picquet de la Haye; Fabyan, 582, from Gaguin.

[7] Ut vehementer ipsos commendarent Galli suaque mirarentur dimicationi virili, Stella, 1368; Giustiniani, ii. 277; faisoient les Genevois merveilles d'armes, Juv. 533.

[8] Per quel che bien dito *tuty* Zenovexi fono morti a la dita bataia, Morosini, ii. 110, i.e. on the sunk and captured carracks; not that "all was slayne or take," as Pol. Songs, ii. 200; Hakluyt, i. 227; or "almost all," as Halle, 75; Speed, 785; or "the most part," as Capgr. 314.

[9] Lesquels carraques le roy de France fist armer, Le Fèvre, i. 281; Juv. 533.

[10] Bouvier, 432; parquoy les quarraques n'estoient pas bien garnies de leur equipage, Norm. Chron. 176; Barante, iii. 186.

[11] Stella, 1268.

on the top of all we have the old familiar inevitable taunt that the French commanders were corrupted with English gold[1]. The English asserted that 1500 of the enemy had been killed or drowned[2] and 400 taken prisoners[3], while they set down their own loss at 100 only[4]. But it is certain that both sides alike suffered cruel losses[5], and that to the English especially it proved a "great mortal battle[6]." For the task that they had set themselves was well-nigh desperate. They were matched against a class of ships vastly stouter[7] than their own in height and build and manned by 300 or 400 men apiece[8] who were rightly regarded as the most daring sailors[9] and the best crossbowmen[10] in the world, and after being beaten off with fearful loss they returned to action not once or twice but twenty times with dogged stubbornness till they had sunk, captured, crippled and utterly dispersed them, leaving none seriously to dispute with them the entrance to the Seine.

[1] Millin, v. pt. xx, p. 3.

[2] Capgr. De Illustr. 119; Pauli, v. 134; called 15,000 in Otterbourne, 278, which Nicolas (Navy, ii. 422) regards as "incredible." Called "a pretty obvious error" in Clowes, i. 377; in 1550 J. Coke (p. 90) believed that 20,000 of the French had been killed.

[3] Hardyng (377) puts down the number of those who were "taken" at 20,000 (i.e. on both sides); not on the French side only, as Echard, 188. For names of many Genoese prisoners in England in 1417, e.g. Francis Gentilles, Edward Sipion, Paul Lumbard, Testegros (i.e. Grostete) de Voragine, see French Roll 4 H. V, 4; Carte, Rolles, ii. 233, 234; though it is not possible to determine whether they were captured in 1415 or 1416. For Petrus Gentile of Genoa, prisoner to the Earl of Salisbury in England, see Rym. ix. 467, July 21, 1417; also Casan de Aurea (or Casan Dana, A. Thomas, Soldats, 68) (not Andrea, as Carte, Rolles, ii. 237), Rym. ix. 659 (Dec. 21, 1418); Dep. Keep. 44th Rept. 608; from French Roll 6 H. V, 4; also Opecius (or Opizzo) Lomelyn, ibid. 9, 10; Jeronimus de Grillis, ibid. 7, 11; Raphael de Nigro, ibid. 7.

[4] Gesta, 88; Lib. Metr. 139; cf. parvo satis negotio victis hostibus, Basin, i. 25.

[5] Crudelyxine e gran quantitade de persone *de una parte e de l'altra* de mory, Morosini, ii. 108; mains nobles hommes morz et noyez, Le Fèvre, i. 282; many one slayn and drowned, Noblesse, 15.

[6] Noblesse, 44.

[7] Carrikys orrible grete and stoute, Pol. Songs, ii. 199; Hakluyt, i. 227; Pauli-Hertzberg, 60; carrikes money well stuffyd and arayed, Hard. 377; satis terribilibus vasis, Capgr. De Illustr. 119.

[8] Roncière, ii. 221.

[9] For belief that one Genoese galley would probably beat four of the Saracens, see Lannoy, Survey, 293, quoting Johnes' translation of Froissart, vol. ii. chap. 44 (q.v.); ces Gennevois ont les plus belles navires et les plus grans du monde et sont moult vaillans hommes et hardiz en mer, Bouvier, Descr. 59.

[10] For 1600 Genoese crossbowmen who had come to help the Armagnacs entering Montferrand in Auvergne July 22, 1417, under Louis de Guastalla, see Thomas, Soldats, 69. For argument that the cross-bow was far more effective than the long-bow in a sea-fight, see Debat, 32; Pyne, 57, i.e. because the latter could only operate par dessus le bort de la nef, while the former peut tirer soulz coverte et soit soulz le chateau devant ou derriere.

The fight, which had taken place in the broad estuary which at that time formed a vast bay stretching up to Tancurville and Lillebonne, was henceforward known as the "Battle off Harfleur[1]" or the "Battle of the Seine[2]," or "the battle of the sea against the carracks[3]," or quite commonly "the taking of the carracks[4]," that being the great salient fact that struck home to the English mind. On the day after the fight the wounded Duke of Bedford sailed back to Southampton[5] with his prizes proudly flying the English flag, and the great news reached King Henry at Smallhythe on Aug. 21[6], whither he had passed after signing the treaty with Sigismund at Canterbury[7]. After a brief thank-God he leapt into the saddle and straightway posted back to Canterbury, the citizens being apparently uncertain as to the direction of his approach[8]. On his arrival he and Sigismund attended a great *Te Deum* in the Cathedral in gratitude to God who had visited and redeemed His people. His heart brimmed over in special thanks to Our Lady on whose feast the victory was won, and special honour was henceforward to be paid to her and St Gregory and St George in the daily services at Westminster where his chaplains were to sing an antiphon with versicle and collect[9] in her honour every day as long as he should live[10].

[1] In bello navali de Harfleu, Gesta, 97; in navali bello prope Herflu in mari commisso, Caro, Kanzlei, 115; do. Bündniss, 112; Clowes, i. 377, who thinks it was fought in the narrow channel to the north of the Banc d'Amfar and that the wind probably blew from the north; called "bel Honfleur" in Loserth, Gesch. 551.

[2] Cf. "at Sayne," "afore the mouth of Sayne," "before the water of Sayne," Hard. 377; J. Coke, 90; "at Seyne hede before Hareflue," Noblesse, 29.

[3] Noblesse, 28. Cf. "ceste gracieux viage fait sur la meer," Rot. Parl. iv. 101, where David Howel of the county of Pembroke was present with the Duke of Bedford but was accused of treason in his absence. For his pardon dated Feb. 2, 1417, see Pat. 4 H. V, 4. He had been governor of Llanstephan castle in 1403, Wylie, i. 378.

[4] Otterbourne, 278; Orig. Lett. II. i. 96; J. Stevenson, i. 421; "super captione diver' carr' de Inimicis regni nostri de Geen," Exch. Accts. 49/29.

[5] "In portum Hamonis," Strecche, 269; called "Ertona" in Morosini, ii. 102, 104, showing that the news of their return was reported in Venice on Sept. 16, 1416, by a courier who left Bruges on Aug. 23.

[6] Gesta, 89; Chron. Giles, 77.

[7] i.e. on Aug. 15, 1416. Pat. 4 H. V, mm. 216, shows that Ralph Passenham, the king's harbinger, was at Canterbury on Aug. 18 and Sept. 1, 1416. He had been appointed keeper of the castle at Cambridge on Nov. 19, 1415, Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 369. For £333. 6*s*. 8*d*. for expenses of the king's hostel at Canterbury, see Exch. Accts. 328/6, Aug. 10, 1416.

[8] For payment for horses to go to Rochester and Dover ad inquirendum de adventu dni regis, see Hist. MSS. 9th Rept. 138.

[9] Kingsford, Lit. 329; Collett, First Life, 71.

[10] Chron. R. II to H. VI, 143.

Thus was Harfleur effectually relieved. Supplies were promptly sent in from the captured French vessels[1] to meet immediate needs, and on Aug. 30, 1416[2], the Treasurer (Thomas Barneby) was able to distribute 3000 marks among the garrison in payment of their wages in addition to £100 to the stonecutters, carpenters, labourers and gunners who had shared the privations of the recent stress. The rest of the fleet lay waiting out in the river for a wind, being constantly hampered by the enemy's galleys which rowed amongst them night and day attempting to burn them with wild fire, but they sailed home at length on September 8[3] to find all England still ringing with tumultuous joy[4] which burst forth anew when it became known that the remainder of the Genoese carracks had been chased off as far as Brest[5] with three of the French captains on board[6]. One of the vessels however appeared off Calais some six weeks later in full sail making apparently for Sluys on Sept. 24, 1416[7]. Calais was then crowded with notables owing to the final leave-taking of King Henry and Sigismund hereafter to be described. The Earl of Warwick as captain of the place[8] immediately got ready six balingers and passagers to give chase, but before they could weigh anchor the carrack was out of sight. They came up with her however at day-break on the following morning, grappled her and fought fiercely all through the day with heavy loss on both sides until their stock of missiles was exhausted and they had to draw off and let her go. The wind was now dead against them and they had to make for Orwell[9], and some of them getting off their course were caught and scattered in the hurricane

[1] Usk, 130.

[2] Add. MS. 4601, art. 40.

[3] Hard. 377, 378.

[4] Waurin, ii. 236; Le Fèvre, i. 282.

[5] Juv. 533; St Denys, vi. 96; Bouvier, 432; Speed, 785; G. Dupont, ii. 515, who supposes that they were attacked by the Duke of Clarence off the Cotentin on June 29, 1417.

[6] One of them was the Bastard of Bourbon, Juv. 533; Le Fèvre, i. 281, 282, who adds Robinet de Bracquemont, Admiral of France. He lost his son Jean in this sea-fight, Beaurepaire, Accord, 307, but was not made Admiral till April 22, 1417, Anselme, vii. 817.

[7] Gesta, 96; Lib. Metr. 143; Vita, 89; called several (*plurimae*) in Tit. Liv. 29; or two in Rous, 367; Strutt, Manners, ii. 126, Plate xlii, where they are both supposed to have been captured by the Earl of Warwick.

[8] He is still Captain of Calais in Fr. Roll 8 H. V, 1, Feb. 26, 1421. For order issued (Feb. 13, 1416) by Earl of Warwick as Captain of Calais forbidding soldiers to quit Calais without special leave, see Ewald, xliv. 544.

[9] Gesta, 98.

that ripped up the royal tents in front of the castle at Calais. One by one they straggled back to Calais having had no food for three days and nights, the Earl of Warwick himself returning last on Sept. 30, 1416[1].

But the adventure had cost him at least two valuable lives, viz. Baldwin Strange[2], who was killed in the thick of the fight, and Thomas West[3] the promising young Devonshire knight[4] who had been accidentally killed before they got into action. Had he lived he would have inherited the title and lands of his maternal uncle Thomas Lord de la Warr, who in 1421 founded the college at Manchester of which, being himself a clerk, he was the first rector[5].

It is believed that this was the first time that the great Italian carracks had come into northern waters for fighting purposes[6], though long before this date there are plenty of instances of carracks trading regularly from Spanish and Mediterranean ports with England and Flanders[7], and the English had captured them ere now[8] and had time to study

[1] Gesta, 99; cf. pede Septembris, Lib. Metr. 145.

[2] For his widow Margaret who died in 1432, see Inq. p. Mort. iv. 134, 138.

[3] Inq. p. Mort. iv. 22. He was born in 1391 and married Ida, a daughter of Almaric de St Amand, but she and her child had just recently died, Dugdale, ii. 140; Comp. Peer. vii. 9; viii. 108. For his (i.e. Thomas West's) retinue (1+0) at Southampton in July 1415, see Exch. Accts. 45/5 (7); called 20+60 in Nicolas. For Reginald West going abroad, see French Roll 4 H. V, 3, March 19, 1417; Carte, Rolles, ii. 234. He was made Captain of the Castle of La Matte or Mote near St Lo on Dec. 5, 1419, Ewald, xli. 809; Carte, Rolles, i. 321; Brequigny, 114.

[4] Juvenis sapidus et formosus, Gesta, 99; Lib. Metr. 143, 145. From Broadhampston or Hampston Cantelow (i.e. Cantelupe) near Totnes in Devonshire and Offington near Worthing (Sussex), Inq. p. Mort. iv. 22; Horsfield, ii. 194; Lower, i. 85.

[5] He died May 7, 1426, Doyle, i. 527; Comp. Peer. iii. 46; Monast. vi. 1424; Baines, i. 280, where he is always Thomas de la Warre, clerk. The title came from Wickwar in South Gloucestershire. He had been summoned to Parliament as *Master* Thomas de la Warre, Dugd. Summons, pp. 353–400; Cotton, Abridg. 549, since the beginning of the reign of Henry IV. For his seal, see Victoria County Hist. Lancashire, i. 320, where he is said to have been Rector of Manchester since 1373 and to have succeeded his elder brother Thomas Lord West (*sic*) in 1415 (ibid. i. 334). For his property in Sussex, see Noyes, 13.

[6] Low, Navy, i. 8; Oppenheim, Monson, i. 15, 16.

[7] e.g. in 1383, Wals. ii. 83; in 1405, Wylie, ii. 104, 327; also in this very year at Dartmouth in Sept. 1416, Gesta, 96; Chron. Lond. 104; Clowes, i. 378. For carracks in 1338, see Nicolas, Navy, ii. 160. For French carracks in 1405, see Wylie, ii. 301. For a captured carraka (unde Misher Mark est patronus) loaded with wax at Southampton, see Claus. 4 H. V, Nov. 14, 1416. For Genoese carracks trading with England in 1410, see Seyer, ii. 174. For a Genoese "carrek," the *Sancta Maria de Janua*, of a portage of 300 tons with linen cloth, &c., wrecked off Hertesworth infra insulam de Londey in 5 H. V (1417), see Ad Quod Damnum, 373, though I have not found this name in any modern account of Lundy Island.

[8] e.g. the "three karrikes of Geene" captured at Sluys in 1405, Brie (Brut), ii. 550; see Wylie, ii. 104.

their build when lying as prizes in English harbours[1]. It is true that the name had a foreign sound to English and French ears[2], but it was only the Italian equivalent for the cog[3], a large tubby class of vessel with which Englishmen had long been familiar[4], the word carrack itself having for long past taken its place in the English language[5]. At any rate the three big prizes were at once appropriated and adapted to English use. Their names were changed to the "Marie Sandwich," the "Marie Hampton" and the "George-of-the-Tower[6]," and they were reckoned as a substantial addition to our fighting force till the end of the king's reign.

[1] Cf. plusours Neafs et Cariks od diverses merchandises et Biens des Enemys ount estee prisez (i.e. in 1376), Rot. Parl. ii. 335; naves et carracae, Rym. ix. 399, 402; prises des Niefs, Caracks, &c. (1397), Rot. Parl. iii. 375. On July 9, 1419, William Soper and Nicholas Banastre were sent to Southampton to treat with merchants of Bristol and Bayonne in regard to certain carraques and other vessels loaded with goods des Genevois et d'autres noz ennemys, Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 267.

[2] Quas vulgo "carrakes" vocant, St Denys, vi. 12; Wals. ii. 83; or "quarraques," St Denys, vi. 96; cf. niefs, caraks, galeyes, et vesselx quelconques as English trading ships in 1417, Rym. ix. 622. For two carracks of Aragon (circ. 1419) of 900 and 1400 tons respectively, see Orig. Lett. II. i. 71, where bottes (i.e. tons) is wrongly supposed to mean "boats." Cf. "botas" or "tondes," Navarrete, i. 358; "un batel de 10 tonneaux" (1316) or "de 3 queux" (1373), C. Beaurepaire, iii. 246. In a list of Portuguese craft in Azurara, II. cxii, quoted from Revista Portuguesa Colonial, May 20, 1898, pp. 32–52, the carraka is classed among navios dos conquistos together with the Fusta, Catur, Almadia de Cathari, Galé, Galiota, Brigantin, Galeaca, Taforea, Galeão, the navios dos descobrimentos being the Barca, Caraval, Nau and Barinel called "an oared vessel," the name of which still survives in the modern "Varina," see Azurara, ii. 314. For barca, galera, scafo, fusta, caravella, camburia, dromone, rotunda as names of vessels at Venice, see Sathas, II. p. lv. Cf. fustum armatum, brigantinum, galedellum, Sathas, ii. 108. For carake de Catalanie, see Chancery Warrants, Ser. I. 1364/3, Feb. 28, 1414. Cf. In grete karrekkis, Pol. Songs, ii. 172, written in 1436; Pauli-Hertzberg, 36; i.e. Genoese merchantships.

[3] Cf. grossen kracken oder kocken, Windecke, 143; choche de Zenovexi, Morosini, i. 185, 190; ii. 104, as the equivalent of carrack; carachie over coche grande de Zenovexi, Morosini, ii. 158; cf. St Denys, vi. 12; Wylie, ii. 104; cum dictis cochis (1409), Sathas, ii. 225; una cocha biscaynorum, Blanchard, i. 113. Strecche (269) calls them *carinae*; cf. vaisseau de charge, Du Cange, s.v. *Carrike*. In Navarrete, i. 329, the *carraca* is larger than the *coca*.

[4] Gogue (1382), Bréard, 72. For a cog (in 1360) of 200 to 250 tons burden with a crew of 137, see Nicolas, Navy, ii. 161; Minot, 53. Cf. navis vocat' coggeship, Exch. Accts. 321/21; "cogghescip," Gilliodts van Severen, 483; navis vocata le Rode cogge, Pat. 4 H. V, 25 d; vas vocatum coggheship from Nieuport with 48 casks of wine, Cl. 4 H. V, 19; Gilliodts van Severen, 480; craiere vocatum Rodecogge, Rot. Norm. 327; "le Rudeschipe," Gilliodts van Severen, 478; not "logge-ships," as Ling. iii. 511. For "coggles" said to be still used at Scarborough, see Blount, s.v. *Cogs*. For caque (French), kaag (Dutch) for a fishing-boat, see Murray, s.v. *Cag*; cf. la coque de Flandres, de Frise, de Danemark, Beaurepaire, Vicomté, 300. For a coquet built for 3 livr., see Beaurepaire, Notes, iii. 248.

[5] e.g. caricarum et galearum, Wals. ii. 316; Hypo. 470; Capgr. 314; Rot. Parl. v. 105, 229, 509; vi. 239, 269.

[6] Oppenheim, 12; Clowes, i; they are called "iii carrakes" in a list of six "grandz niefs," which is supposed to be dated Feb. 1417, Orig. Lett. II. i. 68; Nicolas, Agincourt, App. 21; Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 202.

CHAPTER XLV

THE NAVY

THE lesson of the engagement was not lost on Henry[1], who diligently set himself to build carracks at home which should equal or even exceed the Genoese vessels in size and stowage[2], thus taking such an immense stride forward that he has been claimed as the "Founder of the English Navy[3]." If by this term be meant "the first who established a permanent Navy[4]," i.e. in the modern sense, the facts are all against the claim for such an extension of the number and capacity of the king's ships as he did attempt was completely extinguished by the sale of them all at his death[5]. Indeed what men then called "the Navy" was

[1] Vickers, Engl. 321, thinks that Henry IV "by his neglect of all things naval had lost command of the sea."

[2] Oppenheim, 1. Propter eorum naves fecit rex fieri naves quales non fuerunt in mundo, Hakluyt (1599), i. 186, quoting a Chronicle in Trinity (i.e. College, Monast. vi. 1454) at Winchester, or possibly the Cathedral, which is continually referred to as the "Trinity Church" in 1540, and later, as I am informed, by Mr A. J. Baigent of Winchester. For capella Stæ Trinitatis, see Woodward, i. 151.

[3] Nicolas, Navy, ii. 402; G. Dupont, ii. 573; Beamont, 234; Kingsford, Lit. 1.

[4] Orig. Lett. II. i. 67; cf. "something like an established Royal Navy in this reign," Wilkes, xxiii. 145. Ramsay (i. 244) thinks that Henry V "found nothing to begin with" and that "the continuous existence of the Royal Navy at the earliest" dates from his time. Cf. "the foundation of the Navy as a national force" dated from Feb. 1417, Dict. Nat. Biogr. xxvi. 50, where Henry V is called "the founder of our military, international and maritime law." Statham (84) thinks that he "established a Royal Navy on a larger and more permanent footing." For belief that he "began his reign with the intention of having a great fleet of his own," see Victoria Hist. Cornwall, p. 482; do. Sussex, p. 141; do. Essex, p. 266. In Kingsford (187) he is "not the Founder but the Restorer of the Royal Navy." C. R. L. Fletcher (318) thinks that he "may lay some claim to be the first founder of the Royal as opposed to the Cinque Port Navy"; also Fletcher-Kipling, 100. Charnock, I. xlvi. 362, calls Henry's navy "a mere collection of transports destitute of any armed force specially equipped for the purpose of protecting them," "a mere collection of vessels sufficient to transport his army."

[5] The Trinity, the Grace Dieu, the Holy Goste
And other moo whiche as now (i.e. 1436) be loste.

Woodward, ii. 253; Pol. Songs, ii. 199; Pauli-Hertzberg, 60; Wilkes, xxiii. 145; J. S. Davies, 469; Oppenheim, 13. Cf.

Such a *navie* (i.e. fleet) there before
Had I not seen ne so arraied. Speght, 358.

really the whole of the shipping of the country[1] which could point to no individual founder and had flourished long before Henry V was born. But if by "the Navy" we are to understand a fighting force as distinguished from a merchant service, such a force had really as yet no separate existence, and Henry did nothing more than continue the system that had long prevailed during many previous reigns[2] when the Kings of England had claimed to be "Lords or Kings of the Sea[3]."

For the war-ship was as a rule nothing but a merchant-ship[4] used temporarily for fighting purposes[5]. When carrying armed men whether for attack or transport she was fitted up with castles fore and aft[6] which were originally rigged up on temporary stanchions[7] and could be fixed or removed at pleasure. There was, it is true, a class of vessels specially built and fitted at the expense of the Exchequer at docks

For the "navie," i.e. the fleet of King Edgar at Chester, see Pol. Songs, ii. 196; Pauli-Hertzberg, 57; with his said navie, i.e. squadron, Rym. xiii. 327 (1512); with alle here men and here navee, or "nave," Laud Troy Bk. 37; ibid. 39, 52, 86, 367, 374, 485, 535; Lydg. Troy Bk. 227; by londe or by navie, Lydg. Troy Bk. 10, 26. For "the navy (i.e. navigation) of the sea," see Secreta, 151; tout ce gros navire d'Angleterre, Débat, 29; Pyne, 55, where it is employed in bringing wine and salt from Brittany and Guienne.

[1] See page 323. Cf. all the Nave of this londe, Rot. Parl. v. 55; the navye of this Reame, Stat. ii. 534; they cam with gret navi, Pol. Songs, ii. 155; the Navy of Spayne, Brut, ii. 469; a veraisemblable de vre dite navye, Rot. Parl. iv. 104; cf. "his navey," i.e. all the 1500 vessels assembled at Southampton in Aug. 1415, Brut, ii. 552; vint en grant naive, Brioc. Chron. 891; cf. "Naveye," Oppenheim, 9; Wylie, ii. 33. For navigium nostrum quinque portuum (1298), see Statham, 40, 178; naves nostras et navigium regni, Rym. ix. 702, 793; cf. bien repleny de navie aussi bien des niefs groses et petitz, Rot. Parl. iii. 46; o (i.e. avec) grant quantité de navie, Blondel, i. 91; sufficiens navigium, Rym. ix. 923, where it means one barge, one crayer, and four passagers; cf. qui se medelent de navie=the shipping interest, Rot. Parl. ii. 345.

[2] Stubbs (ii. 311) thinks that the foundations of the navy were laid by Edward I; Brie (107) that the general outline of its constitution continued with little variation from the beginning of Edward III to Henry VIII.

[3] Seigneurs du Mar, Rot. Parl. iv. 126. Cf.

On water and on land
Quae quondam nos timuerunt. Pol. Songs, i. 271.

For "roys de la mer," see Débat, 9, 21, 25, 29, 31, 33, 34, 47, 50, 130; Pyne, 17, 83, 87; Champion, Vie, 211.

[4] Marchaunt schippes, Lydg. Troy Bk. 350.

[5] Cf. baliniers d'armee, neff d'arme, Blanchard, ii. 226; barge d'armee, Gilliodts van Severen, 494; vaisseau d'armée, G. Dupont, ii. 509; C. Beaurepaire, Notes, iii. 246.

[6] Niefs de guerre od chastel devaunt et derere, Avesbury, 360; Débat, 32; cf. arraiez pour la guerre, Gilliodts van Severen, 486; cf. choche inchastelade, Morosini, ii. 104; turritae naves, Vita, 80; bellatoria, Nicolas, Navy, i. 364; afore and byhynde, Orig. Lett. II. i. 69.

[7] Burrows, Cinq Ports, 86; Oppenheim, 4; cf. in altissimis turribus malis infixis, Vita, 81. For raised prop and prow see seal of Calais, Demotier, 23. For ships temp. R. II, see Aubrey, i. 736; also temp. H. VI, Archaeologia, xx. 36, 61, 75.

and yards controlled by the royal officers and known as the king's ships. These were employed when required on state business, such as the carrying of envoys[1], or of suites at royal marriages[2] and such like ceremonial duties, and for the transport of harness and stone for royal buildings[3] as well as for the all important purpose of sea-keeping[4], for which duty they certainly carried guns[5]. But they were frequently let out for trading purposes and differed in no essential respect from privately-owned merchantmen, some of them being prizes captured when carrying cargoes at sea, others being owned partly by the king and partly by one of the masters of his other ships; and we have examples of one called the *Marguerite de la Tour* jointly owned by the king and a Welshman named John Williams, each party undertaking half the cost of her up-keep, and of the *Marie Breton* belonging to the king and Robert Row as his partner, the crews being chartered for them as each voyage occurred and afterwards discharged (*exonerati*) when the vessels were laid up in the charge of a few shipkeepers either at Sandwich, at the Hamble near Southampton, or in the Thames.

In these days the shipping of the western world was roughly divided into "long ships" or galleys known as arrows[6], rampyns or ships of advantage[7] worked mainly with oars[8], though supplemented by sails, and "round ships[9]" which certainly carried oars, but depended almost entirely for movement on their sails alone. Galleys were still quite common in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic ports of France and Spain[10], though owing to their low

[1] e.g. the *Valentine de la Tour* conveys the ambassadors of the Count of Foix from Southampton to Bayonne with receipt dated April 25, 1422, see Exch. Accts. 49/27, with broken seal.

[2] Wylie, i. 252; ii. 287 note, 449.

[3] See page 63, note 5; Oppenheim, Accts. xxviii, 57.

[4] Pol. Songs, ii. 181; Kail, 68; Kingsford, Lit. 234.

[5] For four guns each with three chambers, see For. Accts. 8 H. V, m. 31.

[6] Galeas seu sagittas (saettia), Jähns, 1259.

[7] Vol. I. 526; Melusine, 168, 271; Arras, 303.

[8] Gesta, 93; called "rowe-barges," J. Coke, 103.

[9] Navios redondes, Veer, 64; strong and wyde and wonder large, Laud Troy Bk. 10.

[10] For decline of the galley in Castile, see Navarrete, i. 385. For supposition that "a very slight taste of North Sea water would be sufficient to disable galleys," see Vict. Co. Hist. Essex, ii. 265; Forbes-Leith (14) thinks that "for seaworthiness they were little better than rafts."

freeboard[1] they were becoming more and more insufficient and unserviceable for the large sea-voyages[2] that were rapidly opening up in those days of world adventure, while the difficulty[3] of securing hands to toil at the long leaded sweeps[4] of these enormous craft has led some modern writers to suppose that they had long ago fallen into disuse in England[5]. This however was certainly not the case, for we know that three large galleys were actually building at Ratcliffe in the Pool of the Thames for King Henry IV in the very year in which he died[6], while the fact that some galleys formed part of the fleet that sailed for Normandy in 1417 is proved by one of Thomas Chaucer's accounts of that year in which he is paid for wine shipped on board them[7]. The galleys were of any size, one being known to have measured 117 ft. in length with 15½ ft. breadth of beam[8], and the largest carrying as many as 250 men, 180 of them being rowers who were seated at the oar-holes[9] on short benches usually 2, 3, or even 5 on each, the number of oars ranging from the galiot with 8 or 10 a side up to the great galleys with 20, 24 and over. But though this long build of classic ships still held its ground in the Mediterranean, yet as a whole it will be safe to say that at the time that we have now reached our English forefathers fought, traded, travelled and plundered chiefly, if not entirely, in sailing vessels only, and of these we have plenty of representations and many surviving names.

[1] Marco Polo, I. lxix; though there is evidence that they were now being decked and fenced with higher bulwarks, cf. pro faciendo unam co-operturam de lignamine et paleis pro galeâ illuc mittendâ, Sathas, ii. 259.

[2] Lydg. Troy Bk. 272.

[3] Doubted in Marco Polo, II. lxvii. For exemption from l'exercise des galées allowed to the salters in Languedoc (1411), see Spont, 435, 470. For 60 deaths chiefly among the rowers (la pluy parte da remo) in one Venetian galley lying in the port of London in 1420 and 40 in another, see Morosini, ii. 193.

[4] For avirons plonmés (i.e. at the handles to preserve the balance) and sans plonc, see Bréard, 93. For oars 24 ft. long, see Oppenheim, 15. Jähns, 1236, refers to oars 50 ft. long, 37 ft. of which would be outside the rowlock (?) gunwale.

[5] i.e. since the time of Ed. II, Barnard, 165, 173.

[6] Wylie, iv. 39. For clavis vocat' gallynaills de diversis sortibus, see For. Accts. 8 H. V, 31; also 108 pieces of timber for said galleys in storehouse, ibid.; also 100 courb' prieñ de three new galeys incept, ibid.

[7] Vini dulcis en galeas, Iss. Roll 5 H. V, Pasch., Aug. 3, 1417.

[8] Marco Polo, I. pp. lxiii, lxiv.

[9] Pol. Songs, ii. 197; Pauli-Hertzberg, 58. For pictures of rowers at work, see H. Martin, Boccace, Pl. C 4.

The pictures and seals of this period show us invariably a short bulging vessel built to a length of little more than double its breadth[1], standing high out of the water and top-hampered with raised poop and prow, within which were the scandlers to be used as state-rooms or sleeping places for the quality as occasion required. Cases are undoubtedly to be found of two- or even three-masted ships, but as a rule the ship of that age was fitted with one mizzen- or middle-mast about 30 feet in height, rigged with spars, shrouds and ratlins, and carrying on one huge yard a large square canvas sail often painted with a bright red St George's cross or other flaming device[2] which could be brailed up or down with pulleys and cordage or trussed up in reefs according to the strength of the wind, the whole being kept in position by tackle made fast to the bulwarks at the ship's sides, though even the very largest of these sailing-vessels carried a reserve of oars for use when the wind failed or in other emergencies. At the mast-head was a look-out which could be used as a fighting-top or scuttle whence a few men could hurl down iron gads[3], darts or stones upon any boarding-party below. On poop and prow she carried stout stages[4] or castles lined with hurdles[5] whence picked bodies of armed men could direct their attack from a post of vantage. The ship was usually decked[6] and fitted with hatches[7] and stairs leading to the hold, where all sorts of promiscuous stuff was stored, either barrels[8] or in bulk. Here also were a few separate cabins or sleeping-hutches[9] reserved of course

[1] Oppenheim, 126, 132.

[2] See page 4, note 11; Archaeologia, xx. 75.

[3] 30 gaddes ferri p̄. le toppe, Exch. Accts. 29/29 (1); For. Accts. 8 H. V, 32. For 68 gaddis de ferro pro factura in le Topp or Toopp, see ibid. m. 31. Cf.

With large toppes and mastes long
Richly depeint. Speght, 358.

[4] For ships of forstage temp. Ed. III, see Brea, 110; also temp. H. VI, Hist. MSS. Var. Coll. iv. 197.

[5] Thaire hurdis thaire ankers hanged thai on here, Minot, 33. For hurdlis, hurtlis, see Hist. MSS. Rept. i. 65.

[6] Black Book of Adm. iii. 243; for undecked ships, see ibid. iii. 429.

[7] Sloten, Black Book, iv. 428.

[8] Vol. I. 160. Par tonneaux ou autrement, Frois. ii. 498; cf. tonnelet de mercerie, Finot, Relations, 144; grete tonnes ful of flour, Kempe, 19; born in coffres to the see, Laud Troy Bk. 86. For Spanish iron in dol', see Exch. Accts. 49/29 (1). For one barell pro armorer, see For. Accts. 8 H. V, 31, 32.

[9] For two som'ērhuches on the *Holy Ghost* and the *Trinity Royal*, see Oppenheim, 15; do. Accts. 176.

for those who could afford to pay for them[1], other temporary ones being rigged up with carde or canvas on the deck[2] wherever it was not already cumbered up with buoys, chains, ropes, cables, hawsers, anchors, rollers, truckles[3] and ladders. The bread and biscuits were stowed on shelves[4] below, but the cooking was done on deck under cover of a shanby[5] or chapel[6] made of tilt[7] with a feather on the top[8] to screen the operations from the wind. She carried leads and lines for taking soundings[9] with a dial and a needle or compass housed in a bittacle, and the steersman[10] worked a rudder and tiller fixed at the stern, an improvement which had only recently taken the place of the pair of clumsy sweeps which had previously been worked as side rudders[11] in a socket at the side. Compared with her bulk the ship's draught must have been very light, a fact which will account for the frightful tossing which formed the horror of a medieval voyage.

Such in outline was the general build of the fifteenth century vessel whether she was called a ship, carrack, cog, crayer, barge, hulk or balinger. The last, which was more of the galley class, though supposed to be a smaller type of barge, appears to have been designed for the whale fishery in the Bay of Biscay[12], but it is more probable that it was

[1] In navi longa paucae sunt mansiones discretae et quae a majoribus occupantur, Poggio, Epist. i. 44.

[2] Wylie, iv. 240. For matts and nails to make a "caban" in a ship to keep the corn and malt, see Lyte, Dunster, 50.

[3] For trokles, see For. Accts. 8 H. V, 31, 11.

[4] Une planche ou l'on met le pain, Bréard, 93; cf. four shelves p̄. polleys, For. Accts. 8 H. V, 31.

[5] For 16 chantiers on board one boat, see C. Beaurepaire, Notes, iii. 249; another has 13 chantiers tant pour le couvert que pour tout, ibid. 254.

[6] For capeline (a hooded cloak), see Roman, 42.

[7] See Cent. Dict., s.v. For six pieces of tielde to cover a barge, see Lyte, Dunster, 122; 12 carte tield vet', three piece' teeldes, four pieces tield debilis, five rolles de tieldes, 10 rolles p̄ tields, one Rolle de Tieldes pour le shrowde, For. Accts. 8 H. V, 31; Halliwell, ii. 856, s.v. *Telde*, *Telt*. Thei sette here pavylons and here teldes, Laud Troy Bk. 38, 214, 230, 382, 397, 407, 429.

[8] One plume pour le couvers, C. Beaurepaire, Notes, iii. 249.

[9] For sounding ledes and sounding lines, see For. Accts. 8 H. V; lignes a sonder qui ont plonc, Bréard, 99.

[10] And he hymselfe atte the shipp behynde
As sterisman. Pol. Songs, ii. 197; Pauli-Hertzberg, 58.

[11] Four poleis p. le side roder or le syde Rother, For. Accts. 8 H. V, showing that they were still used in the king's ships in 1415. For example, see seal of Melcombe in Pedrick, 94, Pl. XVI.

[12] See Wylie, iv. 70, note 7. For whaling represented on the seals of Lequetio, Castro Urdiales and Bermeo, see Duro, 218; Wylie, iii. 73. For views of Lequetio and Bermeo, see Pirala, 434, 436, 509, 597, 598.

named from its resemblance to a cradle[1]. Besides these there were the fust (or fosset), the carvel, the trunk, the plate, the buss, the keel, all various names for cargo boats of a more or less roomy build. A good typical example of the details of an ocean-going ship appears in a miniature[2] painted about the year 1420 representing Gadifer de la Salle starting on his voyage to the Canaries. She has a pennon streaming from her raised prow on which a trumpeter is blowing a blast on a recurved horn, while aft is a castle resting on planks which stand out well beyond the bulwarks[3]. This stern castle is decorated with shields of arms hung over the outer side, and on it stands Gadifer and a fellow captain supported by warriors holding up square banners, while in the hold is a civilian with a kercher on his head amidst a throng of soldiers in basnet and capsail. The ship is clinker-built[4] with a rudder at the stern and an anchor weighed in position at the bows, while in the centre stands the one mast carrying three separate sails reefed to two yards lashed together into one. The tackle, the pulleys, the top with the look-out men aloft, all make up a singularly valuable picture painted on a scale clear enough to delineate conveniently at a glance a variety of details which could otherwise only be partially studied in a number of separate instances elsewhere.

The size of the ships of those days is somewhat difficult to estimate. It was usually calculated by the portage or capacity for carrying a certain number of tuns or casks of wine, and if the word tonnage is to be used it should always be borne in mind that the term is not to be understood in its modern sense of displacement. The smallest vessels chartered for war purposes had a portage of 20 tuns,

[1] Balinga or balinge. Cf. balinguee (=target), Black Book of Adm. i. 120.

[2] i.e. Egerton MS. 2709 in Margry, Frontispiece; cf. Cat. Add. MSS. 1894, p. 456; Éc. des Chartes, li. 210.

[3] For the opera morta, a kind of outrigger deck supported on timber brackets, from the fresco by Spinello Aretini (or Spinelli Aretino, b. 1323, d. 1415) in the municipal palace at Siena circ. 1350, see Humphreys, Froiss. i. Pl. iv; Vigne, ii. 19, Plate 44; Marco Polo, i. p. lxii. For account of the Palace at Siena, see Verdier-Cattois, ii. 5.

[4] Cf. les costez clinquez (i.e. clenched) et quevilliés (i.e. pinned) de fer et y ara lorlingues (?) (1394), C. Beaurepaire, Notes, iii. 249. For vaisseaux à clinc at Rouen 16th century, see Frere, p. v. For picture, see seal of Schiphenbeil, near Friedland (West Prussia), 1351, see Vossberg, Münzen, Plate xvii. For a carvel-build, i.e. with planks not overlapping, see Willemin, i. Pl. 116, from window at Le Mans, 13th century. For ship-clenchers and ship-holders, see Oppenheim, Accts. liii. borders.

and there are plenty of examples of the largest class of vessels known as "ships" (*naves*) whose portage is given as 240 tuns[1]. In one case five Prussian ships from the Baltic have a total portage of 1600 tuns[2] representing an average of 320 tuns apiece, and as there must have been variations in their size it is safe to assume that some of them had a tunnage of at least 400. Two of the largest ships then built, viz. the *Trinity* and the *Holy Ghost*, carried each a crew of 200 men[3] apart from the fighting contingent, as to the numbers of which statistics are scarce. But we know that in July 1416 it took 13 ships to transport Lord Clifford's force of 200 men-of-arms and 400 archers[4], and as this would represent a total of at least 1400 men and about 400 horses there must have been room for at least 100 men in each vessel[5] over and above the working crew. Each ship, however large or small, was officered by a master, the larger and even some smaller vessels by a constable, whose wages were equal to the master's[6], and in some cases a carpenter[7] as well, the rest of the crew being classed as sailors (*marinarii*) or mates (*compagnons*)[8] and boys[9] otherwise known as pages or pagets (*pagetti*)[10], the master and constable each receiving 6*d.* per day, each sailor 3*d.* and each boy 1½*d.*[11] The numbers of the crew varied of course according to the ship's requirements, but the evidence generally goes to show that small cogs of from 40 to 50 tuns portage were manned by four sailors and a boy or anything up to six or

[1] e.g. the *Mary* and the *George of Bayonne*, Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., Apr. 30, 1416.
[2] Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., May 11, 1416.
[3] Ibid. April 30, 1416.
[4] Ibid. July 23, 1416.
[5] For armed men in a boat, temp. Henry III, from tomb of Edward the Confessor at Westminster, see Roujoux-Mainguet, 420.
[6] For a constable receiving 6*d.* per day, see Robert Shadde's account in Exch. Accts. 49/10; Nicolas, Navy, ii. 179; Stubbs, i. 666, temp. R. I.
[7] Black Book of Adm. i. 86, 166.
[8] In Gilliodts van Severen, 478, "le Rudeschippe de Scardebuerch" carries one master and 14 ses compagnons circ. 1415; other vessels at the same time having 8, 13, 19 compagnons, ibid.
[9] Rym. xiii. 328. For a "child" or "page" from seven to 12 years of age to clean the dog kennels and do stable work, see York, 70, 71; cf. squwyer ne boye, Laud Troy Bk. 350; garçon, schepesknapen, vallés de la nef, Cnapen van der Scepe, Black Book of Adm. i. 125, 460; iii. 10.
[10] For two pages on a Portuguese ship, see Finot, Relations, 145. For pagettas, a diminutive, see Du Cange, s.v. *Pagius*.
[11] Exch. Accts. 48/15; Oppenheim, Accts. liii.

eight hands; ships of 40 and 80 tuns sometimes carry 25 and 40 persons respectively though these are not all members of the crew[1]; a ship of 120 tuns would carry 20, 30 or even 48 hands; but these were usually king's ships and as such quite liberally manned, for we have instances in the same year (1417) of merchant ships of 500 tuns whose crews amount to no more than 35[2]. A file of indentures[3] is still extant recording the hire of ships in this very year (1416), but although the tunnage of each ship is given the number of the crew is usually omitted. In the few cases however in which both particulars occur, ships of 36 and 40 tuns have crews of seven and eight not including the master, while two of 120 tuns have 18 and 26 sailors respectively besides a constable and a master in each. Five instances occur of larger ships of 140, 160, 200, 220 tuns, with 34, 41, 43 and 41 respectively[4], while a German vessel the *Mary Knight* of Danzig in 1417 with a portage of 260 tuns has a crew of only 30[5]. The larger craft required a vast increase of handling power, and so we find a ship of 500 tuns with a crew of 88 and one constable[6]. Each of the three captured carracks was manned up to 100 men[7]; very large vessels of 500 and 760 tuns have crews of 90 and 200 respectively. For in these days of widening outlook the progress of the world was nowhere more distinctly marked to the outward eye than in the enormously increased development in its ship-yards, and in this race England was well forward in the reign of Henry V[8] whose huge dromons long remained a landmark in the history of ship-building. The largest of these called the *Grace Dieu* was laid down at Southampton early in 1417, indentures for building her being signed in February of that year[9], the superintendence of the work being committed to a clerk named Robert Berde, who received some £2300

[1] Rot. Norm. 229, Jan. 1418. [2] Morosini, ii. 153.
[3] Exch. Accts. 48/10. [4] Iss. Roll 5 H. V, Pasch., May 25, 1417.
[5] Iss. Roll 5 H. V, Pasch., May 24, 1417, where the master is Count van Mynstre.
[6] Cf. p. 332, note 12. [7] Gesta, 87.
[8] Ramsay, i. 319, estimates that Henry V spent £24,337 on the navy during his whole reign or an average of £2433 per year, quoting Enrolled For. Accts. H. V, f. 28, and H. VI, ff. 22, 40.
[9] For instalment of £500 paid in advance for building her according to indenture dated Feb. 1414, see Devon, 349, March 14, 1417; Vict. Co. Hist. (Hants.), v. 368. For order to build her dated Dec. 1416, see Oppenheim, 14.

for timber, iron, ropes, cables and wages of smiths, carpenters, holders, clinchers and other workmen at various dates ranging from Aug. 3, 1417, to Jan. 20, 1420. By the summer of 1418 she was completed and consecrated by the Bishop of Bangor, and on Dec. 14 of that year her master, William Payne, was commissioned to press as many seamen as were wanted to man her. These were made up to a full complement of 200, and when the Earl of Devonshire's troops were mustered on board of her on May 14, 1420, at Southampton, Duke Humphrey who was present pronounced her "the fairest ship that ever man saw[1]." Next to her in size and importance came three big ships called the *Jesus* with a crew of 140, the *Holy Ghost* and the *Trinity* each with a crew of 100 men. About six months after the battle in the Seine we come upon a list[2] which may serve as a guide in estimating the numerical strength and relative sizes of the king's ships at that date, and we have a further list dated Aug. 12, 1417[3], of the names of the masters of the king's ships[4] to whom annuities varying from five to ten marks had been granted, together with special allowances to two, three or six sailors selected from the crews of each. In these lists the vessels are classed as ships (including carracks), barges and balingers. In the first of them the numbers are six (including three carracks), eight and ten, and in the second they are eleven (including eight carracks), one and nine respectively, while in a modern list recently published[5] and accepted by writers on naval

[1] See his letter signed "H. G." in Earle, 74; Kluge, 52.

[2] i.e. Cleop. F. iii. f. 152 b. There is no date in the document, but it is called 4 H. V in Bree, 113; or Feb. 1417 in Orig. Lett. II. i. 68; Nicolas, Agin. App. 21; do. Navy, ii. 428; Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 202; Stubbs, ii. 94. Not 1415, as Belleval, 34.

[3] i.e. Chancery Warrants, Ser. I. 1364/34; called Letters Missive in the Tower in Nicolas, Navy, ii. 515; see also Wilkes, xxiii. 145; Orig. Lett. III. i. 72; Gesta, p. 87 note; Nicolas, Agincourt, App. 22 (who quotes Gent. Mag. xciv. Pt. 2, p. 402, which seems to be a wrong reference).

[4] Twelve of these (viz. one carrack, three ships, one barge and seven balingers) appear in a list which grants the annuities in Pat. 5 H. V, 17, Aug. 12, 1417, the only difference being that the *Nicholas* (William Robinson, master) which appears here as a balinger is called a "ship" in Nicolas, Navy, ii. 515. For similar lists showing payment of the annuities at subsequent dates, see Iss. Roll 7 H. V, Mich., Jan. 18, 1420; do. 8 H. V, Mich., Dec. 14, 1420.

[5] Oppenheim, 12, from Exch. Accts. Q. R. bundle 49/29 (i.e. William Soper's account only) and Roll of For. Accts. 8; Cultin's Acct. in For. Accts. 8 H. V. Oppenheim, Accts. p. ix, reckons "at least 38 vessels, some ranging from 400 to 600 tons" which he calls "an unprecedented strength"; "a larger scale than had been known hitherto" (p. x).

matters as complete the numbers are seventeen, seven, two and twelve. The lists from whatever point they are scanned leave much to be desired in regard to completeness, and as soon as Henry V was dead orders were given to sell several of the largest ships[1], which led to an outcry in the next generation[2] that the country was betrayed. But after all this was only a periodically recurring panic, and the truth seems to be that the Englishman then as now was an inveterate *laudator temporis acti* and sincerely believed that the service as he knew it was always going to the dogs. Early in the reign of Edward III the shipping of England had been so numerous that the king was known throughout Europe as the king of the sea[3]. He loved his merchants heartily, and when the Bretons tried their plundering he "learned them to loot[4]" and there was no kingdom that dared withstand him[5]. But before his reign was over the Parliament complained that the shipping had so much decreased that it was insufficient to protect the country if need should arise[6], in response to which complaint it was

[1] For order dated March 3, 1423, for certos magnos (*sic*) naves to be sold at Southampton before next Whitsuntide, see Ord. Priv. Co. iii. 53; Wilkes, xxiii. 145; Oppenheim, 14. Not 1422, as J. S. Davies, 254; Woodward, ii. 254.

[2] e.g.
As thoughe Englond were likened to a cité,
And the walle enviroun were the see.
Kepe then the see that is the wall of Englond,
And then is Englond kepte by Goddes sonde.
Pol. Songs, ii. 202, written in 1436; Pauli-Hertzberg, 62.

For Henry VII as the founder of the modern English navy, see Oppenheim, Accounts, p. viii.

[3] Le roy de la mier, Rot. Parl. ii. 311; Bree, 176, from Harl. 15, p. 384; Stubbs, ii. 314; cf. dominus maris, Pol. Songs, ii. 159; Hakluyt, i. 187. For claim that the English kings domini maris et transmarini passagii totis praeteritis temporibus extiterunt, see Rym. iv. 722, Dec. 11, 1336; Pauli-Hertzberg, 6; the see was kepte and thereof he was lorde, Pol. Songs, ii. 198; Hakluyt, i. 203; Ruding, i. 219; Pauli-Hertzberg, 59. Cf.
Shulde be lorde of the see aboute,
Master and lorde enviroun of the see. Pol. Songs, ii. 193.
It was nought ellis but that he (Henry V) caste to be
Lord rounde aboute enviroun of the see.
Pol. Songs, ii. 199; Pauli-Hertzberg, 60.
For about in the see
No better was prince of strenuité,
For doute it not but that he (Henry V) wolde have be
Lorde and master aboute the rounde se.
Pol. Songs, ii. 199; Pauli-Hertzberg, 61.

[4] Pol. Songs, ii. 165, 167.

[5] Toutes Roialmes dotoient le plus d'avoir moeves guerre devers mesme le royalme, Rot. Parl. iii. 86 (1380); Bree, 171.
In whose tyme was no navey on the see
That myght wythstonde of hys mageste.
Pol. Songs, ii. 190.

[6] Si grant mestier estoit, Rot. Parl. iii. 311 (1372).

agreed that over and above the fourth part of the plunder taken[1] a bonus or "reward" amounting to 3*s.* 4*d.* per ton[2] should be paid to the owner of every ship for every three months that she was retained in the king's service—dating from the day on which she arrived at the port to which she had been assigned[3]—instead of the old arrangement whereby no pay was received until she had actually started on the voyage, which might at times be three or even six months later[4]. But this arrangement was only admitted as a temporary expedient to last for one year. Five years later[5] it was renewed at a lower rate, viz. at 2*s.* per ton, and even that was "very badly paid[6]." When Henry IV came to the throne he attempted to better the position by ordering many towns which were either actually situated on the sea-coast, or directly concerned with shipping[7], to build 23 barges and 28 balingers and equip them with full fighting gear[8] ready for use in case of need. He based this "cordial request[9]" on grounds of patriotism, but the Commons soon objected that no consent of Parliament had been obtained for this absolutely unprecedented step[10], and the king had no alternative but to withdraw it.

Some time after this we come upon a despairing petition[11] contrasting the meagre 25 ships which were all that

[1] Overque la quarte part de lour prise, Oppenheim, 9. For "les shares" of the captures made by a balinger, the "Goodyere of London," to go to the Admiral of England and the Warden of the Cinq Ports, see Cal. Pat. P.R.O. Henry VI, ii. 509 (Feb. 8, 1436).

[2] Per chescun tunnetight de quelle portage que la nief fuist, Rot. Parl. iii. 86, 212; iv. 104; del tontight, Oppenheim, 9; for ij quarters of a tontygh of ffreston (i.e. freestone) at 7*s.* 8*d.*, see Halliwell, 881; cf. wegges (i.e. wedges) of silver drawing be estimation to halfe a tunne tyght, Orig. Lett. Ser. II. i. 83. For caenstone at 6*s.* a "tontyt" or tonnetight, cf. 13 tonstight of cane stone, Anjou, Lett. 20, see Rackham, ii. 27. Cf. p' le tonne tyght ejusdem navis, pro frettagie cujuslibet tonne tyght, Exch. Accts. 48/24, 25; p' portag' cujuslibet dol', do. 48/18, 21, Sept. 21, 1417. For 3*s.* 4*d.* p. pondere cujuslibet doliate paid on chartering Dutch shipping in Feb. 1417, see Exch. Accts. 48/15, where the total comprises vad', regerd' et pond' dol'. Cf. super le regards de la Tontyht del navis portagio 260 dolior', ibid. 48/8; Iss. Roll 5 H. V, Pasch., May 24, 1417. For 6*d.* per week de chescun tontight charged to herring-boats, see Rot. Parl. iii. 62. For payments over and above (super le tontyght), see Iss. Roll 6 H. V, Mich., Oct. 17, 1418; do. 7 H. V, Pasch., May 13, 1419.

[3] Rot. Parl. iii. 86; Bree, 171, from Harl. MS. 21, f. 131.

[4] Rot. Parl. iii. 311, 320 (1372, 1373); Bree, 169, 170.

[5] i.e. in 1385, Rot. Parl. ii. 212.

[6] T's malement paie, Oppenheim, 9.

[7] Rym. viii. 172–174. The most indefensible cases seem to be Bridgnorth and Shrewsbury, both far up the Severn.

[8] In omnibus artillariis, Rym. viii. 172.

[9] Vos cordialiter rogamus vobisque nichilominus mandamus, inia.

[10] q̄ n'ad este fait devant ces heures, Rot. Parl. iii. 458 (1406); Bree, 273, from Harl. MS. 20, f. 721; 21, f. 228.

[11] Ancient Petitions, 5477; in Oppenheim, 9, who refers it to one of the early years of

the king could call his own with the 150 once possessed by Edward III. Yet England still held her own at sea all through the reign of Henry IV, and the Browns, Hawleys and Pays[1] from Lynn, Poole, Dartmouth and many another port along the eastern and southern coasts gave quite as much as they took in the way of hard blows, while even in the darkest period of his reign the king was able not only to lend an occasional galley or two to his sister the Queen of Castile, but he could embark a force of 6500 fighting men and land them on the coast of Normandy without borrowing from any foreign power.

When Henry V had to get his great force across to Harfleur he had had, as we have seen, to hire from Holland, though in the same year many English ships were able to take service with the King of Portugal in his attack on Ceuta[2].

Most of the above details in regard to the fittings of ships are derived from the accounts of William Catton[3] and William Soper, who held the office of Clerk of the king's ships[4] in succession during the whole of the reign of Henry V. Both of these accounts still exist in an excellent state of preservation in the Public Record Office in London. That of the former covers the period from July 28, 1413, to March 20, 1416[5], and shows that he received 1*s.* per day for his personal allowance. After that date he appears as collector of the subsidy in the port of Chichester[6], and numerous large sums of money were paid to him at subsequent dates after the above account had closed[7]. He was succeeded as Clerk of the

Henry IV, but it would seem to belong really to 1416. Cf. Rot. Parl. iv. 104, where the list of the king's ships amounts to 24 including the three Genoese carracks.

[1] Duro, 171; Wylie, ii. 320.

[2] Vol. I. pages 449–451.

[3] He was Bailiff of Winchelsea, Oppenheim, 14; do. Accts. xiii, 3–8 H. IV.

[4] The office existed as far back as the reign of King John, Oppenheim, 14, who notes that it was "never once held by any man of mark in naval or political history."

[5] In For. Accts. 8 H. V, m. 31, &c. called a period of 975 days, but it should be 965 when accurately reckoned. He enters his personal allowance as £48. 15*s.* 0*d.*, i.e. at 1*s.* per day, on the basis of 975 days. Oppenheim, 14, gives July 18, 1413, as the date of his appointment.

[6] Rec. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., June 4, 1416; also Rec. Roll 8 H. V, Mich., Feb. 5, 1421.

[7] e.g. £200 super officio suo, Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., Mich., June 3, 1416, Feb. 8, March 19, 1417; also £200 for repairing ships, see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Mich., Jan. 18, 1417. Catton is called *late* Clerk of the king's ships in Iss. Roll 8 H. V, Pasch. and

king's ships by William Soper[1], who was one of the collectors of customs and subsidy at Southampton and one of the representatives of that borough in the Parliament of 1419[2]. On Feb. 3, 1420, he was appointed to the office of keeper and governor of the king's ships with an allowance of £40 a year for himself and a clerk[3]. It was during his time that Henry's largest vessel the *Grace Dieu* was built. His account, which begins on Jan. 29, 1416, at once shows the increased importance of Southampton as a naval station. It opens with details of expenses for making a storehouse and workshop (*fabrica*) there for estuffamenta, apparatus and takeling, providing carriage, batellage, stowage, lodemanage and frectag' for ships, carrak' barges, balingers and other vessels for the making of the *Holigost* (*magna navis*) with balinger and batell' belonging to her, as well as cables, cords, &c.

Soper's tenure of office is also marked by the building of a great storehouse[4] at Southampton and the immediate uplifting of that port into the first rank as a ship-building centre, though much important work still went on at Deptford in the Thames. A Frenchman writing about 30 years later[5], states that at that time though England possessed many fine harbours yet not one of them was fortified or enclosed, but Henry, who had noted this weak spot, had at

Mich., May 9, July 7, Oct. 2, Nov. 14, 1420, Feb. 8, 1421; Rec. Roll 8 H. V, Pasch., July 12, 1420.

[1] On July 6, 1418, he was appointed supervisor of ships, carracks and balingers at 1*s.* per day, Iss. Roll 7 H. V, Mich., Jan. 18, 1420; not Feb. 3, 1420, as Oppenheim, 14, who gives this as the date on which he succeeded Catton; also 1422, Woodward, ii. 254, though in his account (Exch. Accts. 49 29, Nov. 17, m. 1), he is appointed on Feb. 3, anno 4 (= 1417) quo die capit onus officii custod' navium.

[2] In Rec. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., Mich., July 8, 23, 1416, he is collector of subsidy at Southampton. He was M.P. for Southampton in 1413, 1414, 1420 (Dec.), 1421, 1423, 1425, 1429, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1441, 1448, Return Parl. i. Index, 366, 1419, ibid. i. 292; called a wealthy merchant of Southampton, *twice* Mayor of Southampton, Parl. Accts.; Oppenheim, who states that he resigned his office as Clerk of the king's ships in 1442. In 1420 he and John Foxholes were collectors of customs and subsidy at Southampton, Rec. Roll 7 H. V, Mich., Jan. 18, 1420; Iss. Roll 8 H. V, Mich., Dec. 14, 1420. For payments to him as Clerk of the king's ships, see Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Pasch., Mich., May 9, July 12, Oct. 7, 1420, where David Savage is named as his servant; also £307. 0*s.* 6*d.* for repair and apparatus of two ships, Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Mich., Feb. 15, 1417.

[3] Custos et gubernator navium regis, Rec. Roll 8 H. V, Mich., Dec. 13, 1420; Iss. Roll 8 H. V, Mich., Oct. 15, Dec. 14, 1420; Feb. 8, 20, 1421.

[4] For cropp', copp' and cortic (bark) from the front of Southampton to make "le storehouse," see Soper's account, Exch. Accts. 49/29; cf. Oppenheim, Naval Accounts, p. xii.

[5] Débat, 27. For Dover, see Wylie, iv. 86.

least made a beginning to remedy it by erecting a strong wooden Tower or Bulwerk at the entrance to the Hamble to protect the carracks and other vessels that were lying there[1], and a tower at the entrance of Portsmouth harbour to protect both the shipping and the defence of the town[2]. The rest of his account is little but a record of sales, captures, disasters followed by repairs or abandonment, no new vessel appears on his list, the Bayonne order was never completed, and at the opening of the next reign there was a general sale and the number of the king's ships fell at once into insignificance as if the sudden development had been found to be a white elephant that did nothing for its keep[3].

Henry IV's ships had been built and repaired in what was known as the King's Dock at Ratcliffe[4] below London Bridge, and as soon as his son came to the throne he had a special dock dug out at Greenwich[5] or Deptford[6] on the south bank to enlarge and repair the *Trinity Royal* so that she became by far the largest English ship then afloat. But besides this he had ships built at Southampton, Winchelsea and Smallhythe[7] near Rye, the last place being certainly not at that time, though it is now, some eight miles distant from the sea[8].

[1] For mekkokes (*sic*) 500 quibus quidm̄ vocat bodewe, henges, twistes scrur' (locks), bolt ferr', &c. for making a Turris lign. vocat Bulwerk at entrance portus de Hamell for safe custody nav' carr' et al' vasorum infra portum existent' before Feb. 3, 1417, and to Thos. Tiler for covering it with tiles, boards, latts, nails, okcom (oakum), &c., see Exch. Accts. 49/29, Soper's account, where the master carpenter receives 8*d.* per day, and the sawyers and house-carpenters 6*d.* each; also for making cujusdam Bulwark apud le Hamell or le Hoke, see Iss. Roll 6 H. V, Mich., Oct. 17, 1418.

[2] For payments on this account, see Iss. Roll 6 H. V, Pasch., Mich., Apr. 4, July 1, 16, Aug. 1, Oct. 10, Dec. 13, 1418; March 14, 1419; Rec. Roll 6 H. V, Pasch., Mich., July 6, 1418; also Iss. Roll 7 H. V, Pasch., Nov. 16, Dec. 4, 1419; Feb. 15, 1420; do. 8 H. V, Pasch., Mich., July 7, 12, Oct. 15, Dec. 8, 1420; March 11, 1421.

[3] For "the grete mynishing and decay that hathe been now of late tyme of youre Navie," etc., see Stat. ii. 502 (1485); Pauli-Hertzberg, 6.

[4] For quoddam vas regis called le galey lying in le Dok juxta Radcliff, eo quod jacuit in le wose apud Radcliff, submersus per fluxus et refluxus aque Tamis ibidem, see Catton's acct. in For. Accts. 8 H. V.

[5] In fodiendo circa facturam de "dok" at Greenwich, see Wm. Catton's account in For. Accts. 8 H. V, where the order for her is given out on Nov. 8, 1413.

[6] For Deptford, see Oppenheim, Accts. p. xii.

[7] For £100 paid to William Godey, shipwright, for making a large ship at Smallhythe, see Exch. Accts. 328/6, Oct. 4, 30, 1416; cf. ubi certas naves in faciendo habuerat, Gesta, 89; Chron. Giles, 77. For £40 paid to him as "master carpenter vocat shipwright" for wages of 50 carpenters sent over to Normandy super diversis operibus ibidem faciendis, see Exch. Accts. 49/29, m. xix (Soper's account).

[8] In 1415 the *Peter*, one of the king's balingers, ships planks from Smallhythe,

But perhaps the most remarkable naval item during the reign of Henry V was the order that he gave for a large ship to be built for him at Bayonne. The Biscayan ports had long been a centre for up-to-date naval construction. Henry IV had certainly purchased at least one ship at San Sebastian[1]. It was the ship-builders of Bayonne[2] that devised the new "bayonet" or stern rudder, their thread cables[3] had a special reputation, and it was probably they who first designed the balinger, a sea-going vessel originally of smaller build than the barge or merchantman and adapted to the needs of the whale fishery which was then their leading industry, and as such represented on their municipal seal[4]. So when Henry V was laying out money in shipping he gave an order to the mayor[5] and citizens of Bayonne to build him two large ships of the most modern design[6]. The corporation however proved dilatory, and although they drew a handsome profit from a poundage of 4*d.* in the £ on traffic entering or leaving their port on this account, yet the bargain lagged sadly and only one of the ships appears to have been laid down at all, and in 1419 an Englishman named John Alceter[7] was commissioned to report on the matter to the king. Accordingly on April 25, 1419[8], he wrote a letter from Bayonne describing the exact condition

Newhythe and Winchelsea round to the Thames, For. Accts. 8 H. V. For ship-building at Smallhythe, see Oppenheim, 13. For statement, circ. 1456, that a ship could be built in France for 1000 to 1200 crowns, which would cost more than 2000 nobles (or four times as much) in England, owing to the high price of wood, fuel and iron, see Débat, 28; Pyne, 52.

[1] Ord. Priv. Co. ii. 25.

[2] For account of Bayonne, see Desrues, 340. For 17th century plan of Bayonne, see Zeiller, x. 16. For the incredible quantity of trout and salmon caught at Bayonne, see Rizmital, 61.

[3] One cable de filo albo Baion', For. Accts. 8 H. V, m. 31.

[4] Wylie, iii. 73; Finot, Etude, 373. For 16th century picture of whale fishery, spouting, skinning, bones, oil, casks, &c., see Lacroix, 283.

[5] For the mayor, echevins, jurés, cent Pares, i.e. 100 Peers, Wylie, ii. 55; not "Cint Apres," as Cotton, 76, communalté et Universitée de Bayonne, see Rec. Roll, iv. 77; Rym. ix. 784, 794. Called maire, esclavyns et consail de Bayonne in Priv. Seal 5 H. V (854).

[6] For order dated Sept. 4, 1416, to secure carpenters, sawyers, and other labourers for the work at Bayonne and the Patria de Basco, together with timber, coals, iron and carriage, see Pat. 4 H. V, 13 dors. As a specimen of the money value of ships, see C. Beaurepaire, Notes, iii. 259, where a nef of 140 tons portage was to be had at Rouen for 100 livr. or about £20 English in 1394, while in 1415 balingers are priced at 222 livr., 135 livr., 110 livr., and crayers at 112, or 90, or 70 livres, ibid. iii. 263.

[7] Not "Acetre," as Oppenheim, 13.

[8] Orig. Lett. Ser. II. i. 69. The year is not given in the printed document but it is docketed 7 H. V (i.e. 1419) in the original.

of the frame[1] of one of them as he saw it, adding a melancholy note that he did not believe that at the present rate she could possibly be finished for four or five years, though in English [yards] a barge or a balinger could usually be built and completed within three months[2].

Alceter's letter written in English still exists in one of the volumes[3] of the Cotton collection in the British Museum which was badly burnt in the fire in 1731, and is now to a large extent illegible. Fortunately however a copy had been previously made[4] in an exceedingly clear and distinct hand which supplies us with many interesting details of dimensions as to which we should otherwise have been entirely in the dark. From this we know that the length of the vessel was to be 186 feet from stem to post, the stem being 96 feet high[5] and the stern 48 with a length of keel = 112, though the keel was already rotting and would have to be remade. When the letter was written the vessel was still incomplete, but she was boarded up to 36 strakes of planks on which 11 beams had to be laid, the greatest breadth being 46 feet (i.e. at the waist[6] measured by the length of the mast-beam or main transom), decreasing to a scantling[7] of 39 feet and 33 feet as measured by the length of the hameron[8] beams fore and aft respectively.

From the nature of the case we are of course unable to glean any information from this document as to the fitting up of the ship as she was only in the hull when the report was written and possibly was never completed at all[9], but we are able to gather many details as to the fitting of barges and other vessels from a perusal of the accounts of the

[1] Wilkes, xxiii. 143.

[2] Rym. viii. 172, where an order is given on Jan. 11, 1401, and the ships are ready by April 17 following.

[3] i.e. Calig. D. v. (57), which contains fragments of documents in chronological order from Sept. 29, 1413, to the end of the reign of Henry V.

[4] i.e. Add. MS. 4602, art. 45 (66); not 4902, as Orig. Lett. II. i. 69.

[5] This figure seems almost incredible, but it is quite legible in the original as well as in the copy.

[6] Wilkes, xxiii. 136; not 39 ft., as Nicolas, Agin. App. 22.

[7] Cf. he hath seye with his eyen or by the scantiloun (i.e. measure, Fr. échantillon) of the trace, York, 7. Cf. Kitte (cut or take the skantelon), York, 84, 90.

[8] Called the hold in Halliwell, s.v. *Hameron*.

[9] Oppenheim (14) considers that it is certain she was never included in the English navy.

Galley-Close[1] at Rouen, which have fortunately been discovered for the years 1382–83[2], and although it has been supposed that the fittings and appointments at Rouen were far in advance of anything then existing in England, yet the efficiency of English shipping as compared with French and the fact that the Frenchmen borrowed many of their nautical terms from us[3], make it more than probable that the English dockyard at Ratcliffe was in no way inferior to the French Close at Rouen. If this is so it must have had its pool[4] or stank[5], its court[6] and its sheds[7] fitted with slips and shores[8] under which vessels could be built[9] or hauled up after voiding the bilge[10] to be restanchioned[11], joinered, stripped, scoured[12], rivetted[13], pitched, caulked[14] or resined[15], or have their masts[16] shortened or lengthened, their castles repaired, their capstans, windlasses and anchors mended, and their tackle[17] generally overhauled. It is true that the Close at

[1] Not the "*Quays* for the Galleys," as Chron. Norm. 239. For plan, see Kingsford, 242. For the position of the Clos des Galées at Rouen on the left bank of the Seine near the head of the bridge, see Puiseux, Rouen, 11, who refers to C. Robillard de Beaurepaire, Recherches de l'ancien Clos-des-Galées de Rouen, Rouen, 1864. It was established temp. Charles V, Bulletin de la Soc. Hist. de Normandie, 1880–1883, p. 120; qui fuist le Clout de Rouen, Débat, 30, 141. For 6000 arrow (traits) bailles a Jehan Choques gardien et Mestre du Clos des Gallez in 1395, see C. Beaurepaire, Invent. Rouen, 16; called Clos aux Galees, ibid. 20, where it is du cote du vieuxpont outre la rivière de Seine; or "Clos des Gallés lés la ville," ibid. 41, where Jean Delesnes is capitaine et gouverneur in 1411.

[2] Bréard, *passim*; Pajot, 41; Neuville, Archiers, ix.

[3] e.g. vindus, C. Beaurepaire, Notes, iii. 249.

[4] For gurges or heddge de stikes et spinis, see Archaeologia, xxviii. 9, 10, of the weir in the river at Exeter, also Murray, Dict., s.v. *Hedge*.

[5] Fosse, Bréard, 33, 151; étang, Puiseux, Rouen, 11.

[6] D'avoir mis la barge en j siege sur les escores en la court du dit clos, Bréard, 33.

[7] Souls les halles, ibid. 33, 88, 91; Puiseux, Rouen, 11.

[8] Esteant sur les escores, Bréard, 91; cf. 75 pieces of beech nommés escores each 20 ft. long pour escorer les galléez barges et bargos, ibid. 172.

[9] For picture of a ship being built on a floating raft (14th century), see Zimmern, 128. For contract for building a boat at Rouen in 1398, see C. Beaurepaire, Notes, iii. 248, where the builder employs four to six workmen. He is to receive 30 livres avec sa robe, the owner finding the wood, nails and resin (*brag*) besides the sheds (*estableaux*), la trangleure (?) and tasseaux (? brackets).

[10] Cf. seilles (pails), escuelles de bois, et pucheons (i.e. puncheons) pour geter l'eaue hors les barges, Bréard, 89; pour avoir geté et evidié hors l'eaue en la barge, ibid. 84.

[11] Pour refaire et restanchier, ibid. 151.

[12] Cf. pro cepo pro bargiâ fricandâ, Lyte, Dunster, 122.

[13] For 7*d.* for 14 revets, see Lyte, Dunster, 121.

[14] For calfatyng, see For. Acct. 8 H. V; cf. circa obstupacionem foraminum diversarum navium, Iss. Roll 8 H. V, 14, Oct. 7, 1420.

[15] Rapasaillier, recouvre, brusquier, calefestrier et brayer, Lyte, Dunster, 91.

[16] For £14. 12*s.* 4*d.* paid for a mast for a king's apud Redclif, see Iss. Roll 5 H. V, Pasch., May 8, 1417.

[17] Cf. rigged, equipped, taqueled, decked and fornished with Ordenance and Artillerie, Rym. xiii. 327.

Rouen was likewise a great arsenal[1] where a large staff of artillers, woodmen[2], shafters[3], hutchers[4], or boardmasters[5] were kept in constant employment, where guns were forged and stocked[6], armour stored and scoured[7], bolts[8] planed,

[1] For derivation of the word from the Arabic daar sanua, i.e. workhouse, see Murray, Dict., s.v. For patroni arcenatus at Venice in 1401, see Sathas, ii. 61, called the Darcena at Venice; cf. larsena di Modan, Sathas, ii. 233. For the Arsenal or chamera de l'armament at Venice circ. 1200, see Jähns, 1236; Morosini, i. 212; ii. 32. For the Tercenal Nabal established by Prince Henry at Cape St Vincent in 1416, see Azurara, II. cvii, 307; Coville, Recherches, 387. The town that grew up there now called Sagres was called after him "Villa do Iffante," and it is here that a monument has been recently erected to his memory. For the school of Sagres sometimes called a geographical university, see Azurara, II. pp. cvi, cix; Major, 310. For an arsenal at Troyes, i.e. in a garden in the town used for garnisons de guerres in 1412, see Boutiot, ii. 385.

[2] Bocherons, Bréard, 72, 74.

[3] For estraiteur, see ibid. 75, 80; 50,000 d'estraitures a faire l'artillerie, ibid. 72. For estrayeurs d'artillerie, see Éc. des Chartes, lvii. 9; estraure=a rim or wedge in Godefroy, s.v.; viretons qui estoient en estraiture, Bréard, 80; estraire le boys et merriens de 2 hêtres (beeches), C. Beaurepaire, Invent. Rouen, 42.

[4] Huchiers, Bréard, 74.

[5] Mestres d'aesses, Bréard, 97; Cotgr., s.v. *Ais*=plank or board. Bateson, Lancaster, i. 133, supposes that "border" means a coltier (*bordarius*); also Murray, s.v.; cf. de merin et de bord, Boys, 556. For 50 aiz (i.e. planks), see St Germain, 448. For bords, deles, shipbords, coggebords and rig bolts, see Catton's account in For. Accts. 8 H. V, where carpenters called shipwrights receive 8*d.* per day, shipboarders receive 6*d.* per day, shipclensers 5*d.*, shipholders 4*d.*; called ffellers, scapulatores moeremii, joiners, cementers, plumbers, smiths' caulkers, painters' scissores (all at 6*d.* per day) notwithstanding the Statute of Cambridge (i.e. of Labourers) 12 Richard II.

[6] For gun-stokkes, see Oppenheim, Accts. xxxiv. Cf. meltre en bois les canons, Darue, 41; canon de cuivre mis en bois et ferré, Gouvenain, i. 26 (1407); enarmez en bos, A. La Croix, Episode, p. 19; le bois des engins at Angers, 1370, Darue, 37; une piéce de bois pour meltre les quanons, do. 39; 27 taises (i.e. toises) de bois a faire la huge du dict engin, do. 43; une cheville (pin) de fer pour esseul (axle) du dict engin, do. 43; and crins de chevaux et de pelot, 6 lbs. of oint pour oindre le dict engin and 2 euers de beufs a faire la bource (Wylie, ii. 270) du dict engin, ibid. For picture of a double gun on wheeled stand, see Humphreys, Froiss. I. Plate xxxii; Chaumont, Atlas, Plate lxiii; Kingsford, 210; Wylie, ii. 207, note 3. Cf. pour loyer (lier) chacun d'eux (i.e. arballestres) sur son arbrière sur les étages, La Fons Melicocq, Artillerie, 12; cf. bastons=dars sans arbrière, A. La Croix, Episode, 18; fûts de lances, Richard, 67.

[7] Cf. blanchir, pollir et rapparaillier, Bréard, 150; pro armarariis armaturam purgantibus, Lyte, Dunster, 117. For 10 pieces de gros merrein pour fair iiij quevalés (i.e. chevalet, Godefroy, s.v.) pour les iiij gros canons, Bréard, 71; cf. meltre en bois les canons, Darue, 41; 1 baril de bois (=sawdust) and 3 quevallis a blanchir armeur, ibid. 150. For fourbisseurs d'harnois, see C. Beaurepaire, Notes, iii. 220.

[8] For pictures of various kinds of bolts, see Gallwey, 18; Viollet-le-Duc, Mobilier, v. 252; Brett, Plate xcvi. For cairels (i.e. quarrels) de ii pes...de i pe (i.e. 1 foot) at Agen in 1345, see Magen, 24. For bolt for a crossbow dug up at Carisbrook in 1828 in possession of Mr John Dennett of Newport, see Hastings, 94. Cf. the vireton of a crosse-bow, Melusine, 269. For the vireton or spinning bolt, see Gallwey, 17. For quarrels at 34*s.* 6*d.* for 2600; 10*s.* per 1000 with iron heads or at 14*s.* or 16*s.* per 1000, temp. Edw. I, see J. E. Morris, 91. For viretons at 4 for a sol at St Fleur in 1380, see Boudet, 84.

> Then take your vire fingered in his degre,
> I putte my case ye joyne thes iij in one,
> Your vires hide your right e' and the prik.
>
> Retrospective Rev. i. 207.

Cairels de dos pes, Magen, 188, 308; viratos de ii pes, do. 309; quarel hedis scharp and square y grounde, Lydg. Troy Bk. 165.

barbed[1], shod[2], shafted, pointed[3], headed[4], feathered[5], packed and nailed in tuns[6], pipes, chests, hutches and coffers[7]. In England these operations were not carried on at Ratcliffe but at a separate establishment at the Tower, the work at the Dock being reserved for shipping only.

When a ship was hired the owner[8] had to see that she was properly found with spars, sails, levers, rollers, capstans, cables, anchors, oars, hooks, rudder and other tackle for launching, hauling or heaving her over[9]. The master hired the sailors, who might either find themselves or be fed at his cost[10]. In the latter case they were to have meat on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays[11], and on the other days porridge and bread with cheese, onions, sardines or other pickled fish[12]. Wine was served out morning and evening and figs and prunes where they were to be had, double

[1] Sagittas barbatas sine fleck, una parva sagitta et quinque fleck, G. J. Turner, 152. "Fleck" is not recognised in Murray, Dict. except fleche in fortifications, the earliest example quoted being in 1710.

[2] Fers a viretons pour ferrer l'artillerie, Bréard, 75. For 300 de trait à arbaleste et les fers avec une trousse de fleiches à arc, i.e. at the siege of Harfleur, see C. Beaurepaire, Inv. Rouen, 22.

[3] A picquier et esbosquier des viretons, Bréard, 77, 78, 80, 82.

[4] Arwes that were wel i-heded, Laud Troy Bk. 229. Cf. hede and valet (? shaft, see Halliwell, s.v. *Wall*), Laud Troy Bk. 466.

[5] Pour empaner l'artillerie, Bréard, 55, 61, 77; cf. trait de fust empenet de bos et de pennes, A. La Croix, Episode, 18; empennets du moyen de par chemin attaché avec de la cire, Jollois, 10. For parchement used for winging arrows, see Boutaric, 292. Cf.

De tel sujete le veul traire,
Qui cointement soit empenée. Andeli, 15.

Per empannar et ferrar M cistus de viratos, Bouder, 84; virettons et ne sont pas empanez, Port, 327; trais empanés de laiton, Richard, 50; 13 quarrellis of grete coste feddered with brasse, Amyot, 270. For feathering with wood or leather, see York, 120.

[6] Cf.

Coffers grete with stele barrelles (i.e. bars),
That were ful of gode quarelles,
And other arms in grete tonnes,
Sheldes, helms, dartes and gonnes,
And mony other grete engynes, Kempe, 20.

[7] Claudius A, viii. f. 5, in Gesta, 109 note. Cf. coffres a viretons pour meltre l'artillerie, Bréard, 73, 75; doller, encoffrer, ibid. 80; cistas pro cariagio, Iss. Roll 7 H. V, Pasch., July 10, 1419; bowes and arowes in chestes were take, Lydg. Bodl. 70; cf. teca (i.e. theca or caps in Du Cange, s.v.) cum quarrellis, Brequigny, 14; caxam cum cadrellis, Magen, 24; cuissa (conqua) de cayrelo, ibid. 41, 308; unam cascatam cadrellorum unius pedis vocatorum vires, ibid. 110; i.e. vires, Wylie, ii. 265; ucha (hutch) de Cayrels, Magen, 44, 190; ucha des viratos, Magen, 308, 326; liassas cadrellorum, Magen, 187; doas cayshas de cayrels, Magen, 131; 500 œayrels en una caysseta, do. 189.

[8] For the "patron," see Melusine, 273. Cf. patroni, magistri vel gubernatores navium, Rym. ix. 399, 402, 622. For £266. 13*s.* 4*d.* paid to John Bon de Gilleal and Marcus Bonafact *patrons* of 2 Venetian caracks for service to the king at sea, see Iss. Roll 7 H. V, Mich., Oct. 13, 1419; called John le Bonar Julall and Mark Bokell, *masters*, etc., ibid. Nov. 22, 1419, which records payment of part of 500 marks to them.

[9] Black Book of Adm. iii. 253, 263, 365, 425.

[10] Ibid. i. 115. [11] Ibid. iii. 211. [12] Ibid. iii. 437.

rations being allowed on the great feast-days[1]. The sailors had to bring their own arms and weapons for defence[2] and the master had to keep order[3] amongst them in case of quarrelling during meals[4]. He might smite the men with his fist and the offender was bound to abide the first buffet[5], but if a second blow was aimed at him, he might run to the bows and cry out thrice: "In my Lord's name do not beat me" and then make for the rowers' chain. Once across this he might defend himself as best he could[6]. If the sailor wilfully threw his food about or stripped himself naked he was tied by a rope from the yard arm and ducked thrice in the sea[7], and if he deserted he was liable to be hung[8]. He was bound when called upon to go ashore and fetch wood or water, to saw planks, make spars and ropes, bake the food, man the boat, stow and unstow goods, heave the ship, tack her, repair her, ballast and unballast her, moor her, beach her, and pay out her cable[9] and do all duties either on the poop[10] or before the mast[11]. If he slept on his watch his wine was stopped, he had a pail of water poured over his head, was stripped naked and beaten by the whole crew[12].

Every ship-man[13] was a trader on his own account and had his fares[14] or garnerage[15], i.e. space to stow his venture in. The larger ships carried a boat or skiff[16], which was under the charge of a boatswain[17], who had to take off his breeches[18] and carry folks ashore on his back. There were also steermen[19], caulkers[20] and a smith or clerk, who besides being a competent sailor[21] had to keep the ship's book, in which he entered up particulars of the day's events, such as deaths, accidents or whatever might befall. This book

[1] For fare of the rowers, see Roncière, i. 285.
[2] Black Book of Adm. iii. 235, 237.
[3] In the ordinances of 1189 if a man killed another at sea he was to be tied to the dead body and thrown overboard with it, Rym. i. 65.
[4] Black Book of Adm. i. 161.
[5] Ibid. i. 102; iii. 16, 225; iv. 83, 317.
[6] Ibid. iii. 229; iv. 541.
[7] Ibid. iii. 231, 233.
[8] Ibid. iv. 123, 282, 355.
[9] Ibid. 219, 235, 239.
[10] For officers of the poop and forecastle, see ibid. iii. 89, 91.
[11] Ibid. iii. 221.
[12] Ibid. iii. 437.
[13] Ibid. iv. 54.
[14] Ibid. i. 113; voeringhe, marem amarrages, ibid. ii. 450; iv. 438; a mareage, cf. Godefroy, v. 168, s.v. *Mareage* (=navigation).
[15] Black Book, ii. 195.
[16] Prame, ibid. iv. 56, 294. See the seal of Sandwich, Pedrick, p. 111, Pl. VI.
[17] Black Book, iii. 219.
[18] See Vol. I. p. 32.
[19] Black Book, iv. 54, 124, 288, 381. Cf. notxer, ibid. iii. 141.
[20] Calafat, ibid. iii. 62, 68, 525.
[21] Ibid. iii. 191.

could be used as evidence in any subsequent enquiry, and if the clerk entered an untruth he might be branded on the forehead and have his right hand cut off[1]. No crew was complete without a cook to prepare the food[2], a cat to keep down the rats[3] and a handful of boys to look after the cargo, tend the sick and make themselves generally handy[4]. The navigation was controlled by a lodesman[5] or pilot, either a small one for the rivers or a great one for the open sea, and if he lost the ship the crew might take him to the windlass and cut off his head[6]. In case of shipwreck the patron was the first to escape, the crew came next, and any passengers that might be on board were left to take their chance last[7].

[1] Black Book, iii. 83, 179.
[2] Called servicials ung bacheler, ain knape, ibid. iii. 211.
[3] Ibid. iii. 94. [4] Ibid. 246.
[5] Lettsman, leitsager, letsaghen, leidman, loeman, contermaster, ibid. i. 119, 127, 143, 161; iv. 51, 54, 98, 308, 336, 422, 446; iii. 30, 433; ii. 238. Cf. lo grant, ibid. ii. 250; petitz lodmans, i. 105.
[6] Ibid. i. 129. [7] Roncière, i. 288.

CHAPTER XLVI

JOHN, DUKE OF BERRY

ONE of the wild schemes attributed to the leaders of Nicholas d'Orgemont's abortive plot[1] was to get possession of the person of the king and murder his uncles, the Dukes of Berry and Anjou. The poor demented king had outlived many such attempts before and was not yet quite destined to succumb, but both the Dukes were already close upon their end and it wanted but a very short time ere death removed them in the course of nature. On June 7, 1416, a mournful group was gathered round the death-bed of the Duke of Berry in a room in the Hostel de Nesle[2] on the left bank of the Seine. Among them were the Duke's two daughters, viz. Bonne with her husband the Count of Armagnac[3] and Marie Duchess of Bourbon[4], whose husband was a prisoner in England, but

[1] Page 342. In 1413 he is "au point que chascun scet," Champion, Document, 37.

[2] For the Tour de Nesle, see La Croix, Universities, xxii. on the site of the present Palais de l'Institut and Bibliothèque Mazarine; Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 22; in the séjour, Gazette Archéologique (1887), p. 210, with reference to a picture of it dans le plan de la Tapisserie. For the Hostel de Nesle qui est sur la rivière de Seine, see Longnon, Occupation, 13, with l'entrée des grans galeries de l'ostel fronting the Porte de Bucy.

[3] See page 282, note 3.

[4] Not Bonne, as Bonal, 469. For her marriage at the Palace in Paris on June 24, 1400 (called May 17 in A. Michel, ii. 370. or Jan. 15, see Wylie, ii. 315, note 2), when he was Count of Clermont, the Emperor Manuel being present, see St Denys, ii. 758; Mirot, Isabelle, xix. 485; Collas, 252. For picture (? from Bonaventure, L'Aiguillon de l'Amour Divin, translated in 1406 by Simon de Courcy, MS. fr. 926, see Martin, Miniaturistes, 37) of her and her daughter, Catherine of Artois, see Coudere, Album, 22, Pl. L. She was then the widow of Philip of Artois, Count of Eu, who had died on June 15, 1397, at Micalizo in Anatolia soon after his release from captivity by the Turks who had captured him at the Battle of Nicopolis, Anselme, i. 108, 389; Thibault, 284, and there had been talk of marrying her to the Earl of Derby, afterwards King Henry IV, when he was exiled from England, Wylie, i. 85, 329; iv. 128 note. She had married Philip Count of Eu in 1392 as her second husband, Lefèvre, Pontalis, lvii. 26. Her first husband, whom she had married in Aug. 1386, was Louis de Blois or de Chatillon, Count of Dunois, who died in 1391, Anselme, i. 304; Choisy, 345; Thibault, 284; Baudot, 325; called Guy de Chatillon in Bonal, 469. The county of Eu had been granted to

whose young son Charles[1] was there to represent him in his absence. The old man's confessor[2] was present in the sick-room together with his physician (Stephen Bonin[3]), an official to represent the City of Paris, a public notary and many of his household servants. After mass had been sung in presence of this company the dying man's will was read aloud. It was dated May 25, 1416[4], and was then and there confirmed after the dying man had given his formal assent that his son-in-law the Duke of Bourbon and his grandson the Count of Eu should be left out of the list of executors[5], and that the Duchess of Bourbon should

Philip's father John of Artois in 1352, Anselme, i. 388; ii. 497; Waters, 401. For pedigree of Dukes of Bourbon in descent from Robert de Clermont (1256–1318) brother of Louis IX, see Brachet, cxxvii.

[1] For 4000 fr. p. a. allowed to him for his expenses while residing in the king's hostel in Paris, July 15, 1416, see Huillard, Breholles, ii. 205.

[2] In 1415 his confessor was Jean Arnaud, Bishop of Sarlat, Guiffrey, i. 285, 322.

[3] For Simon Aligret, his medicus, who died at Rouen on Sept. 18, 1415, see E. Beaurepaire, Vitraux, 22. His portrait is still in one of the windows of the cathedral at Bourges, ibid. 23.

[4] Gall. Christ. ii. 86; not May 26, as Anselme, i. 106; Grande Encycl. vi. 420. For the text, see Godefroy, Charles VI, 674–678; Chenu, 48–53; Guiffrey, i. clxxxv; ii. 187–196; Raynal, ii. 498. The original is in MS. L. f. 54 Bibl. St Genevieve, with an 18th century copy in Bibl. Nat. Fr. 6543, see also Bibl. Nat. MS. Fr. 5379, ff. 15–21, and MS. 23592 (fol. 14 v°, 63 v°, 37, 50, 61 v°, 64 v°) and Archives KK. 58. For payment for a journey from Paris to Bourges (June 27—July 28, 1416) to confer with the Archbishop (Boisratier) and other executors of the will to make inventories of the Duke's goods, see Morenvillé, Extraits, 430.

[5] These included besides the Count of Armagnac and others (Godefroy, 677; Juv. 546) the Archbishop of Bourges, Guillaume Boisratier, the Bishop of Paris (i.e. Gerard Montaign, who had previously been the Duke's Chancellor, Gall. Christ. vii. 142) and Clermont Ferrand (i.e. Martin Gouge, his Treasurer), though his name does not appear as an executor on Sept. 10, 1416, Raynal, ii. 494; Toulgeot-Treanna, 72, 77; Gams, 536; Eubel, i. 199. For presents from him to the Duke, see Guiffrey, I. xlvii. He was Bishop of Chartres from 1406 to May 13, 1415 (not 1419, as Godefroy, Charles VI, 684), Gall. Christ. viii. 1180; Gams, 536, when he was translated to Clermont Ferrand on July 11, 1415, Lépinois, i. 33, on the death of Bishop Henri de Latour (who died May 7, 1415, Savaron, 81, and was buried in the burial-place of his family in the Grey Friars at Clermont Ferrand, Tardieu, Clermont, i. 193, who gives a picture of him (p. 185) from his pastoral ring), and held that see till his death at the Château de Beauregard, Savaron, 81, on Nov. 25, 1444, Gall. Christ. ii. 291; Gams, 538; called Oct. 8, 1444, in Longnon, Paris, p. 88 note. Among the books belonging to Guillaume de Latour, Archdeacon of St Flour circ. 1416, is "Ung Proces de la Pourcente" de l'eveschié de Clermont contra dominum Martinum (i.e. Martin Gouge) pro ecclesia Carnotensi, Bruel, 42. For his burial in the cathedral at Clermont Ferrand, see Lépinois, i. 33, who dates his translation on July 11, 1415. The acting business executor was Robinet d'Estampes, Keeper of the Duke's jewels, who had drawn up the inventory of 1413, Guiffrey, I. p. vi. Martin Gouge was succeeded at Chartres by Philippe de Boisgillond or Bois-Gilond (Sept. 4, 1415—Sept. 21, 1418), Gams, 536; see Baye, ii. 269; instead of Henri de Murle, see Anselme, vi. 397. For his arms, see ibid. vi. 396. He was Chancellor of France from Feb. 3, 1422, to Apr. 6, 1425, also Aug. 6, 1425—Nov. 8, 1426, called 1421–1428 in Tardieu, Clermont, i. 193; Anselme, vi. 396, 397, where he tries to escape from Paris in disguise in 1418, but was seized by Guy Lord of Trémouille and imprisoned at Sully, whence he was rescued by the Dauphin. In

appoint two others to act for them so long as they remained in captivity in England. On the following day the dying man was visited by the king and queen and the Duke of Anjou, who received gold cups to keep as mementos[1], and on June 15, 1416[2], he breathed his last at the age of 76[3]. For a long time after his death it was usual to represent him as having lived to a very great age[4], some saying 90 years and some even 100, but accurate research disproves all this and shows that he was the third son of John King of France and was born at Vincennes on Nov. 30, 1340[5], and was present with his father at the battle of Poitiers in 1356, where he escaped death or capture by

Nov. 1418, Beaucourt, i. 41; parcequ on vouloit detenir l'evesque de Clermont, Martial de Paris, i. 31. He made his will at Beauregard on Oct. 8, 1444, Tardieu, Clermont, i. 193, where it is preserved in the Archives Départementales of the Puy de Dome at Clermont Ferrand. In this he left to King Charles VII son petit rubis que le Duc de Berry lui avait donné. He died on Nov. 25, 1444, and was buried in the cathedral at Clermont Ferrand. For picture of cathedral at Clermont Ferrand, see Tardieu, i. 222; Tardieu-Auverge, 53. On Sept. 2, 1416, the executors of the Duke of Berry paid 200 livr. tourn. or 160 livr. paris. to the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris, Brièle, iii. 24. For his Hostel de Clermont in Paris, confiscated Jan. 12, 1419, see Tardieu, Clermont, i. 193. For his brother Jean Gouge, who was Receiver-General of Basse Auvergne in 1397, see Tardieu, Dict. 37. For plans of the castle of Sully on the Loire, see Viollet-le-Duc, Architect. iii. 161–163. For account of it, see Eyriès, i. 15–32.

[1] Godefroy, Charles VI, p. 678.

[2] Guiffrey, i. 288, from the official heading of Robinet's account; cf. Baye, ii. 254; St Denys, vi. 30; Juv. 533; Dufour, Recherches, 30; Anselme, i. 106; iii. 208. Not June 9, 1416, as in the necrology of the Carthusians at Dijon, Monget, ii. 51; nor June 13, as Monstr. 387; Meyer, 248; D. Sauvage, 245; H. Martin, vi. 25; Ménorval, ii. 61; nor June 16, as Cochon, 340; nor May 26, as Blondel, i. 419 note; nor in May, as Cousinot, 138. Not 1406, as Deschamps, Miroir, 176 note. The news of his death reached Venice between July 9 and 28, 1416, Morosini, ii. 96. Called nearly a year afterwards, Morosini, ii. 130.

[3] From his epitaph in Champeaux-Gauchery, 43; also Vaissète, ix. 1032; Daniel, iii. 884; Choisy, 346; Thibaudeau, i. 416; Touchard-Lafosse, iii. 215; Bouvier, 431; D. Godefroy, 339; Romeleau, 252; Bourreau, 20; Raynal, ii. 573; H. Martin, vi. 25; Trebuchet, 35; Collas, 65. Called aagie de lxxvii ans, Baye, ii. 255; Mas-Latrie, 1548; not 73, as Guerière, ii. 41; nor 85, as Monstr. 387 note; B. Zeller, France Anglaise, 68; nor 89, as Gilles, 223 (edn. 1570); Dupleix, ii. 719; Mamerot, 272; Chaumeau, 137; nor 90, as Martial de Paris, i. 22; Meyer, 248; Bouchet, Aquitaine, 238, who gives the epitaph written circ. 1457 as Quand j'eu vescu par quatre vingt dix ans; also Gollut, 1016; cf. Octante neuf ans, Wassebourg, 462; nor 96, as Mezerai, ii. 573. In Stephen Scrope's translation circ. 1441 of Christine de Pisan's Epistle of Othée he is said to have lived "by the space and tyme of c yeares," S. Scrope, pp. xxxviii, 3. For a statement that he was 60 in 1389, see Frois. xiii. 305, 374, which would make him 87 at his death. In Pastoralet, 847, he is "chenu" (i.e. hoary-headed). Not 74, as Champion, Vie, 103; do. Document, 37.

[4] Par long aage, D. Godefroy, 676; estant tout chargé de vieillesse, D. Sauvage, 245; moult ancien et plein de ses jours, Monstr. iii. 145, quoted in A. Michel, ii. 370; Brachet, 643; "a very old man," Cassell, i. 531; le vieux duc, Valois, iv. 361; "the old Duc de Berri," Haggard, 68, 94, 110, 117 (bis), 137. He was born in 1340, A. Michel, ii. 273; called 1345 in Herbert, 247.

[5] Anselme, i. 106; Chantilly, 61; Ledos, 87; Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 4; Grande Encycl. vi. 418; not 1345, as Delisle, Livres d'Heures, 1.

running away together with his troops at an early stage of the fight. He had been twice married. His first wife, to whom he had been married at Carcassonne on June 24, 1360[1], was Jeanne of Armagnac[2], who bore him three sons and two daughters and died in March 1388[3]. A year later, when he was nearly 50 years of age[4], he married as his second wife Jeanne[5], daughter and heiress of John II, Count of Boulogne[6] and Auvergne[7], Jean Froissart[8] having been present at the marriage in the chapel at Riom on Whitsunday, June 6, 1389[9]. She was then a pretty young girl only

[1] Raynal, ii. 375; Guiffrey, I. pp. xxi, xxviii, 16; Grande Encycl. vi. 418.

[2] For her seal (1362), see Demay, Inventaire, i. 100.

[3] Not 1387, as Anselme, i. 107; Raynal, ii. 425.

[4] Not 60, as in Michel, ii. 273; Haggard, 41.

[5] Cf. la duquesa de Berri que fue Juana condesa de Cominges, Zurita, ii. 69, i.e. her mother was Eleanor daughter of Pierre Raymond, Count of Comminges, Anselme, i. 108; viii. 57.

[6] Called le Mauvais Menagier, A. Michel, ii. 269. He died in 1394 or 1396, Tardieu, Clermont, i. 157. The crowns and fleurs-de-lys carved on the capitals of St Nicholas Church at Boulogne are supposed to be a reminiscence of this wedding, Joanne, France Le Nord, p. 60. The county of Boulogne had come to Robert V, Count of Auvergne, in right of his mother Ælis in 1261, Malo, 72.

[7] For population of Basse Auvergne (the northern portion with Clermont as chief town)=452,310 and of Haute Auvergne (the southern part round St Flour)=136,910 in 1328, see Rivière, i. 334, where the City of Clermont has 492 feux. For municipal archives of Clermont (toute cette poudre des Siecles), see Mazure, 499. For 16th century map of Auvergne, see Belleforest, Cosmogr. ii. 224, with plan of Clermont, ibid. 226.

[8] He travelled with her from Orthéz where she had been left by her mother, Eleanor of Comminges, under the charge of her cousin Gaston III, Count of Foise, who had brought her up since she was three years old as her maimbour or guardian (Maimbour de li, Froiss. ii. 760). They travelled by Toulouse and Avignon to Riom, and the chronicler wrote an epithalamium (Sur la pastourel de Berry epouse de la pastoure de Boulogne, Mazure, 338, quoting Froiss. (Buchon), iii. 530), to celebrate the occasion, beginning:

Assis près dou castel dou Dable (=Vodable)
Sus n'avoit pieument (spice) ne oin
Mes pain et sel aulx et ongnons
Pour le pastourel de Berry
Et la pastoure de Boulogne
Car a Riom fui cet matin, etc.

Not that she was his daughter, as Haggard, 41. For account of him, see York, pp. xxix–xxxvi, with pictures of him in Frontispiece and Plate XII. Called "Phebus the Erle of Foys that noble hunter" in York, 9, 13, with picture of him in Frontispiece; "the Mighty French Nimrod" who "loved hounds and all winter and summer feasts," Froiss. in York, viii, xxvii, where the famous pictures in his Livre de Chasse are beautifully reproduced. For 15th century picture of Froissart presenting his chronicle to Richard II, see Froiss. (Johnes), v. Frontispiece; Faquet, 147. For account of Froissart, b. 1337, d. 1410 (not circ. 1419, as Jeanroy-Felix, 139), see Masson, 165–176, where he is a clerk in the chapel of Guy de Chatillon, Count of Blois (d. 1397). For Froissart (d. 1405), see G. Paris, 234, 237; do. Temple, 132, 133, where he is un œil qui voit, une oreille qui écoute, beaucoup plus qu'un cerveau qui reflechit.

[9] Page 329; Froiss. ii. 760; Anselme, ii. 164; Guiffrey, I. lxxix; Grande Encycl. vi. 421; Baudot, 325; Malo, 86. For the marriage contract with pictures of both of them from Archives Nat. J. 1105 (formerly at Riom), see Mazure, 338; Lecoy de la Marche Manuscrit, 191; Mém. Soc. Acad. de Boulogne, ix. 165. For aids claimed by

12 years of age[1] and was known as the shepherdess of Boulogne[2] and naturally she survived him, but the fact that she was absent from his death-chamber and put in no appearance at his funeral seems to point to domestic discord due probably to disparity of age or incompatibility of disposition[3]. At any rate we know that five months had not elapsed since the old man's burial before she married[4] George[5], son of Guy Lord of La Trémouille[6], which at once involved her in a quarrel with the Duke of Burgundy[7]. On Aug. 31, 1416[8], the county of Auvergne was taken from her and remained in the king's hands till her death, which happened in 1424[9]. In his will the Duke directed

her father on account of the marriage, see ibid. 166, June 4, 1392; Michel, i. 275; not 1388, as Mazure, 333, 337. For statement that she had been asked for by John of Gaunt for marriage with Henry, Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV, see Mazure, 333.

[1] Froiss. ii. 757; cette vaillante jeune dame, Froiss. quoted in A. Michel, ii. 277; juvenculam pulchritudine insignem, St Denys, i. 604; Toulgeot-Treanna, 70.

[2] La Pastourelle, Robuchon, 145, from Froiss.

[3] Un abîme de repulsion et d'antipathie, Michel, ii. 277. For saying of Charles VI to him "Que ferez vous d'une telle fillette? Elle ne vous épargera pas, elle!" see A. Michel, ii. 273. For the story "que ferez vous d'une telle fillette" from Froiss. xii. 523, see Brachet, 513.

[4] i.e. on Nov. 16, 1416, La Trémoille, i. 159, at Aigueperse in Auvergne near Gannat (Puy de Dome), Anselme, i. 108; iv. 165; Mas-Latrie, 1548; Cosneau, Connétable, 141; A. Michel, ii. 278; called Nov. 19 in Guiffrey, I. xxix. 16.

[5] Not Guy, as Mezerai, ii. 573. He was born circ. 1385, Cosneau, Connétable, 141, where he is called Count of Guines, Boulogne and Auvergne, Baron of Sully, Craon, St Hermine and l'Isle Bonchard (near Chinon in Touraine), also Lord of Bomiers and Boussac in Berry, A. Michel, ii. 278, quoting Baluze. For picture of castle at Sully-sur-Loire, see A. France, iii. 95. For the castle of St Hermine in the Gâtine near Fontenanny (Vendée) rebuilt by him in 1427, see Robuchon, xi. 7, 22. For a letter of George de la Tremoille, Lord of Sully and Craon, etc., dated July 29, 1436, see Bibl. de l'Éc. des Chartes, xx. 510. In 1407 he was Chamberlain to John, Duke of Burgundy, La Barre, Mem. ii. 110. For his autograph "Georges de la Tremoylle" (1430), see Wallon, 374; A. France, iv. 84. For his seal Dec. 9, 1409, see Demay, ii. 259, and that of his father "Gui de la Tremoule" (1385), ibid. ii. 260. For facsimiles of receipts given by Guy and Guillaume de la Tremoille in 1392 and 1394 as Chamberlains to Philippe le Hardi Duke of Burgundy, see Prost, I. Plate XVI, where the signature is "Tremoilles."

[6] Near Clermont in Auvergne (Puy de Dome).

[7] Waurin, ii. 235; Le Fèvre, i. 280. For claim of the Duke of Burgundy to the County of Boulogne May 8, 1417, which he admits did not exist on June 24, 1416, see Rym. ix. 451. In Rym. ix. 471, July 24, 1417, the County of Boulogne is to be included with Flanders in the separate trade-truce with England. Though on Aug. 7, 1414, the Duke of Burgundy claims that in regard to the County of Boulogne the Duke of Berry is "homo ligens nostri," Cartellieri, Beiträge, iv. 823.

[8] Douet d'Arcq, i. 386. In Gilles, 224 (edn. 1570), it is said that the Duchy of Auvergne and the County of Montpensier went to the Duke of Bourbon. In Mas-Latrie, 1548, he is made "*Count* of Auvergne" jointly with his second wife in 1394; not that he was created *Duke* of Auvergne in Oct. 1360, as Anselme, i. 106.

[9] Guiffrey, i. 16; called 1422 in Cosneau, Connétable, 141; A. Michel, ii. 278 (at the castle of St Sulpice on the Tearn in Languedoc); but 1423 or 1424 in Anselme, i. 108; iv. 165. For George de la Tremouille's castles at Vic-le-Comte and elsewhere summoned to surrender by the king's sergeant March 23, 24, 1423, see A. Michel, ii

that his body should be buried in the Sainte Chapelle that he had just built within his great new palace at Bourges[1]. His heart was buried at St Denis and his entrails in the Church of St Pierre-les-Degrés[2], but his body was embalmed[3] by the surgeons[4], apothecaries and herbalists of Paris, wrapped in a winding sheet[5], and placed in a coffin[6] in the Hostel de Nesle[7], where it lay for four days. On June 21, 1416, a service was said over it in the church of the Augustinians where a temporary chapel of wood had been erected, draped with blue serge and black velvet and hung with painted scutcheons[8]. Thirteen sergeants were stationed at the church with their maces, to keep back the throng that pressed round as the coffin was lifted on to a car drawn by five black horses to be taken to its last resting-place at Bourges. Six days were spent on the road and halts were made at Bourg-la-Reine, Etampes, Thoury, Orléans, Vierzon and Mehun-sur-Yèvre. Bourges

278, where the sergeant testifies je signifiai à haut cri aux barrières et portes d'iceulx chastiaux pour ce que autrement ne pus entrer dedans, quoting Baluze, ii. 625. For Vicle-Comte, see A. Michel, iii. 157.

[1] Raynal, ii. 511. For Astesan's description of Bourges in 1451, see Berriat, St Poix, 209; Touchard-Lafosse, iii. 172. For account of Bourges with the Sainte Chapelle, see Desrues, 136; for view, see Zeiller, vi. 8 (17th century). For modern view, see Touchard-Lafosse, iii. 172; Joanne, ii. 558, with picture of the west portal of the cathedral, ibid. 559; called Bourges-en-Berry la forte, Pastoralet, 849. For view of Bourges in Chantilly, Hours, showing the Grosse Tour (Wylie, iv. 85), the cathedral and the spire of the Sainte Chapelle, see Durrieu, Très riches Heures, Plate xxxviii.

[2] Monstr. 388.

[3] For ingredients used, see Wylie, iv. 111, note 3. For 6 liv. 8*s*. paid to herbiers, et apoticaires pour appareillier et mettre a point le corps including epices et condimens for a funeral in 1379, see Douet d'Arcq, Enterrement, 130. Cf. der da gebalzamt war, Hegel, i. 349, 350, of the Archbishop of Cologne in 1414. Cf. Bowell hym, bame (i.e. balm) hym, wrap hym in raynes, Archaeologia, i. 348 (Edw. IV); Maskell, ii. lxxvi; cf. baume, Laud Troy Bk. 352.

[4] Cf. alle that wutt of barbarie or surgerie of plasteres and of herberye, or knew vertu of spicerie, Laud Troy Bk. 430; alle the grametques, dioletekes and Astronomyms, do. 325.

[5] For toile cirée (cere cloth), see Douet d'Arcq, Enterrement, 130; toile de lin à le ensevelir, ibid. 134.

[6] For 16*s*. charged for a coffin (serqueux) which was then a luxury reserved for the rich, see do. 129, the bodies of the poor being usually tied in a sheet, Coyecque, 112; La Legrand, Maisons Dieu, 147. For a cista de ligno (5*s*.) for funeral of Archbp Bowet at York in 1423, see Raine, Historians, iii. 325.

[7] For charges pour tendre la salle de sarge et l'allée de la maison at a funeral in 1380, see Douet d'Arcq, Enterrement, 13. For "sarger," i.e. sergemaker at Exeter, see Cotton and Dallas, iii. 170.

[8] Dufour, Famille, 103, 124. They were painted by John of Orleans, L. Jarry, 577 (see Vol. I. p. 510), who followed the Duke's body to Bourges where he owned a house which still stands behind the Bureau des Finances, L. Jarry, 523. His father Gérard d'Orléans is supposed to have painted the picture of King John of France during his captivity in England.

was reached on June 27, and after a service in the cathedral the body was removed to the Sainte Chapelle[1] and buried beside the Duke's first wife in the crypt on the following day. During the funeral ceremonies the great new corona[2] was lighted with its 160 candles and the windows were taken out on account of the stifling heat[3].

During his lifetime the Duke had given orders for a costly monument to be erected to his memory in the chapel, but owing to lack of funds and the general disturbance in the country many years elapsed before the work could be carried out. But at length his great-nephew Charles VII, who had succeeded to his lands and had spent many tempestuous years as the "King of Bourges" while the English were installed in Paris, arranged to carry out the project, and by the year 1456[4] a splendid monument[5] had been completed and placed in the Sainte Chapelle over the spot where the body of the Duke was buried. The work was entrusted to the sculptor Jean de Rupy[6], and showed a strong resemblance to Claes or Claux (i.e. Nicholas) Sluter's[7] great altar-tomb[8] just erected to the

[1] St Denys, vi. 331; Cousinot, 138; not in the cathedral, as Monstr. 388. For picture of the Sainte Chapelle at Bourges, see Touchard-Lafosse, iii. 226; called "the family chapel" in York, p. xxiii. It was demolished in 1757, Stein, 87.

[2] Raynal, ii. 449, who says that it was only twice fully lighted up, viz. at the dedication of the chapel on April 18, 1415, and at the funeral of Jeanne, daughter of Louis XI, the repudiated wife of Louis XII, who had divorced her in 1498. For la couronne de coevre doré at Thérouanne in 1422, see Bled, Invent. 146.

[3] Raynal, ii. 507. For breaking a window in the Great Hall at the Palace in Paris to let in air during the panic crush at the coronation feast of Charles VI and Isabel in 1389, see Thibault, 158. For payment to a serrurier pour une enchasseleure de fer pour ouvrir ung panneau de voirre en la chapelle pour donner air in the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris (1416), see Brièle, iii. 43.

[4] Or 1457, Raynal, ii. 504, 513, quoted in S. Scrope, xxxvii, called 1450 in E. Müntz, Sluter, 406.

[5] For a description of it, see Romelot, 250; Touchard-Lafosse, iii. 215; Gazette Archéologique (1888), pp. 245–254.

[6] i.e. Rupy near Cambrai; not Rochechouart (de Rupe Cavardi) near Limoges, as Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, lv, 520 (1894). He died in 1438, Champeaux-Gauchery, 35; Toulgeot-Treanna, 76; Gazette Archeol. (1887), p. 207; called Jean de Cambrai in Lethaby, 235. Not by André Beauneveu, as Baudot, 271.

[7] Called "Celustre" or "Slustre," Marcon, 71, in official documents dated 1393, 1402 (S. Lami, 571), or "Slutre," ibid. 520, where he is "ouvrier d'entailleure" or "ymagier ducal" in 1390, St Mémin, 14; Müntz, Sluter, 363; also Marcon, 40. He was called Claux in Burgundy whither he was brought by Duke Philippe le Hardi circ. 1385. He died in 1411, Bauzon, 88; called 1416, Bauchal, 124, quoting Maillard de Chambure and De Jolimont, or 1405 in S. Lami, 521, who gives his burial in St Stephen's Abbey at Dijon where he lived during the closing years of his life, and shows that the tomb was completed by his nephew Claux de Werve in 1412, ibid. 570, with contract July 14, 1404, for finishing it in four years from that date. There is a cast of it in the Musée de Troca-

[8] For note, see next page.

memory of Philip the Bold[1], Duke of Burgundy, in the Charterhouse at Dijon[2]. But the Duke of Berry's monument at Bourges shows nothing but a cenotaph, for his body and that of his wife were not removed from their resting-place in the crypt below the chapel till the building itself was demolished 300 years later[3], when both the monument and the two coffins were taken across to the cathedral

déro in Paris, S. Lami, 571, where the cost of the tomb is given as 3612 livres, adding that it was demolished at the Revolution, but restored in 1827 and now in the Museum at Dijon. Called "Slutter" in Montégut, Bourgogne, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 98, where he is called "l'imagier," who compares the Puits de Moise (figured on p. 90, also Lethaby, 235) with the Moses of Michael Angelo on the tomb of Pope Julius II (d. 1513, pp. 89–96) in the Church of San Pietro in Vinculo at Rome. (For this statue, see C. Blanc, 64; Kraus, II. ii. 592, 599. For "lorned Moyses," see Lydg. Min. Po. 8; this noble duc this prudent Moyses with golden hornes, ibid. 37; Duke Moyses, ibid. 75, begun 1383, completed 1391 (p. 87).) For pathological account of Sluter, see Brachet, 518–523. Called Claux de Werve in Prost, Nouvelle Source, 351, or Claes Van de Verbe, St Mémin, 15; not "Werne," as E. Müntz, Sluter, 405; nor "de la Versa," as Magasin Pittoresque, i. 235. He is called "Claes ven den Werve ouvrier d'ymaige" in 1402 (not "Verne," as Bauchal, 124); wrongly called "Claux de Vouzonnes" in St Mémin, 31; Müntz, Sluter, 383, 405; Magasin Pittoresque, i. 236, but this name is absolutely rejected by Prost, Nouvelle Source, 354; Chabeuf, 143. He died Oct. 8, 1439. in extreme poverty, Prost, Nouvelle Source, 358, 359; Chabeuf, 144, who gives his epitaph (MS. fr. 24019 in Bibl. Nat.) from St Stephen's Abbey at Dijon where he was buried; also Marcon, 99; S. Lami, 571. For the Puits de Moise carved on the pediment of "le grant croix" or "la croix qui est au grand cloitre," see St Mémin, 15–24, 71; Marcon, 78, 84; Chabeuf, Dijon, 108–111; do. Monuments, 275–278; S. Lami, 520, 571, who calls it "son œuvre capitale" executed from 1395–1402; not finished in 1398, as Bauchal, 124. For Claux Celustre ouvrier d'ymaiges with seal inscribed "Sluter," see Rossignol, i. 40, referring to an alabaster stone bought by the Duke of Burgundy to make un ymaige pour sa sepulture. For picture of carvers working church windows, &c. in stone, see Schultz, 82. Cf.

> Ymager bothe in entaille and every purtreyour
> That coude drawe or with colour peynt
> To counterfet in metal tre or stirn. Lydg. Troy Bk. 158.
>
> Alabaster owther white or redde
> Or marbil graye for to pulsche (polish) it playn. Ibid. 158.

Called "ce monument unique plus étrange que vraiment beau" in Chabeuf, 231, who refers to the cast in the Musée du Trocadéro (p. 235).

[3] For order (1397–8) to Claux Sluter to buy marbles for the tomb, see Bauchal, 123. For pictures of the pleureurs or deuillants, see Müntz, Sluter, 383; Marcon, 88; Chabeuf, Dijon, 106; do. Monuments, 272; called "les petits moines" at Dijon, Chabeuf, 242, who calls them cette galerie impitoyablement vraie (p. 247) or le couvent tout entier surpris au elider pendant l'office funèbre.

[1] Cf.

> Gasses a fait ceste Besoigne
> Pour Phé Duc de Bourgogne
> Car moult ama Chiens et oiseaulx,

i.e. who wrote his Roman des Oiseaux or Roman des Déduits, written for him by his tutor Gace de la Buigne or Vigne, when both were prisoners in England after the defeat at Poitiers. The book was begun by Gace at Hertford in 1359 but not finished till after 1373, York, 228 b.

[2] For account of Dijon, see Montégut, Bourgogne, 70, with 17th century view (p. 72) and account of the Charterhouse (now a "hospice d'aliénés," pp. 80, 87) and the Palais Ducal (=ce qui en reste se trouve comme emprisonné dans ce vaste édifice, i.e. the Hôtel de Ville).

[3] i.e. in 1757, Champeaux-Gauchery, 29.

and deposited in the crypt[1]. Here the coffins were laid in a fresh vault and the tomb was placed above them, and in this position it remained until the Revolution when it was broken up and desecrated and the pieces left scattered about the floor. Some fragments of the weeping mourners that once occupied the niches on its sides have been collected and are still preserved in the museum at Bourges[2]. But the solid marble effigy of the Duke that lay on the table top of the monument resisted the hacking and hammering, and the mutilated features may still be seen in the cathedral crypt. Wrapped in a long mantle he lies in repose full length, his head upon a pillow and at his feet a muzzled bear[3], but the genial, wrinkled, puffy face[4] with its high cheek bones and flat spread nostrils that gained him the nickname of "the saddle nose Duke[5]" yields a speaking evidence of the skilful workmanship of the imager as well as a living likeness of the man. But it is not to this great masterpiece of art alone that we need look to recover a likeness of the dead, for no personage of that

[1] Chapelle souterraine, Guiffrey, I. lxxxvii; Romelot, 249; Burreau, 26, 27, 116, who speaks of three statues, but there was certainly only one effigy on the tomb.

[2] Monget, I. xvii. Montégut, Bourgogne, 100, who refers to some other of these figures in the possession of the Marquis de Vogüé, i.e. at his château Peveau near Cosne, Müntz, Sluter, 406, quoting Champeaux-Gauchery, Architecture (fr. MS. fr. 24019 in Bibl. Nat.).

[3] Figured in Gonse, 431; do. Sculpture, 23.

[4] Trais bouffis, la tête d'un type lourd, commun, sensuel mais bienveillant, Raynal, ii. 376, 512; A. Michel, ii. 329; la face est large et pleine, le front médiocrement développé, le nez écrasé la lèvre inférieure saillante et le menton tort, ibid. quoting Mamerot in D. Godefroy, Charles VI, p. 674; les chaires épaisses et bouffies, Champeaux-Gauchery, 28; Gazette Archéol. (1887), p. 207.

[5] Qui fu camus et a sa court
Ne voloit fors gens à nes court. Pastoralet, 847.

Le Duc Camus, Mamerot, 273, in D. Godefroy, Charles VI, 674; Gazette Archéol. (1887), p. 19; Choisy, 345; Collas, 63; cf. Round was his face and camuse was his nose, Chaucer, Reeve's Tale, 3932, 3972. For the Tartars as "camus," see Bouvier, Descr. 72, with sketch by Vittore Pisanello (1380–1455) from collection Villardi in the Louvre known as the Calmuck, Arthur Hill, 92. Some one for that she is camused, Gower, Conf. 246; called "flat-nosed" in Cotgr., s.v., or "saddle-nosed" in Murray, Dict.; see also Halliwell, s.v. *Camoise.* Cf. le visage souriant et plein le nez camard, Gonse, 268; tête tonde paysan madre au nez camard aux pommettes saillantes et aux petits yeux pétillants de malice et de finesse, Guiffrey, I. cxvi. For Jean le Camus de Beaulieu, captain of Poitiers, killed in 1427, see Robuchon, 137, 139. For Guillaume Maignet de le Camus (a mason at Rouen), see Richard, 53, 294, 298, 301; Lefevre-Pontalis, lvii. 13; C. Beaurepaire, Invent. Rouen, 35, 36; also Jean le Camus at Angers (1370), Darue, 52; Raoul le Camus, a cutler at Rouen in 1362, C. Beaurepaire, Notes, iii. 217; le Boullenger dit le Camus in Paris, ibid. iii. 266; Philippe le Camus, physicus at Cluny 1393, Duckett, i. 137; Ysabeau la Camuse, Brièle, iii. 53; Pierre le Camus, mayor of La Rochelle in 1418, Barbot, 276; Perrin Camus paupelum (*i.e. pupetier*), *see Artois de Jubainville* (1873), p. 339. For seal of Antoine Camus (1576), see *Demay, Inventaire, i. 193.* For cammydnose (=simus), see Lydg. Burgh, 83, 118; *Halliwell, i. 228,* s.v. *Cammede.*

age has left so large and interesting a collection of personal mementos as this Duke of Berry. He seems to have had a passion for gazing at his own portrait[1] within his lifetime; "le visaige de Monseigneur" appears on plates, seals[2], cameos, gems, tapets[3], windows and service books, and all who worked for him put in his likeness in every variety of character wherever a chance was seizable[4]. As a youngish man he was embroidered in needlework with his first wife Joan and four of his children[5]. In middle life the number of representations of him does not diminish[6], and when his head was bald and his forehead bare we see his mild, beardless, benevolent face in his charters[7] and service books[8] in infinite variety. There are portraits of him and his second wife in a polyptich that once belonged to his niece Marie in the nunnery at Poissy[9] now in the Louvre[10], and they are both represented together on their marriage contract[11] and on the panels of an altar retable in the chapel at Riom[12] where the marriage took place. We see him seated in a stately houppelande[13] on a throned chair of

[1] Guiffrey, I. cxvii, clvi.

[2] Guiffrey, i. 141. The figure with a bifid beard on his seal is conventional, Revue Archéologique, vii. Plate 139; Champeaux-Gauchery, Plate 44. For his seal (1359), see Demay, Inventaire, p. 100.

[3] For his Arras tapestries, see Bouchot, Primitifs, 167.

[4] Sa petite infirmité, l'iconomanie, Bouchot, Primitifs, 165. For 27 pictures of him inserted in the Heures d'Anjou (i.e. Louis I d'Anjou), see Coudere, p. 13; Bouchot, 164, 165.

[5] Now in the cathedral at Chartres, Montfaucon, iii. 182.

[6] For picture of him standing beside Charles VI in Salmon, see Champeaux, 414; Guiffrey, I. lxxxviii; Coudere, Album LVII; see also ibid. Pl. XXIX, XXXVI, XXXVII. For conventional pictures of him, see Humphreys, Froiss. ii. Plate XIV; also in Château of Beauregard, see Gavard, x. 2 (1744). For a small head of him with furred cap and St Andrew's cross, see Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 27, Plate xxi. For a portrait of him in Gaignieres, vol. IV, see De Witt, 671.

[7] e.g. Louandre Planches, vol. II. in the Archives du Cher; cf. Guiffrey, I. clxxxii; also in 1402, from Archives Nationales J. 188 in Lecoy de la Marche, 192.

[8] e.g. Durrieu, Turin, pp. 16, 26, 27, Plates xlii, xliv (specially fine).

[9] Wylie, iii. 50. She was born on Aug. 24 (or 22; Anselme, i. 114; Vallet de Viriville, Isabeau, 48; Thibault, 221), 1393, Mont St Michel, i. 15, and died at Poissy Aug. 19, 1438, called 1439 in Chapotin, 140, 154 (who dates her birth on Aug. 22); Baudot, 77; Christine, Poissy, 539. For the Belleville Breviary, so called because it had once belonged to Olivier de Clisson Lord of Belleville, see Guiffrey, I. cxlvii, cliii, clviii; Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 10483-4, with illuminations by Jean Pucelle, given to her by the Duke of Berry in 1420, see Dibdin, Tour, ii. 174; Woltmann, i. 365; Delisle, Heures, 6, 15; Guiffrey, I. lxi, 254, 286; Baudot, 268; Lasteyrie, 104; H. Martin, 43, 44; do. Miniaturistes, 68; Delisle, Recherches, i. 137; ii. 29, 182–185; Herbert, 241.

[10] Champeaux-Gauchery, 190; Champeaux, 413.

[11] See page 394, note 5.

[12] "P.D.F." 6, with their arms, where he is "vieux et sans barbe" and she is "très jeune encore."

[13] Durrieu, Maitre, xx. 27.

state or sitting buying jewels with the dealers on their knees before him setting out their wares[1], or dressed as a pilgrim in a Book of Hours that he presented to the Duke of Anjou[2]; his great Psalter[3] shows him being presented by St Peter at the gates of Heaven; in another of his Books of Hours[4] he is under the guidance of St John; he was admirably depicted by Jacquemart of Hesdin[5] in a volume still preserved in the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne at Brussels[6]. In the Chantilly Hours he sits at dinner with a fur cap on his head[7] and in another of his religious manuals he is seen no less than ten times[8], though it is much to be regretted that none of these presentments appear to have yet been engraved or reproduced; and there is a strong resemblance to him in the figure of Cyrenius or Quirinus[9] kneeling before Augustus in the French translation of Josephus[10] that originally belonged to him, though most of the miniatures are believed to have been added some time afterwards from the hand of Jean Fouquet[11]. The cathedral at Bourges has a window

[1] Viollet-le-Duc, Mobilier, iii. 462.

[2] The portrait was added in 1415, Vallet de Viriville, Médailles, 385.

[3] Silvestre, iii. 96; Madden, ii. 544; Delisle, Heures, 30; Saumon, xix. For a specimen page, see Humphreys, 6.

[4] i.e. MS. Lat. 18014, fol. 104, in Bibl. Nat. Paris, Delisle, Heures, 31 (i.e. Petites Heures); Lasteyrie, 98, 114, 115; Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 21; Bouchot, 118; wrongly assigned to the Duke of Anjou in Humphreys, Plate xiii; F. Denis, 83; Woltmann, i. 365. This was suspected in Madden, ii. 528, 531. For facsimile page, see Silvestre, iii. 157; Humphreys, 5; Lasteyrie, Plates ix, x, xi.

[5] Formerly attributed to André de Beaunevue, see Lasteyrie, 80, 83, 84; Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 21; Herbert, 250.

[6] i.e. MS. 11060 in Bibl. Royale, Delisle, Heures, 34; Grande Encycl. v. 1055; Champeaux-Gauchery, 28; Gazette Archéologique (1887), p. 207; Dehaisnes, 799; Guiffrey, i. cxvi; Lasteyrie, 74, 81; Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 21; Herbert, 249, 250. Figured in Dehaisnes, 254; Champeaux-Gauchery, Plate 40.

[7] Chantilly, i. 59, Plate; Champeaux, 415; Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 131, Plate i; H. Martin, 72; Martin, Miniaturistes, 35.

[8] Delisle, Heures, 30, who instances five in MS. 919; also Coudere, Album, 27.

[9] The leaf (Book xviii. chap. 1) containing this picture was cut out of the 2nd volume of a French translation of Josephus, of which vol. I is in Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 247, formerly no. 6891 (see Grande Encycl. xvii. 876; Athenaeum, 23. 9. 1908), published by P. Durrieu in 1907. The mutilated vol. II was purchased in London by Mr H. Yates Thompson in 1903 (Martin, Miniaturistes, 92) and the missing pages were lately discovered in the Royal Library at Windsor. The whole volume with the pictures has now been returned to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris where it now bears the number MS. fr. 21013 (Nouv. Acq.), Omont, Antiquités, 4; G. F. Warner, Valerius Maximus, p. 10; Herbert, 279.

[10] Omont, Antiq. Plate 18.

[11] For Jean Fouquet (b. 1415, d. 1480), see Durrieu, Deux Miniatures, 6, who notes that he was "entirely unknown till 1881"; Herbert, 277, who notes that he "received unstinted praise from his contemporaries." For a picture of the Duke by Jean Fouquet circ. 1458, see Durrieu, Boccace, 55, Pl. ii.

in which he is represented, but the work was done after his death[1]. There is a statue of him over the chimney-piece[2] in the Great Hall of the Palace at Poitiers, but unfortunately the head is wanting and the present carving is merely a modern restoration[3]. But the Sainte Chapelle at Bourges possessed two representations of him which demand special consideration. Above the porch on the outside was a kneeling figure in stone, the head of which, though sadly mutilated, is still preserved in the museum at Bourges[4]. But the inside of the church contained another effigy to which a singular interest will always be attached. In one of the chapels two figures were carved which represented the Duke and his second wife kneeling on either side of the altar of Notre Dame la Blanche[5]. These figures were also removed to the cathedral and fared badly at the Revolution. The Duchess' head was knocked off and has subsequently been replaced by a grotesque absurdity. The old man's features have been badly damaged, but in the main are still quite recognisable. But the interest in the two figures is heightened by the fact that, while they were still intact, they were seen and copied by Hans Holbein the younger when he visited Bourges about a century later[6]. The sketch that he made

[1] i.e. in 1428 in the Sanctuary.

[2] For architectural drawings of it, see Viollet-le-Duc, Architecture, iii. 203, 204.

[3] Robuchon, 144; Champeaux-Gauchery, Plate 14, where the other figures are described as 2nd wife Jeanne de Boulogne and King Charles VI and his wife Isabel; so also Gonse, Sculpture, 21, 23, with casts in the Trocadero in Paris. But the costumes and hair of the ladies make it much more probable that the figures represent the Duke's 1st wife Jeanne of Armagnac (d. 1387), together with Charles V and his queen Jeanne de Bourbon, as Champeaux-Gauchery, 19; Gazette Archéol. (1887), p. 71; Marcon, 55; Robuchon, 47, 144, who however thinks that the Duchess is the 2nd wife Jeanne de Boulogne. For figures of Charles V and Jeanne de Bourbon on their tomb (now in the Louvre, Bouchot, 108) at St Denys, see De Witt, 457; Guilhermy, 159, 284; Lafenestre, 18, where they are called ces images exactes et souriantes. For casts in the Trocadero, see Marcon, 36; Albert Lenoir, Statistique, 176; also in Armorial d'Auvergne (MS. fr. 22297 in Bibl. Nat.) dedicated to Charles VI by Guillaume Reval, Delisle, Cabinet, i. 73, 108. It also contains portraits of Jean I Duke of Bourbon and his wife.

[4] Gonse, 437; do. Sculpture, 25. The rest of the figure with a restoration of the head seems to be still in the crypt of the cathedral, Champeaux-Gauchery, Plate 25.

[5] Champeaux-Gauchery, 28; Gazette Archéol. (1887), 203; V. Dufour, 45; not the same as the tomb in Guiffrey, i. cxvi; Baedeker, Centre de la France (1889), p. 121, where they are said to be in the Lady Chapel of the cathedral; or in the apse according to Müntz Sluter, 406; cf. Knackfuss, 53, who gives a picture of the Duchess which he describes as sehr hübsch und ausdrucksvoll; but in the crypt according to Joanne, La Loire (1884), p. 74; B. Zeller, France Anglaise, 70.

[6] i.e. circ. 1524, Knackfuss, 63. The question is not mentioned by Mander, 212–218, Wornum (who refers (p. 193) to Holbein's journey from Basle to England in 1526; Fletcher-Walker, p. xii; called 1525 in Cust, Catalogue, 39), Woltmann or Müntz.

is still preserved in the museum at Basle[1], and had the originals quite perished all would appeal to these little masterpieces as true evidence from the life. A glance however at the mutilated original of the Duke, as we still have it, will at once dispel this view and prove that the great Swabian portraitist was not content with mere slavish copying[2], but that he transformed the model that lay before his eyes into a beaming mellow face suffused with genial *bonhomie*[3].

The death of the Duke of Berry, occurring in the depth of his country's distress, yet marks a turning point in her history, involving as it did the germ of her regeneration. For when his father, King John, in pursuance of his fatal policy of parcelling out the land of France into vast territories to be bestowed as appanages upon his younger sons[4], it had been stipulated in the original grant of Berry and Poitou[5] that these domains should revert to the crown if the Duke should leave no male descendants to succeed him[6]. By his first marriage he had had three sons[7], Charles[8],

[1] Knackfuss, 63; Champeaux-Gauchery, Plate 27; Gonse, 266, 268; Guiffrey, I. Frontispiece, p. xciv; Müntz Sluter, 406, who seems to think that the figures were at that time in the cathedral; called "beautiful drawing of the monument," i.e. the Duke's tomb, in Lethaby, 235; Grande Encycl. vi. 421.

[2] Though it is called an excellent reproduction in Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 21.

[3] Un chef-d'œuvre de bonhomie souriante, Champeaux-Gauchery, 28; Gazette Archéologique (1887), p. 207. Cf. ce prince jovial, ami du rire et de la gaieté, Guiffrey, I. cxxxi, clvi; la tête tout à la fois pleine de bonhomie, d'astuce et d'autorité, Gonse, Sculpture, 24; ses yeux à fleur de tête, sa bouche sensuelle, son expression douillette, Müntz Sluter, 406. During the Cabochian terror in Paris in 1413 he was described as "en très bon point et fuit très ferme et joyeuse chère," Champion, Document, 36.

[4] Collas, p. ii. For the Duchy of Burgundy granted to Philippe le Hardi Sept. 16, 1363, see Rossignol, i. 44; Grande Encycl. vii. 778.

[5] For the county of Poitou granted to the Duke of Berry between March 23 and May 12, 1356, see Ledos, 88. For appanage of Berry and Auvergne granted to him Oct. 25, 29, 1360, by King Jean at Boulogne s. Mer on his return from Windsor = Sept. 1360 (Michel, ii. 327), see ibid. 91; Anselme, i. 106; iii. 208; Mazure, 187; Rivière, i. 498; Michel, ii. 326, quoting Chabrol, Comté d'Auvergne, I. diss. 2, prieurs, p. 119 (to indemnify for county of Poitou which became English by the treaty of Bretigny); the grant was renewed on March 3, 1375, Neuville, 95. For the Dukedom of Berry granted to his son Jean in Oct. 1360, see Anselme, iii. 208.

[6] In accordance with an ordinance of Philippe le Bel passed about 100 years before, Duruy, p. 342.

[7] Raynal, ii. 420, 504; Guiffrey, I. xxviii; Grande Encycl. vi. 421.

[8] Both Charles (b. 1370, d. 1383 or before 1382, Anselme, i. 107) and Jean had been Counts of Montpensier. Charles, who was ill with small-pox in 1378, was knighted in 1380, Toulgeot-Treanna, 70, 90. For 5 sols paid to a barber at Bourges for washing his head and removing his hair (osta les cheveux), see ibid. 91. He is called "Challes" in a letter written by his mother at Bourges Nov. 12, 1373, Bulletin Hist. de la Soc. Archéol. de Tarn et Garonne (1883), xi. 131.

Jean[1] and Louis[2], but all had died young, and when there seemed no prospect of further issue the reversion of the Dukedom of Berry and the county of Touraine[3] had been settled as a future appanage for the king's son John[4], to whom the Duke of Berry had stood sponsor at his baptism in 1398[5], it being understood that actual possession should not take place till after the Duke himself was dead[6]. In 1402 the Dauphin Louis had been designated as his successor in the estates[7], but now that he was dead, the new Dauphin John was in fact declared Duke of Berry and Count of Poitou[8] immediately after the death of the old man[9]. Thus, though the great fiefs of Orleans, Anjou and Burgundy retained a dangerous semi-independence for two generations longer, the failure of male issue on the part of the Duke of Berry brought all central France back under the power of the crown and proved the first step in that process of recuperation which ultimately resulted in a solid strong united monarchy.

An interesting and candid appreciation of the character of the Duke of Berry was written down by a contemporary

[1] In a letter written by his mother at Mehun-sur-Yèvre on June 15, 1384, she refers to "Jehan et Marie mes enfans." Jean was married (1) in 1386 at the royal château of St Ouen to Catherine daughter of Charles V, but the marriage was never consummated as she died in 1388, Anselme, i. 107; Thibault, 83; and (2) to Anne daughter of Jean de Bourbon, Count of La Marche and Vendôme, who afterward married Louis le Baron, the brother of Queen Isabel.

[2] Louis was still living in July 1383, Anselme, i. 107.

[3] For the Duchy of Touraine granted to Charles Count of Ponthieu on July 14, 1416 (called July 15, 1416, in Chalmel, ii. 171; Sismondi, Français, xii. 502, who says that it was conferred on the Dauphin Jean on June 14, 1416, quoting Ordonnances, x. 368–371), see Giraudet, i. 199, from a copy in the municipal archives at Tours where the king reserves the souveraineté et ressort whereupon the *élus* of Tours went to offer congratulations to the new Duke at Poitiers, where they presented him with a gold goblet weighing three marks.

[4] i.e. on July 12, 1401, Ordonnances, viii. 452; Anselme, iii. 208; called July 16, 1401, in Thibault, 288; renewed on his marriage on June 30, 1406 (not Aug. 30, as Anselme, iii. 253), Ordonnances, x. 368; cf. Löher, i. 235, 451.

[5] St Denys, vi. 30.

[6] In the Leicester compact of May 23, 1414, the Duke of Berry is described as usufructuarius ad terminum vitae possidens, Cartellieri, Beiträge, iv. 8, 14, 23.

[7] Raynal, ii. 496.

[8] i.e. June 16, 1416, Ordonnances, viii. 452; x. 368; Anselme, iii. 208 (where the date is June 23, 1416); Robuchon, 49, 146; Mieris, iv. 386 (Aug. 15, 1416); Sauvage, 245. For the announcement in the Parlement de Paris Aug. 8, 1416, see A. Michel, ii. 370. For a similar grant to the Dauphin Charles on May 17, 1417 (not May 17, 1416, as Chalmel, ii. 173), reserving right for the crown if he died without male heirs, see Ordonnances, x. 409; Beaucourt, i. 68; not 1419, as Anselme, i. 115, where "Ponthieu" is a mistake for "Poitou."

[9] Not that the Duke left all his personal property to the Dauphin Jean, as Vallet de Viriville, i. 19.

in the Chronicle of St Denis[1], which is all the more remarkable as the inmates of that house had recently had a serious grievance against him for the doubts that he had cast upon the genuineness of the famous body of their martyred saint which was the most cherished of their many precious relics. The writer notes his scrupulousness for all the forms of courtesy and politeness, his readiness of tongue and his many successes in diplomacy[2]; how he won the favour of all strangers who came to Paris both by what he said and what he gave; how he found his highest delight in collecting gems[3] from the East[4]; how he loved long and ornate services and owned copes, chasubles and other church vestments fringed with pure gold of priceless value, enough to robe all the canons in three cathedrals at once[5]; how sweet and kind[6] he was to those who were devoted to him but relentless towards all who charged him with responsibility for the cruel burdens that he laid upon his people. It has been recently said that the nearer we get to his own lifetime the kindlier we find the comments on his memory[7], but on an all-round review we find many of his contemporaries who dared to speak out and showed no leniency towards him[8] and that the flood of invective did not really spare him while he lived. For there were many who execrated him for his pitiless extortions while governor of Languedoc[9]

[1] St Denys, vi. 30; Juv. 533; Guiffrey, I. cxcii.

[2] Cf. his grete police usyng as of grete counseylles and wysdomys yeving and executyng the same for the conservation of justice and tranquillite and also peacekepyng, S. Scrope, 3 (an echo of Christine de Pisan's dedication); très pacifique seigneur, Champion, Vie, 61, 75, quoting Christine de Pisan, 246; fort bon homme pacifique, &c., ibid. 101.

[3] Grand plenté en pierreries, Froiss. iii. 25; aymant joyaux et edifices, Gilles, 223 (ed. 1570).

[4] Chaumeau, 137.

[5] Plus que jamais n'avoit Prince vivant sur terre, Gilles, 223 (ed. 1570).

[6] For 60 sols given by him in 1370 à un povre enfant qui fu trouvé tout seul en l'oustel où mondit sr. se longha à St Denis du Chastel, see Menagier, i. 95; ung fort bon prince, Bonal, 530.

[7] Toulgeot-Treanna, 66.

[8] Cf. ab inexpiabili cupiditate ducis Beturie, St Denys, iv. 570; cf. le plus convoiteux homme du monde, Froiss. iii. 24; tres dure, tres tyrannique, Dongnon, 435; tyrannidem atque avaritiam, do. Quomodo, 6, 12.

[9] He was appointed governor of Languedoc Dec. 14, 1357 (Ledos, 88) and held the office till 1361; appointed again Nov. 19, 1380 (Guériniere, 22) and held it till 1389; called Nov. 10, 1380, in Riviere, i. 216; also from 1401 to 1411 and from Oct. 21, 1413 (Gaujal, ii. 277), till 1416, Flourac, 67; called 15 years presque sans interruption, Dongnon, 431. For dates, see Vaséte, ix. 1032; Rouquette, 364; Portal, Cordes, 58. For suppression of revolt against him at Limoux near Carcassonne (Aude) in May 1414, see Dongnon, 436. For the Tuchins in Auvergne tous prins et mis a mort by the Duke of

and for the taxes that were wrung three and four times a year from the tenantry in Auvergne[1] to pay for his silly whims[2], while lampooners in Paris did not shrink from saying that he never looked at truth since he was a child[3]. He used to say that he liked everybody in service to be rich[4] and we know that he habitually accepted presents from them, and when reproached with having raised so many parasites to wealth he would loftily reply that surely a Prince of France might be allowed to high[5] a pauper or two[6], so that it is no wonder that those who tasted of his benefits in their perilous climb from beggary[7] are loud in

Berry in 1384, see Bailly, i. 149; Rivière, i. 214; Tardieu, Clermont, i. 57, who includes also Poitou and Berry. For supposed derivation from tue-chien, see A. Michel, ii. 345, quoting Mézeray. For rage against Bétisac, see Deschamps, viii. 98, who calls him

Mesiau pourry, faulx parjure et yvroingne
Menteur pervers de très tous vices plain
Prevaricat, &c.

Cf. O lerres faulx et convoiteux
Lasches de corps, &c. Ibid. 99.

Deviens taupe en prez ou en val
Ou panduz en un carquenal
Car tu as haiz de chascun. Ibid. 100.

Cf. quant Jo. de Betizac fo cremat, Bernard Boysset in Romania, xxi. 537; Rouquette, 364 (he was at Toulouse in Nov. 1389, Wylie, i. 187; not at Beziers, as Froiss. iii. 27; Dumas, 85); Betisac en Languedoc, Songe, 274.

[1] For protest of the three estates of Auvergne in 1377, see Bailly, i. 155; Mazure, 254, 355; A. Michel, iii. 81, 296. For county of Auvergne confiscated by Philippe Auguste in 1210, see Anselme, iii. 218, fr. La Thaumassiere, Hist. de Berry, l. i. ch. 26, p. 25; also Michel, ii. 253, 279 (where it is called la Terre d'Auvergne); do. iii. 80. For Henry II's claim to Auvergne, see Rym. i. 50 (1177), excepto de Alvernia unde contentio inter nos est (i.e. between Henry II and King of France), also Dict. Nat. Biogr. xlviii. 137.

[2] Cf. the shoemaker Taque-Thibaut in Froiss. ii. 759; called Taille-Thibault, Mazure, 336, who quotes Chateaubriand, Analyse Saisonnée de l'Histoire de France (Charles VII), une foule de valets décorés, sangsues des peuples et plaies des cours. Cf. ses folles plaisances, Froiss. xiii. 313; xiv. 373, quoted in A. Michel, ii. 275; Brachet, 515. Cf.

Et le boute trestout en pierrieres
Et en autres sotes fumées. Songe, 41.

[3] Car n'avoiet en remembrance
Qu'il l' (=la verité) eust veue puis son enfance. Ibid. 235.

[4] Froiss. iii. 25; Raynal, ii. 508. For 351 officials and servants of all ranks in his household in 1398, see Douet d'Arcq, Pièces inédites, i. 149, quoted in Izan, cxvii. Cf. dum quispiam ex genere quocumque humili natus aliquod exactionis officium arripiebat mox raptor et tyrannus officiebatur nullusque reputatur si non infra biennium divitia, fastu, deliciis, sumptibus et aedificiis peretfluerent, Pierre de Versailles (1418) in Mart. Anec. i. 1730. In H. Martin, v. 426, he is "foible pour sa valetaille." Cf. homme de donner 200,000 francs a son boufion, Michelet, v. 123.

Mais sy tost que fu devers ly
Devenir le fit sy joly
Si riche puissant sy grant maistre
Qu'il sembloit un grant conte estre. Songe, 274.

[5] He heyet and riche ymaked, Secreta, 143.

[6] St Denys, vi. 33; Brachet, 515.

[7] Cf. A parlious Clymbyng whan beggeres up arise
To hih estate, mark this in your mynds. Pol. Relig. Po. 40.

praise of his frankness, prudence and generosity[1]. Some modern critics describe him as a profligate[2] and a voluptuary[3], though I have found no real justification for the charge. Others again while repeating the old well grounded charges of selfishness and rapacity[4] are more especially severe upon him for the criminal sloth[5] with which he let his country drift into the fatal gulf of Agincourt.

But it should be recognised that this view finds no place among the censures of his contemporaries, and it is very doubtful whether he ever really guided the destinies of France at all[6]. In the danger days of Burgundy and Orleans he withdrew till the storm should abate, and when the Cabochians were in power in Paris he trimmed to them by wearing the white bonnet[7] till he saw his way clear to operate their overthrow. When entertaining was to be done he represented France with tact and dignity[8], and if he gathered wealth by unholy means he poured it out not alone on vulgar jousts and junketing[9] but in the subtler channels of dainty hand-craft and delicate skill, and so in modern eyes his heavy faults are redeemed by his enlightened taste. His exactions are condoned by us who do not suffer under them, and we

[1] Cf. large et sage abandonné et familier à tout le monde, Bouvier, 431; Mamerot, 273.

Large Prince et abandonné
A gens de toutes nacions. Martial de Paris, i. 22.

[2] "The profligate old Duke," Hookham, i. 93; octogenaire vicieux et incapable, Bordier-Charton, i. 501; sensuel et devot, A. Michel, ii. 273, who says that he had jeté ses vues sur la fille du Duc de Lancastre; plus ami de ses plaisirs que de ses devoirs, A. Michel, ii. 329; ses excès sexuels, Brachet, 513.

[3] Cf. "a selfish and prodigal voluptuary," G. F. Warner in L. Scrope, xxxix.

[4] Les tyranniques exactions, l'avidité et l'avarice, Guérinière, ii. 11, 15, 23; son égoisme et sa rapacité, Grande Encycl. vi. 420; pillant sans scrupule et donnant sans discernement, Thibaudeau, i. 416; son avidité insatiable et ses exactions financières, Champeaux-Gauchery, 32; Bradley, i. 130; rapace et prodigue, Guiffrey, I. cxci; du tout louable dans son avarice, Serres, i. 962; avaricieux de son naturel, Gollut, 106; intolérables exactions, Collas, 86; le pire exacteur qu'on eut vu encore, Bouchot, Primitifs, 188.

[5] Page 121. Cf. lâcheté, H. Martin, vi. 25; le duc nefaste, Plauchut, 899; la tranquillité dorée qui lui était si chère, Gazette Archéol. (1887), 19.

[6] Cf. un épicurien, un bourreau d'argent, un amateur d'art, non un politique, Coville-Lavisse, 324; une nature politique, irrésolue, fantasque, Bouchot, Primitifs, 188. Cf. mené par les évènements plus qu'il ne les conduisait, Batiffol, 190.

[7] Porte le capheron blanc (see Vol. I. page 170) à la requeste de ceulx de Paris, Champion, Doc. 39; do. Vie, 113.

[8] In Capefigue, iv. 29, 39, he is l'homme modéré et conciliant, la véritable expression de la bourgeoisie riche. Cf. l'honnête bourgeoisie, la classe éclairée, A. Laborde, Paris Municip. 57, 58.

[9] Dufour, Famille, 124.

remember him as the great artistic personality of the later Middle Ages[1], the patron of letters[2], the most distinguished connoisseur of his own or any time[3], the almost fanatical amateur who shrank from no folly and stuck at no expense in gratifying a passion for collecting which nothing could satisfy or allay[4], and modern writers have proposed to dub him "John the Curioso[5]" while he spoke of himself as delighting in oddities and in nice and pretty things[6], and the lists of his collections prove his statement to the full. We still possess three detailed inventories of his personal belongings which were taken during the last 15 years of his life[7], and the property therein set out is so immensely valuable that a modern writer has been led to infer that the time was one of unexampled prosperity[8]. But it should be borne in mind that many of these articles were hansels or New Gifts[9] no sooner received than pledged or given away again[10], that a large number of the purchases were obtained on credit, ready cash being only procurable by

[1] Campeaux, 409.

[2] Besides Christine de Pisan and Jean d'Arras later we have Jacques le Grand who dedicated to the Duke his Livre de Bonnes Mœurs in 1410, Champollion-Figeac, Louis et Charles, 403; Suchier, v. 263. For his Sophologium written in Latin in 1380 and translated by himself into French before 1407 with the title Archiloge Sophie, see Oudin, iii. 2292; Champollion-Figeac, Louis et Charles, 401; Feret, iv. 350; Petit de Julleville, ii. 392; Lavallée, Jean sans Peur, 29; Wylie, iv. 66, note 1. It was printed in 1478, see Graesse quoted in Feret, iv. 350. For his poems, see Champollion-Figeac, Louis et Charles, 404. For letters of Montreuil to him, see Thomas, 37, 82. For 80 livres tourn. paid to him by Charles Duke of Orleans, Jan. 6, 1411, pour faire voyages en certains lieux, see Cagny, 72 note.

[3] Humphreys, 6; Girardot, 2; Gonse, 267; ce prince aux sciences, aux lettres et aux arts, Luce, i. 208, 212, 228; amateur passionné et éclairé des belles choses, Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 5; un homme de goût et un artiste, Batiffol, 76; il créa la carrière d'amateur, Bouchot, Primitifs, 163, 188. Müntz, Renaissance, 480, thinks that he was le premier de nos amateurs qui se soit reglé sur le goût italien.

[4] Ses caprices sans cesse renaissants, Gazette Archéol. (1887), p. 19; Guiffrey, I. xxxv; bon jusqu'à la faiblesse, Toulgeot-Treanna, 68; sa prodigalité ruineuse, Neuville, 96; tout à ses collections artistiques, Batiffol, 178, though called l'amateur méticuleux et délicat également raffiné dans ses crimes et dans ses jouissances intellectuelles, Müntz Sluter, 406; Quel collecteur raffiné! Renan, L'Art, 222; la folie possessive, Bouchot, Primitifs, 168.

[5] Gazette Archéol. (1887), p. 19; le curieux, Luce, i. 206, 228, who discovered his household accounts for the years 1373–1378 (p. 211). For his numerous accounts, see ibid. 209.

[6] Vous savez que nous prenons plaisir aux choses étranges, Salmon, 90; Champeaux, 411; Champeaux-Gauchery, 192; choses propres et plaisans, Champeaux, 410.

[7] viz. in 1401, 1413 and 1416. For inventories of Dec. 2, 1401, May 15, 1402 (at Melun) and May 29, 1402 (at Bourges), see Guiffrey, II. i. 50, 80. La plus importante collection sans comparaison que la France a possédé pendant le xve siècle, Müntz, Renaissance, 446.

[8] Guiffrey, I. xxiv, who thinks that they prove "the extreme wealth of the country and its inexhaustible resources."

[9] Guiffrey, I. c.

[10] Ibid. I. xxxi, lvii, 59.

constant repledging[1] as soon as credit had to be renewed, and when death called for a final settling-up his executors found claims amounting to over 200,000 gold crowns sent in by foreign merchants[2] and had to sell off everything in haste for whatever it would fetch[3]. He bought everything that credit could buy. He had soil brought from Bethlehem or from the root of Pharaoh's fig-tree in whose trunk the Virgin and the Holy Child crouched as they fled into Cairo[4]; he had some also from the Holy Sepulchre, from the valley of Jehoshaphat and St Catherine's tomb on Mount Sinai[5]. But apart from any such hallowed associations, mere freaks and rarities[6] whether in nature or art had a special fascination for him, and so we find among his curios narwhals' teeth[7], boars' tusks[8], stag-beetles' horns[9], porcupines' quills[10], snakes' jaws[11], a cup made of an ostrich egg[12] and a molar-tooth of a giant[13]; and when a giant's bones, perhaps some antediluvian fossils[14], were found near Lyons in 1378 he sent at once to buy them up and had them forwarded to him at his castle at Nonette. Among his gems he had river-stones (probably amethysts) from Le Puy in Velay[15], agates[16], corals, pebbles, garnets, jacinths, cat's-eyes[17], mother of pearl[18], toadstones[19] and a stone called "ycle[20]" which no one has yet been able to identify.

[1] Noces, 238.

[2] St Denys, vi. 33; Baye, ii. 255; Toulgeot-Treanna, 133, 135.

[3] They valued the whole collection at 158,000 livres, Guiffrey, i. clxxxviii.

[4] Se mussèrent en Egypte, Guiffrey, ii. 113; Wylie, iii. 174; en la fige qui est moult grosse et creuse, Anglure, 58.

[5] For oil from the coffin of St Catherine, see Weber, 127; cf. Anglure, 52; called "ung tombeau de marbre blanc" in Thenaud, 72, who saw it in 1512; see also Lannoy, 46.

[6] Un curieux de raretés, De la Borde, 298.

[7] Called the unicorn or licorne, Guiffrey, i. 166, 167, 303. For picture of a unicorn (1458), see Durrieu, Boccace, 12; also of hunting the unicorn, Omont, Livre, Pl. 59, 60. For Bestiaries by Guillaume Clerc de Normandie with the story of the licorne, see Faguet, 99 [84]. For carved representation where the young girl is riding on the beast from the cathedral at Lyons, see Mâle, 56, who regards it as a symbol of the incarnation (p. 57).

[8] Guiffrey, i. 151.

[9] Cerf-volant, ibid. i. 147.

[10] Ibid. i. 153.

[11] Ibid. i. 153.

[12] Ibid. i. 195.

[13] Les ossements d'un jayant, Luce, i. 227. For the molar-tooth of a giant among his collections, see Guiffrey, i. 154.

[14] Supposed to be a hippopotamus in Guiffrey, i. 154.

[15] Ibid. i. 154.

[16] For achates as a charm, see Lydg. Troy Bk. 101; Halliwell, i. 15.

[17] Guiffrey, i. 158, 162; ii. 34.

[18] Ibid. i. 150.

[19] Pierres crapaudines, ibid. i. 142; ii. 106.

[20] Guiffrey, i. 154. For "stones of Israel," i.e. cheynes, carnelian (corneole, see Murray, Dict., s.v. *Carneol*), chalcedony (calsidoyne), see Baildon, Inv. 169, 170; possibly

The aviaries[1] in his gardens at the Hostel de Nesle in Paris were stocked with peacocks, ostriches, quails, parrots[2], partridges, starlings[3], nightingales, calanders[4] and other interesting birds. One item shows that Queen Isabel sent him a pair of turtle-doves; in another an unnamed woman makes him a present of a goldfinch[5]; in another we get the ingredients[6] of the orpiment[7] used by his fowler when a hawk[8] was ailing, and birds small and great form a constant motive for ornamentation in the margins of his books[9]. In the menageries[10] in his parks he kept dromedaries[11], stags[12], wolves, bears and apes[13] clogged with wooden balls[14].

aigle, i.e. the Eagle stone; aetites (aquilinus lapis) as assisting parturition and preventing convulsions (chaud mal), Brachet, 623=pierre d'aigle, see Brachet, 596; Murray, Dict., s.v. *Aetites*; Littré, s.v. *Aetite*.

[1] Toulgeot-Treanna, 130, 163. For pictures of caged birds, see Vigne, ii. 16, Plate 38 (14th century); Lacroix, 87 (15th century). For le cage at Hesdin belonging to the Duke of Burgundy qui est le plus grant de ce royaume, see Menagier, ii. 253. For caged larks kept by the nuns of the Trinity Abbey at Caen for which they were censured as a breach of the Benedictine Rule at the visitations of 1250 and 1256, see Beaurepaire, 117, 123. Cf.

> Le oisillon du vert bocage
> Qunt il est pris et mis en cage.
>
> Roman de la Rose, in Demogeot, 124.

[2] Caige d'un papegal, Guiffrey, i. 51.

[3] Guiffrey, I. p. cxxx.

[4] i.e. a species of lark, *Alauda Calandra*, Murray, Dict., s.v. For payments to a piscener for two monkeys, one (popejay) parrot and three calaundr', see Iss. Roll 4 H. V, Mich., March 19, 1417; corrupted into "carnal," Halliwell, 227; Ogilvie, Dict., s.v. *Calandra*. Cf. "a carnal and a crane," Child, Ballads, II. iv (1885), quoted in Murray, s.v., where the suggested derivation is from "corneille," i.e. a crow.

[5] Chardernneau, Guiffrey, I. p. cxxx.

[6] viz. blackthorn juice boiled in oil with pulverized barks, Toulgeot-Treanna, 152.

[7] Chaucer, Yeman, 16242; or Orpin, Cellini, 26, where it is a yellow pigment, i.e. Arsenious sulphide As_2S_3.

[8] See Vol. I. page 326. For poultry for feeding the falcons of Anne Dauphine, Duchess of Bourbon, at Montbrison, see Fréminville, 4, showing 7 falconers and 3 valets required to attend to 12 falcons, 2 sakers (sacrets), 1 tiercelet and 4 lanners (laniers) eating 615 hens from May 16 to Nov. 1410.

[9] Humphreys, 5. For a peacock, ape, porcupine and weasel in a page of his Book of Hours, see Durrieu, Turin, Plate xxxvi.

[10] For the Duke of Burgundy's menagerie in the park at Hesdin in 1410, where there were a camel and song-birds and birds of gay plumage in a cage (*gayolle*, see Godefroy, s.v. *Jaiole*), see Durrieu, 115. For the parc de Hesdin, see Débat, 6, 57; Pyne, 12. For the goût des bêtes fauves, see Gebhart, Renaissance, 52. For the collection of caged birds and beasts at Angers in 1466, see Rozmital, 53. For cost of stags, bears, &c. parked at Ripaille and Thouon 1391–1444, see Brachet, 399. For Gian Galeazzo's park at Pavia 1360, see Collas, 34.

[11] Toulgeot-Treanna, 163, where one of them is physicked with wine, salt and ointment (oingt). Cf. Guiffrey, I. p. cxxx.

[12] Guiffrey, i. 163, where a woman is paid to make le burre pour norrir la biche. For les bichatz (i.e. fawns) de Madame (i.e. the Duchess of Savoy) at Ripaille, see Brachet, 400.

[13] For pictures of monkeys from the Bestiary, see Cahier, i. 124; cf. with a strawe pleyeth like an ape, Lydg. Troy Bk. 309.

[14] For the ape-clog as the badge of the Earl of Suffolk (d. 1450), see Paston Lett. Introd. p. lxxvii; Doyle, iii. 438; Ruprich-Robert, Pl. clxv, carved in the cathedral at

Every year on St Eloi's Day[1] he made an offering for his horses and his marshal[2] kept a stock of the usual ointments[3] and plasters[4] ready in case any of them should be down with a chill or with grapes in the foot or canker in the body[5].

Dogs were his special delight, and his accounts show endless items relating to his great alans[6] and mastiffs[7] in

Bayeux; cf. Jack Napes with his cloge and his chayn, Pol. Songs, ii. 232, from Vesp. B. xvi. fol. 1; Pol. Relig. Po. 6, fr. MS. Lambeth in John Stow's handwriting, 306, f. 51; Ritson, 56, who wrongly assigns the poem to 1399 instead of 1450; cf. 1 clogg jacente ad hostium, Test. Ebor. iii. 118 (1451).

[1] i.e. June 25, Toulgeot-Treanna, 155. For St Eloi as the patron of farriery and horses, see Cahier, 209. For 18*d.* paid by the Abbot of Montivilliers as les offrandes des chevaux when they were taken to the church of St Eloi at Canville in 1427, see Dumont, Montivilliers, 44 (probably Canville-les-deux-Eglises near Doudeville, Seine Inférieure). For 2*s.* paid to the carters of the Hôtel Dieu in Paris faire les offerandes des chevaux le jour de St Elloy, see Coyecques, i. 39. For 1 lb. of wax in candle to burn in the church of St Eloi at Bordeaux in 1404 à cause de la maladie de chevaux, see Bontails, Bordeaux, 130, where sang dragon is amongst the necessaries for cheval bai malade d'un pied for one of the Archbishop's horses. For two candles offered at the church of St Eloi at Noyon in 1449 for his horses by Charles Duke of Orleans, see Champion, Vie, 371. For wax for the marshal of Louis II Duke of Anjou, June 1, 1415, see P. Guillaume, Gap. 46.

[2] For 2*s.* 10*d.* pro 17 sotularibus equinis in equis domini imponendis, see Lyte, Dunster, 121.

[3] Oynementis and confeccions, Lydg. Troy Bk. 222; sondry gommes and oynementis soot, ibid. 308. For the onyment called sandal (i.e. Triasendale), see Lydg. Burgh, 64, 114.

[4] York, 55.

[5] Guiffrey, i. 154. For physicking sick horses, see Wylie, iv. 463; vert degris, Débat, 43. For verdigris (vertgrese) ½*d.* and white wine (1*d.*) for a sick horse, also 2*d.* pro sepe recenti pro pedibus equorum, also pro unguento pro pedibus equorum, see Lyte, Dunster, 51, 115, 122. For vert degris from copper and vinegar as a pigment, see Cellini, 29. For prices of horses ranging from 68 to 120 or 140 livr. tour., see Toulgeot-Treanna, 155. For a horse qui avoit eu feu es deux coustes et avoit este farsineux de la jambe gauche devant et aussi estoit boutonné de farsin (scab) en une des jambes d'arrière, see Aussy, iii. 190; also a farrier qui print une tailheplume et la bouta par les jambes aupres de la pestrine (i.e. pastern) pour faire saner les voines, ibid. iii. 194.

[6] i.e. boar-hounds, Guiffrey, i. 149, 151; called a wolf-hound in Murray, Dict., s.v. *Alan*; Real lymeris with alauntes huge, Lydg. Min. Po. 164. For picture of "alains" with spiked collars, see Coudere, Pl. 21. Cf.

> About his char ther wenten white alauns
> Twenty and mo as gret as any stere
> To hunten at the leon or the dere
> And followed him with mosel fast ybound,
> Colered with gold and torettes filed round.
>
> Chaucer, Knight's Tale, 2150.

For "no grett houndes ne byches" to go in the highway, see Cov. Leet, i. 27. Cf. grete houndes and stronge, Secreta, 227, where "the homyst (upper) lippe closyth to the emyste (lower) lippe." For picture of the Hallali with dogs with short snouts, see Schultz, 525. For alaunts with muzzles and spiked collars, see Coudere, Pl. 21; York, 64, Plate xviii. For turrets (i.e. rings), see Wylie, iv. 196; York, 144; une toret d'or, Baildon, Inv. 164; or tyrette, E. W. Weekley in Philological Society 4/6/09, p. 20; or Terret, Halliwell, ii. 859. For canis alanus, see York, 115, where it is a strong ferocious dog used for boar hunting, bull- and bear-baiting from the country of the Alani in the Caucasus. For description of the alaunt, see York, 64, where it is "stordy (estourdiz july felle) and with great heads, great lips and ears but not so good witte as many other hounds have," but "the best for to hold and for to nyme al manere beestis and hold myztely." They are

[7] For note see next page.

his kennels[1] in Auvergne. Several of their pet names are known, such as "Lion," "Chaplain," "Prince," or "Saracen[2]." When they threatened rabies[3] he sent them to the sea-shore for the mysterious ninth wave to wash over

called "gret bocheris hounds" or "alauntz of the bocherie" (York, 65) and "vewters" (alauntz veuntres), though obviously different from the greyhound; cf. chased as the grefhound dothe the Fox, Secreta, 174. For account of the greyhound (levrier), see York, 62, Plate xvii, where it has "a long head in manere of a bace" (? pike or bass) and red or black eyes like a sparrowhawk, is straight near the back like a lamprey, good, kindly and clean, glad and joyful and playing, well willing and goodly to all maner folks save to wild beasts upon whom he should be "felle spitous and egre"; a cross from them produced the mastiff or mongrel, ibid. 68. Let seche mastifis renne at the boor, ibid. 65; Great myghty masties to baite the bere and bul, Débat, 59, 157. Cf. Thei fled fro him as hares from the hounde, Laud Troy Bk. 184, 189, 207. For picture of mastiffs, see Coudere, Pl. 25. For account of the mastiff (mâtin), see ibid. 68, 175, Plate xx, where it is of "churlish nature and foul shape where nature is not to be tendrily norshed" (? nourished—though possibly "nosed," cf. the most tendir nosed, York, 94) but might be trained into a barslet (probably a shooting dog, see Halliwell, i. 145, 165, 166) or to "bring a wanlace (=winding (or doubling), Stratmann, 668; Halliwell, ii. 915) about" (cf. wanlasour or beater-up of game). For book of accounts of Berton-Senadre, Treasurer and Receiver-General to Duke of Berry, see Mazure, 500.

[7] Mâtins and mâtines, Luce, i. 223.

[1] For his kennels at Nonette, see Guiffrey, i. 224. For chenil (kennel) for dogs, see Joubert, Vie, 166. For hunting dogs with short snouts, see Gaston-Phoebus (*passim*) with Plates; Coudere, Pl. 19, 22, 23, 25 and *passim*, with a similar type on the brass of Richard Dyxton (d. 1438) at Cirencester, in Waller. For a lap-dog with a short snout on brass of Catherine wife of John Leventhorpe at Sawbridgeworth, see Waller; Wylie, iv. 116. For pictures of dogs with ladies, see Lacroix, 77, 87, 146. For chiens fauves de Bretaigne, hourets de Poitou, chiens noirs de St Hubert, limiers (setters or bloodhounds), bassets, spaniels (chiens Espagneuls), chiens courants, see Joubert, Vie, 169. For brachetts (=odoris equus), see G. J. Turner, 136; brachet, Melusine, 1; Wylie, iii. 325; leverers, Rot. Parl. iv. 92. For a greyhound (levrier) with a collar in banquet scene in Chantilly Heures, see Chantilly, i. Plate. For dog-collar (colier à levrier) of black and white silk with the motto "A ma vie," see Guiffrey, 41. For rebus or "name device," see Baines, i. 282.

[2] For "Terri" as the name of a dog on the brass of John Cassy (d. 1400) and his wife Alice at Deerhurst near Tewkesbury, see Gough, II. 3, 349; Waller, Gent. Mag. (1840), N. S. xiii. 142; Wylie, ii. 183; iv. 424; also "Jakke" on the brass of Brian Stapleton at Ingham, Norfolk, Gough, I. cxxiv, 119; also "Howgo," i.e. Hugo, on brass at Tolleshunt-Knights (Essex) in Gough, I. cxxiv, 211. For Richard II's dog "Matt" or "Math," see Froiss. iii. 350; Usk, 41, 196, where the dog which had previously belonged to the Earl of Kent, and had gone over to Richard ex proprio sensu comes to Bolingbroke in the Abbey at Shrewsbury, having found its way thither alone from Caermarthen. For a similar story, see York, 171, where Charles of Blois' greyhound goes over to Jean de Montfort before the battle of Auray in 1364. For Charles Duke of Orleans' dogs called "Baude" and "Briquet," le vieil Briquet aux pendantes oreilles, see York, 196, fr. Hericault. For bold-hound (=chien-baud), see York, 59, 92, 186. For five breeds of hunting dogs, see York, Plate xiv. For picture from Twici, see J. C. Cox, 50. For picture of kennels, see Coudere, Pl. 27.

[3] For seven different forms of "the rage" or "woodnesse" in dogs, see York, 47, 174; also J. C. Cox, 140; Coudere, Pl. 20, with a picture representing the treatment of sick dogs, such as bathing, bandaging, physicking with boluses; see also Plate xv. For an ointment for the mange (manewe) made of quicksilver and verdigris mixed with the spittle of a fasting man medled on the fire and stirred with a pot stick, see York, 70. Other diseases of dogs are the canker, the fistula, the farcy, the rail (Pterygium), the latter causing blindness, the malemort or glanders in the nostrils (noosetherlis or thorilles) (French morve). For cancre (=a siknesse in the yerde, i.e. the penis or the pintle (York, 58; Halliwell, ii. 626)) in the dog, called "her nature" in the bitch, see York, 54. Cf. Murray, Dict., s.v.

them[1], and we have a curious note about one of the little ones being rescued from an ignominious death in the gong[2], while it should ever be remembered to his honour that he went personally to see a dog that would not leave its master's grave at Niort in 1373 and gave 10 francs to a neighbour to find the faithful creature in food for the remainder of its life[3]. He dressed his dwarfs[4] and fools[5] in liveries of brown Brussels morekin[6]. His favourite wine[7] was kept in two large silver casks and he was particularly partial to bream pie with truffles[8] and Berry cheese[9] and rissoles made of beef-marrow[10]. But these things cannot be indulged in with impunity, and so when he put on his armour at the siege of Bourges four years before his death he had to have a trap-door[11] let into it to make it fit him in his old age. No wonder then that he had his periodical blood-lettings[12] with his barber[13], at which times

[1] York, 174, 188; Guiffrey, I. cxxv, cxxvi. For one of them sent from Rouen to St Michel-en-Laye for sea-bathing, see Toulgeot-Treanna, 151. For pictures of dogs, see Coudere, Pl. 19.

Et sy a cinquante chiens
Laiz et veluz et anciens. Songe, 302.

For sick dogs, see Lacroix, 223. For picture of the treatment of sick dogs from Gaston-Phoebus, see Lacroix, Seré Chasse, viii. For 302 setiers of rye (seigle) for the Count of Armagnac's dogs, see Affre, Aveyron, i. 225. For masses for dogs of Louis Duke of Orleans, see Wylie, iv. 284. For la messe des chiens on St Hubert's Day at Chantilly, see Joanne, Novel, 7; Brachet, clxviii.

[2] Chambres aisées, Guiffrey, i. 151.

[3] Menagier de Paris (Pichon), i. 93, 94. For 3*s.* 4*d.* for one year's hire of 1 domus pro canibus, see Lyte, Dunster, 121; Luce, i. 225. For mediaeval stories of the fidelity and sagacity of dogs, see York, 42, where "the hound is the most resonable beest and beste knowing of any beest that ever God made"; cf. "the witte and the knowleche that God hath geven to good hounds," ibid. 60. For dogs on tombs as an emblem of fidelity, see Stacke, i. 688. For pet dog on brass of Annabella Chetwode (d. 1430) at Warkworth near Banbury, see F. Hudson, Pl. 12.

[4] Called Wm. Guerin and *Messire* Robert de Boquet in Guiffrey, i. 159.

[5] Called Plantefolie and Hannequinet, Toulgeot-Treanna, 106, 158.

[6] Morequin brun de Broisselles, Toulgeot-Treanna, 127; cf. Godefroy, s.v. *Molequin*. For Brussels cloth, see Add. Charters, 2030; Wylie, iv. 283. Cf. fin violet de Bruxelles, Toulgeot-Treanna, 104; bruselle rouge, Brachet, 459; vert gay de Brucelles, Roman, 64; drap iraigne (also ecarlate vermeille) de Bruxelles, Collas, 249; iraigne (i.e. web or lawn, Fleming, s.v. *Araignée*; cf. Godefroy, s.v. *Iraignée*; Thibault, 88) de Brucelle to make cornettes for chaperons, ibid. 184, 186, 190; cf. the arayn hath made her webbe, York, 77; Murray, Dict., s.v. *Arain*.

[7] Vin de bouche, Guiffrey, ii. 48. His accounts refer to wine of Beaune, Thouars, Sancerre, Saint Satur, St Pourcain and Bourges, Toulgeot-Treanna, 169. For his copper wine coolers (reffroideurs a vin), see Guiffrey, I. cxxxiii, 77.

[8] Luce, i. 216, who quotes (p. 219) Deschamps' warning against using them.

[9] Toulgeot-Treanna, 170, 173. Called l'épicurie glabre, Bouchot, Primitifs, 165.

[10] Menagier, ii. 2–6.

[11] Fausse porte, Toulgeot-Treanna, 113.

[12] Cf. have mesure in blodelettynge, Secreta, 237; noo tyme is more covenable to lette bloode, ibid. 244.

[13] Toulgeot-Treanna, 170, 173; Luce, i. 214. Cf. frequentationem balnei ut stuppae

he usually played a raffle[1] with the dice as a sedentary diversion during the subsequent periods of convalescence; and when he was ill he was dosed with the finest syrups and lectuaries ground up with pearls and gold which were supposed to be exceedingly soothing as laxatives[2]. In an age renowned for its spacious and majestic buildings with their airy pinnacles[3] and lacy stone[4] he was the most sumptuous of builders[5]. During his long life he is said to have built seventeen castles and palaces[6], but in this number must be included his restorations and extensions. He built the great Palace[7] at Bourges on the site of the forum of the old Roman city of Avaricum whose foundations have been traced below the ruined cellars that he erected on the top of them[8], and to the Palace he added its Sainte Chapelle[9]

et phlebotomiae, Lib. Nig. Scac. ii. 255. For "barbery," see South, p. xi. For picture of bleeding in a bath, see Cassell, ii. 51, from Harl. MS. 4425. For four barbers at St Flour (Auvergne) in 1414, see Bouchet-Grand, 43. For a "barbouris launcet," see York, 49. For ordinances dated May 6, 1415, July 4, 1416, to prevent inexperienced barbers from treating serious cases, surveyors being appointed to whom all such cases were to be reported, see Riley, Mem. 608; Letter Bk. I, 135. For unsuccessful attempts of the Surgeons' Guild to prevent the London barbers from making incisions, phlebotomy &c., see Lett. Bk. I, 85; S. Young, 28, 39; Power, 3, 14, who calls it "cupping and bleeding." For regulation that no barber should display blood in his window in London, see Lib. Alb. 250. For statutes of barber-surgeons at Bordeaux in 1415, see Jurade, 224. For bleeding of monks, see Harris, 18. For barbers called surgeons of the short robe in France, see Arderne, xviii, quoting South's Craft of Surgery, also Medical Magazine, 1899. At Rouen in 1407 the barber's apprentice was expected to be able faire une lancette bonne et souffisante pour saignier toutes vaines, E. H. Langlois, 150. For a barber lathering and soaping a customer and bleeding an arm, see ibid.

[1] See Cotgrave, s.v. *Raffle.*

[2] Toulgeot-Treanna, 166. For medecyns laxatifs, see Secreta, 244, 247.

[3] Lydg. Troy Bk. 329.

[4] Ces tourelles aeriennes de dentelles de pierre que nous admirons et que ce peuple maudissait, Michelet, v. 123.

[5] La rage de bâtir, Bouchot, Primitifs, 166.

De noble courage addonné
En joyaulx habitacions. Martial de Paris, i. 22.

Cf. tout entier aux constructions fastueuses, Batiffol, 76.

[6] Gilles, 223 (edition 1570); Dupleix, ii. 720; Gazette Archéologique (1887), p. 20, quoting La Thaumassière, Chaumeau, 137. Cf. plusieurs palais chasteaulx et maisons plaisantes, Cousinot, 138.

[7] Raynal, ii. 409; Champeaux-Gauchery, 21, 63–66; Plates 20–24. For the Grosse Tour, see La Barre, Mem. i. 276, 297; Chaumeau, 226; Wylie, iv. 85, note 6.

[8] Dumontet, 110, 116, with plan of the excavations in Pl. I.

[9] The architect was Drouet son of Guy de Dammartin, Stein, 87. It was begun in 1391, Champeaux-Gauchery, 24; Guiffrey, I. p. xxxiv (not 1400, as Romelot, 246), and said to have been completed and dedicated on April 15, 1405, Raynal, ii. 443, 449; called 1405 in Stein, 87, though in his will he urged the king to see to it that the foundation was completed, i.e. probably as regards endowment, D. Godefroy, 676. For glass-windows in it, see Champeaux-Gauchery, Pl. 33, with a reference to Des Méloizes, Vitraux de la Cathedrale de Bourges (not in British Museum). For the Ste Chapelle at Châteaudun built by Jean Count of Dunois in 1465, see Bordas, i. 248.

in imitation of St Louis' Chapel in Paris[1] from which he had obtained a fragment of the True Cross[2]. He built another palace and another Sainte Chapelle at Riom[3]. He rebuilt or greatly enlarged the castles at Lusignan[4], Nonette[5],

[1] For picture of the interior of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, with the relics, see De Witt, 273; see also Sauvan, i. 49, and Plates; also in the Duke of Bedford's Pontifical, f. 83 v°, Vallet de Viriville, MSS. précieux, xxi. 478; see also Didot, 43. For six Saintes Chapelles in France, viz. at Bourges, Dijon, Riom, Vincennes, Vivier-en-Brie and Paris, see Grande Encycl. x. 558; "P.D.L." iii adds St Germain-en-Laye. The architect was Hugues Joly who began his work in 1383, Stein, 87. Called quoddam habitaculum infra septa domus seu Palatii regalis Parisiensis in quo fulget thesaurus admirabilis (including ipsa corona spinea atque lignum crucis vivificae), Rym. x. 73; cf. quasi regia summi solis Paradisi margaritis ornata fulgescit celsis et caelestibus elevata columpnis, ibid. 79. Called nostre Chapelle Real de nostre Palais a Paris de la Sainte Courons (*sic*) et de la Saint (*sic*) Croix, du Saint Glanie (*sic*) et touz les autres saintes reliques qui sont en la Saint (*sic*) Chapelle Roialle (p. 80), or "Capellae nostrae regiae Paris," or "sacrae Capellae Palatii regii Parisius" (p. 82). It was begun in 1245 (called 1241 in Lethaby, 121, who quotes (p. 122) a ballad temp. Henry III, where the writer wants to cart it off bodily to England, see Pol. Songs) and consecrated in 1248, and contained the Crown of Thorns and the piece of the True Cross purchased by St Louis from Constantinople in 1239, Guilhermy, 2, who calls it la plus belle oratoire du monde entier. For Ste Chapelle at Vic-le-Comte founded by John Stuart Duke of Albany, who married Anne de Latour Countess of Auvergne in the 16th century, see "P.D.L." pp. 21–24. For the county of Vic-le-Comte, see Mazure, 187. It was formerly the capital of the county of Clermont-in-Auvergne, but Clermont afterwards became a separate county under its bishop, Mazure, 189, 190. For picture of the chapel and of Maison du Chancelier De L'Hopital at Aigueperse, see A. Michel, iii. 148; do. Atlas, 134. For the chapel at Aigueperse founded in 1475 by Louis de Bourbon Count of Montpensier, see "P.D.L." pp. 13–19, with the statue (probably Charles VIII) described (p. 16) (though supposed to be Louis XII, Montégut (Bourbonnais), p. 120), quoting P. Cuchet, Chronologie des seigneurs comtes et ducs et pairs de Montpensier. For a pathological study of Louis IX (1214–1270), see Brachet, 353–408.

[2] It (i.e. the Sainte Chapelle at Bourges) was blessed in 1405 by Pierre Trousseau who was Bishop of Poitiers from 1409 till 1413 (Gams, 602), was made Archbishop of Rheims on May 2, 1413 (Gams, 609; Eubel, i. 440) but died in Paris Dec. 16, 1413, and was buried in the cathedral at Bourges. For his epitaph, in which he is called Trousselli, see Gall. Christ. ix. 135; Eubel, i. 419; called Trusselli in Gall. Christ. ii. 1189 (?489), or Trousseli, Gams, i. 602.

[3] Champeaux-Gauchery, 53–56. For windows in the Sainte Chapelle at Riom, see Lasteyrie, Plates lix [lxix], lx; Gazette Archéol. (1887), p. 27; Bouchot, Primitifs, 189. For picture of Riom, see Durrieu, Très riches Heures, Plate v; Rev. de l'Art Chrétien, vii. 571. For account of Riom, see Desrues, 266; Deniol, 329; Tardieu, Dictionnaire, 277. For pictures, see F. Michel, iv. Plates 17, 18; Westlake, iii. 120. For 3 Saintes Chapelles in Auvergne, viz. at Riom, Aigueperse and Vic-le-Comte, see Thevenot, 33; "P.D.L." pp. iii, iv, who notes that they are all attached to palaces. For the Sainte Chapelle at Dijon destroyed in 1802 on site of present theatre, see Chabeuf, 83; do. Monuments, 211.

[4] Champeaux-Gauchery, 17, 60. For the bastide de Lusignan, see Noces, 521, 525; Chantilly, 66; Roy, 6. Called le nid d'aigle in Luce, i. 221, with pictures in C. Robuchon, 5, 21; Champeaux-Gauchery, Plate 18; Durrieu, Très riches Heures, Plate iii. For recovery of the castle from the English in 1373, see Baudot, 125, 130. For picture and plan of the siege in 1574, see Robuchon, Lusignan, 11, 17; also of the ruins in 1782, ibid. 2.

[5] Champeaux-Gauchery, 56, Plate 9, near Issoire in Auvergne (Puy de Dôme). He rebuilt it in 1374, Noces, 220, 221, 226, 242; called Usson-la-Nonette in Gilles, 223 (edition 1570); Belleforest, Chron. 322; Deniol, 432; but Usson a few miles further east is a different place though belonging also to the Duke of Berry, Champeaux-Gauchery, p. 57. For the castrum de la Noneta included in the grant of Auvergne made to the Duke of Berry in 1360, see A. Michel, ii. 327.

Mehun-sur-Yèvre[1], Concressault[2], Usson[3] and Issoire[4], and carried out extensive works at Gien, Etampes[5], Montargis, Dourdan[6] and Boulogne. In Paris he had enlarged the great Hostel de Nesle[7] that had been given to him by King Charles VI in 1380, adding gardens and stables, and turned it into a veritable fortress[8]. On the North side of the river he owned a hostel at the Temple[9] and without the walls were his hostel of Genouilly[10] and La Grange-aux-Mercier at Bercy[11] and the castle of Bicêtre[12]

[1] Champeaux-Gauchery, 5–7, 49–52, Plates 1, 2; Gazette Archéol. (1887), pp. 21–25; Raynal, ii. 412. Not "Mehun-sur-Eure," as Chaumeau, 273; nor "Melun-sur-Yeure," as Mély, 109. For contemporary picture in the Heures de Chantilly, see Delisle, Heures, 36; Chantilly, 66; Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 23, 24, 246, where it is called un vrai musée de sculptures. For pictures of it in 1731 with plan, see Wellon, 417. For description, see Thaumas, i. 208; Hoffbauer, ii, Hotel de Nesle, 7; Champeaux-Gauchery, 4, 7, Plates 1, 2, 3. For carving at Mehun-sur-Yèvre by André de Beauneveu, see Lami, 41; Marcon, 40, with extract from Froissart, Bk. IV. chap. xiv. On the death of the Duke of Berry it passed to the Dauphin as chevaucheur de l'Ecurie, afterwards Chas. VII, who spent Christmas there in 1420, instituting Gilles le Bouvier Berry King of Arms, Vallet de Viriville, i. 255; Bouvier, Description, 6. For picture of Bouvier in a tabard presenting his book to Chas. VII, see ibid. Frontispiece, from MS. fr. 4985.

[2] Chaumeau, 275; Gazette Archéol. (1887), p. 25.

[3] For castle at Usson in Le Forez (Loire) bought by Duke of Berry Oct. 13, 1387, from Jean II Count of Auvergne le mauvais menagier (A. Michel, ii. 270, 370) and enlarged and beautified by him, see Tardieu, Dict. 343. Not Husson, as Bouchot, Primitifs, 166, 171.

[4] For account of Issoire, see Michel, iii. 173. For picture of church at Issoire, see Tardieu, Auvergne, 227. For account of Issoire, do. Dict. 184; with picture, Michel, Atlas, 30; Lethaby, 130. For picture of the church, Rev. de l'Art Chrétien, année VII. p. 196.

[5] For picture of the castle at Etampes in Chantilly Heures, see Chantilly, 66; Durrieu, Très riches Heures, Plate viii.

[6] For his fortification of the town of Dourdan, see Guiffrey, i. 303. For a picture of Dourdan, see Durrieu, Très riches Heures, Plate iv, with boats fishing with a net in the Orge.

[7] For picture (now lost) of Duke of Orleans decorating Duke of Berry with the order of the porcupine in the Hotel de Nesle, see Bouchot, Primitifs, 177; Duchesne, Antiquitez, 111; Bonnardot, Plate xii. 3; Sauval, ii. 181; Champeaux-Gauchery, 30, 31, 67–70, Plates 34, 35, 36; Berty, iii. 134, 167, who gives its position on plans of 1609, 1615. For picture of it circ. 1455 with the Tour de Nesle formerly called the Tour de Philippe Hammelin, see Berty, i. 149; Babeau, 35, 145; Zeller, Invasion, 483; Legrand, 42; Cassell, i. 558; Lavallée, Paris, 20, 25; Belloe, 254, 255; Bournon, 30; Duruy, ii. 149; Hamerton, 11; Bearne, 202; called Hôtel de Neelle, Ordonnances, xi. 79 (where the Louvre is à l'opposite de Neelle); domus de Nigella, St Denys, iv. 418; muri domus Nigelli procincte urbis conjuncti, Lavallée, Jean sans Peur, 30. Cf. à Neelle chez monseigneur de Berry, Juv. 527; or Hôtel de Nesles, Sellier, 45. For letters of the Duke of Berry dated Paris en nostre hostel de Neelle Nov. 6, Dec. 20, 1414, see Gironde, x. 560; Huillard-Bréholles, ii. 197; Longnon, Paris, 89; or Maison de Nelle in Waurin, ii. 333 [315]; not to be confounded with the Maison de Nesle near the Palais Royal, Piton, 256, 277; called the Hotel de Bohême, see page 287, note 3.

[8] Gazette Archéol. (1877), p. 209.

[9] For payments (1413) to a natier (? matmaker) for 45 toises de nates for the Duke of Berry en son hostel du Temple for his chambre, galeries, comptouer et retraiz, see Toulgeot-Treanna, 111.

[10] Near Gragny (Cher) in Berry, Champeaux-Gauchery, 52; Gazette Archéologique (1887), p. 20.

[11] Champeaux-Gauchery, 4; Gonse, 267.

[12] Or Vicestre, so called from its original founder Jean de Pontoise, who was Bishop

which he acquired some 16 years before his death and rebuilt[1] with a lavish profusion of ornament richly built and painted[2] by the genius of Dammartin and Beauneveu[3] only to see the whole set ablaze by an infuriated Paris mob, and ever since those days it has been a house of eternal gloom, connected with human degradation, degeneracy and depravity, whether as hospice, prison, madhouse, lock hospital or detention house for victims of venereal disease[4]. At Bourges besides building the Palace he finished the west front of the cathedral[5] with its grand carved entrance[6], its great rose window[7] and its fine crocketed gable still known as the holly leaf or hulver[8], in which he placed the great clock[9]. At Poitiers he built a great part of the castle[10] that stood at the junction of the

of Winchester from 1284 to 1304, Gams, 199. Cf. domum nostram de Wincestre sitam prope Gentiliacum (i.e. Gentilly), D. Godefroy, 675 (1416); Champeaux-Gauchery, 31, Plates 37, 38, 39; Grande Encycl. vi. 684; Chantilly, i. 66, with Plate. The picture in the Heures de Chantilly that has hitherto passed for Bicêtre is now pronounced to be an accurate representation of Saumur, Durrieu, Très riches Heures, Plate ix.

Et sy y a pierres plusieurs
Et moult de diverses couleures.

Songe Veritable, 302, in Brachet, 527.

[1] It was rebuilt in 1400, Dulaure, i. 30. For 1000 livr. raised in Picardy pour les ouvrages de l'ostel de Vincestre, April 24, 1410, see Beauville, iv. 102; cf. Chasteau de Vicestre qui estoit moult bel hostel, Raoulet, 163. For expenses at Bicêtre, see Champeaux-Gauchery, 76, 77. Cf. l'hotel que on dit de Wincestre where Henry of Derby had his interview with Archbishop Arundel in 1399, see Froiss. iii. 341. For remains of its "crypte immense" still existing in the cellars, see Ménorval, ii. 37.

[2] Juv. 465.

[3] From 1393 onwards, Lasteyrie, 81. See page 423, note 8. For account of the *painter* Guy de Dammartin, see Champeaux-Gauchery, 73.

[4] A cloaca of obscene infamies, Tighe Hopkins, 117. For picture and plans, see Grande Encycl. vi. 688; Edwards, ii. 221–224; Bouchot, Primitifs, 178. For modern picture, see Joanne, i. 44, who adds foundlings, beggars, juvenile thieves, fous et epileptiques; now a hostel for viellards and aliénés.

[5] For the cathedral at Bourges, see Parkes-Belloc, 5; Baring-Gould, Troubadourland, 312; Bearne, 256. For its 13th century windows, see Westlake, i. 62, 128–131; iii. 119, 120; A. Martin and Callier; Mâle, 225, 409; also A. Des Méloizes, Vitraux peints de la Cathédrale de Bourges, Paris, 1891–1897 (not in British Museum). For 15th century picture of the west front, see Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 115, Plate xxviii. For pictures of the cathedral by Jean Colombe, see A. Laborde, II. Pl. cxci, cxcii. For the Duke's arms in a window in the cathedral, said to be taken from the Sainte Chapelle at Bourges, see Lasteyrie, Plate li.

[6] Mâle, 424; Lethaby, 208, 230, where it is said to be modelled on the west door of Notre Dame at Paris.

[7] Lethaby, 176.

[8] Le grand Housteau, see Godefroy, s.v. *Ostel*, also Cotgrave; Raynal, ii. 408; Champeaux, Meuble, i. 98; Champeaux-Gauchery, 20, Plate 19; Gazette Archéol. (1887), p. 198; Chantilly, 67; Bourassé, Cath. 620; Romelot, Frontispiece; Grande Encycl. vii. 765; Robuchon, 144; Loth, 88.

[9] i.e. in 1372. It was afterwards removed and placed sur la plate forme of the Tower built in the 16th century, see Gazette Archéol. (1887), p. 199.

[10] Robuchon, 136, 139; Guiffrey, I. lxxxii; Chantilly, 66; Foucart, 148. The architect was Guy de Dammartin who died in 1398, Stein, 86. For picture of it, see Thi-

Boivre and the Clain and restored the Palace[1] of the Counts of Poitou, adding the monumental chimney-piece in the Great Hall[2] and the donjon[3] or Tour de Maubergeon adjoining[4]. He also built the Clock Tower in front of the church of Our Lady[5] with a clock and a great bell which was called Balthasar, supposed to be modelled from the Clock House in the Palace Yard at Westminster[6].

Upon his tomb at Bourges they carved a scroll with the motto: "These things were mine and now are gone[7]," and these mournful words have found a strange fulfilment in the succeeding history of everything to which he set his hand[8]. Time, riot and the wreckers' pick have borne heavily upon all the Duke of Berry's buildings[9]. When the English occupied Paris the Hostel de Nesle was confiscated and granted to Guy le Bouteiller who had occupied it and laid out large sums in repairing it[10] during the three and a half months that he held Paris for the English in 1422[11]. The site of its famous gardens[12] and enclosure is now quite

baudeau, Frontispiece, all the cathedral, the church of St Radegonde, the Porte du Pont Joubert and general view; Pitre Chevalier, ii. 290, 311, 319, 489; De Witt, 209. For picture of the castle with a wooden bridge over the Clain resting on three stone piers whose bases still remain in the bed of the river, see Durrieu, Très riches Heures, Plate vii; see also Thomson, Part VI.

[1] For the exterior, see Wallon, 37.

[2] Caumont, Atlas, Pl. lxxxiv; Grande Encycl. x. 1053; Robuchon, 115, 143, 144; Viollet-le-Duc, Architecture, iii. 204; Verdier-Cattois, ii. 193; Gazette Archéol. (1887), p. 64; called the Salle des Gardes in Foucart, 171, 173; or Salle des Pas Perdus, Joanne, v. 3579. For the "gret hall of Poyteris," see Athenaeum, July 31, 1909, p. 123.

[3] His chose chef dongon or dongeoun principal, Lydg. Troy Bk. 171, 194.

[4] It was begun in 1395, Pilotelle, 379. For account of it, see Viollet-le-Duc, Architecture, vii. 12, 13; Revue Anglo-Française, v. 108–112; Champeaux-Gauchery, 19, Plates 15, 16; Robuchon, 45, 47, 107, 143; Joanne, v. 3579; A. France, i. 173. For view of Poitiers in Chantilly Hours showing the Tour Maubergeon and the Tour de l'Horloge, see Durrieu, 38, Plate xxxv.

[5] For picture of church of Notre Dame de Poitiers, see Masson, 195; A. France, i. 189. For 16th century view of Poitiers, see Braun, vol. I. showing the Palais and the Orologe. For picture of the cathedral at Poitiers, see A. Laborde, II. Plates cxxvii, cxxviii; Loth, 168. For fresco in the church of St John at Poitiers, see Kraus, II. i. 245; also Last Judgment carved in tympanum, Mâle, 417.

[6] Robuchon, 47. It was built temp. Ed. I opposite to the entrance to Westminster Hall, Stow, vi. 55; Walcott, 197.

[7] Mox aderant haec mihi nunc abeunt, Raynal, ii. 512.

[8] La destruction qui semble s'être étendue systématiquement à tout ce qu'il a touché, Gazette Archéologique (1887), p. 19.

[9] Guiffrey, I. cxl, cl; Champeaux, Meuble, 98.

[10] It was confiscated from the Armagnac, Martin Gouge Bishop of Clermont, and granted as the Hostel de Besançon on April 24, 1423, to Guy le Bouteiller who lodged there durant le temps qu'il eut la garde de nostre ville de Paris et y fist faire plusieurs de grans reparations.

[11] Longnon, Paris, 88, which shows that he paid 240 livr. to his troops during that time.

[12] For the Petit sejour de Nesle now Rue Bonaparte, see H. Legrand, 72.

obliterated, though one great tower[1] long remained as a landmark on the left bank of the Seine with its grim legends of queenly lust[2]. On its site was built the great college of Cardinal Mazarin now the home of the Institute of France[3]. The castle of Bicêtre with its wonderful decorations was wrecked[4] by the fury of the Parisian mob in 1411[5] soon after it was completed, and stood for centuries in shapeless ruin[6] as a haunt of brigands[7] till Louis XIV cleared the last fragments of it from the ground, which has now given place to a refuge[8] for a vast colony of afflicted and suffering humanity. Lusignan[9] was destroyed and dismantled in 1574. The castle of Nonette was swept from the rock on the Allier by Richelieu in 1633[10]; Usson[11], Issoire, Concressault have all gone, and nothing now stands at Mehun-sur-Yèvre save the circular donjon among a pile of crumbling ruins. At Riom the palace is demolished though the chapel still remains[12] floored off into two storeys, the lower one being used as a courthouse[13], while the upper one in which a

[1] Cf. Paris ni en allay à Saint Germain ou est assise la Tour de Nesle, Bonnardot, Rues, 37. For picture, see Postal, Aieux, 16; Meindre, ii. 206; Duruy, ii. 149; Cassell, i. 558; Vallet de Viriville, Instruction, 182; Zeiller, Pt. I. pp. 26, 51; Bournon, 30. It was originally called Tornella Philippi Hamelini super Sequanum (1210) and formed the termination of the fortifications of Philippe Auguste in 1190, Bonnardot, 37–40, 288.

[2] Brantôme, ii. 13; la Tour de Nesle (1832) by A. Dumas and Gaillardet.

[3] For picture, see Duruy, ii. 250.

[4] Al gon to wrake, Lydg. Troy Bk. 272. In 1408 the Duke of Berry wished to have "une juesne fille" about eight years old, who was a native of Bourges, married to "un peintre alemant" who was then working for him in his hostel de Vincestre lez Paris. Her mother and others objected, but the Duke kept her shut up in his castle at Étampes and drove away an officer of the Parliament of Paris who was sent to fetch her, Merle, 20.

[5] Gazette Archéol. (1887), p. 210; Grande Encycl. vi. 684. Not 1412, as Champion, Vie, 91; nor 1408, as Bouchot, Primitifs, 178.

[6] For the ruins in 1660, see Zeiller, Pt. I. 26, 55, though the hospice is said to have been built on the site in 1632, Ménorval, ii. 61.

[7] e.g. in 1528, Joanne, i. 444.

[8] For picture and plans, see Grande Encycl. vi. 688; Edwards, ii. 221–224; Joanne, i. 444.

[9] Robuchon, 18.

[10] Champeaux-Gauchery, 57. For picture of it in 1450, see Tardieu, Auvergne, 262; do. Dict. For order to raze it dated Nov. 2, 1633, see Tardieu, Dict. 246, where the remains = les bases de deux des Tours.

[11] For picture of the castle at Usson with 3 enceintes (1450), see Tardieu, Auvergne, 309, where it is said to have been enlarged by the Duke of Berry, and demolished by order dated Sept. 8, 1633, nothing being left now but la citerne, Tardieu, Dict. 343, quoting G. Mallay, Châteaux féodaux d'Auvergne, 7–31.

[12] For description with the Duke's arms still remaining in clefs de voutes, see Thevenot, 33, 34; Champeaux-Gauchery, 57, Plates 5, 6; Gonse, 270; A. Michel, Atlas, 17, 18.

[13] Where the lower portion of the windows has been removed, Thevenot, 36, 41; destroyed far from the Salle d'Audience of the Cour royale, Tardieu, Dict. 277. For Grands Jours found at Riom 1366 which the Duke of Berry made the capital of Auvergne, see Rivière, i. 499; A. Michel, ii. 327, 328; iii. 145, who compares the jurisdiction at

portion of the stained windows[1] remains, is now a store-room for records[2]. At Bourges both the Palace and the chapel[3] have been quite swept away and nothing remains but some vaulted cellars underground[4] to mark the site of the seat of honour and the bed of justice[5] where the "King of Bourges" held out in his last rampart of shadowy dispossession[6] in the dark days when the English ruled in his capital in Paris. At Poitiers[7] nothing now remains of the castle but two round towers. The Clock Tower lasted over the Revolution[8], the big bell was broken up and sold so recently as 1805, the Tower itself was not demolished till eight years later, but the Great Hall with the mutilated Tour de Maubergeon still exists as the Palais de Justice for the Department and as such is likely long to survive as a glorious monument of the brilliant skill of the Duke's builders. To furnish forth his palaces and manors he bought chambers of priceless tapestry[9] but not a fragment of it has escaped the moth. He bought rubies, balais[10], diamonds[11],

Riom to that of the Parlement at Paris=une juridiction souveraigne a laquelle ressortissaient sans intermediaire les appellations des juges ordinaires.

[1] These date from 1460 to 1480, Tardieu, Auvergne, 281; called "after 1442" in "P.D.L." 9, who says that "Rien en France ne leur est comparable." For picture of Riom (1450), see ibid., also do. Dict. For account of Riom, see P.D.L. 5; A. Michel, iii. 145, who calls it la ville lettrée de l'Auvergne.

[2] Westlake, iii. 120; remplie de longues files d'étagères chargées d'archives, Thevenot, 34; derrière des paperasses des archives judiciaires, A. Michel, iii. 145; aujourd'hui (i.e. in 1844) le greffe de la cour royale, Mazure, 337.

[3] It was demolished in 1757, but some of the windows were transferred to the cathedral crypt where they now fill five bays, see E. Beaurepaire, Vitraux, 15.

[4] Now under the prison, Barreau, 112. See page 414, note 12.

[5] Siège d'honneur et repos de justice
Bien commencé d'excellent artifice
Estre imparfaict par la fin de sa vie.
Chaumeau, Bk. vi. p. 231.

[6] Guiffrey, I. clxxxiv.

[7] For account of Poitiers, see Desrues, 231.

[8] Champeaux-Gauchery, 18, 195.

[9] Besides such stock subjects as Godefroy de Bouillon, Richard the Lion-Heart, the Seven vices and the 9 Preux (Wylie, ii. 445 note) his tapestry included illustrations of the Great Khan, the Pilgrimage of the Soul, the Romance of the Rose and so forth, Prost, 387–390, who gives the dimensions of 27 pieces of Arras at Bourges varying from 11 to 21 ells in length from inventory of July 3, 1416, from MS. fr. 20686, ff. 60–63 (=Gaignières 2897).

[10] Cf. le balai d'orange, de David, du Pape, Guiffrey, I. xciii, 282, where balai is called a ruby less bright in colour though often of enormous value; called "balass-rubies" in Robinson, 107; Marle, 37. For balais cabochons, see Guiffrey, i. 288, also ruby cabochon, ibid. 307; emeraude cabochonne, ibid. i. 124. For the cabochon bezel, i.e. sloping edge, see Murray, s.v. *Bezel*, called beazill, collet (or boss) brad or highest part of a ring; see also Cent. Dict., s.v. *Brilliant*, Fig. 2; cf. sur le longuet cabochon d'un costé et plat de l'autre sur ce quarré, Guiffrey, i. 106, or longuet sur le cabochon, ibid. For un ruby longuet, see ibid. i. 304.

[11] Pannier, 389. For diamant d'Orléans, see Guiffrey, ii. 143.

pearls[1], emeralds and sapphires[2] at fabulous prices[3] and called them by fancy names, such as the bonhomme, the dimple, the barley-corn, the distaff[4], the pulley, the heart of France, the cloud, the Burgundy coal, the scurvy (moth coloured), the ear, the quail[5], the mountain, the coxcomb[6], the chestnut, the ruby king[7] and so forth[8]. His craze for gauds was insatiable, and every dealer from the East[9] knew where to get his price however extravagantly high he chose to pitch it. Many of these gems he exchanged or gave away during his lifetime[10], others were returned to the merchants who had sold them but had not yet got their money, while others were sold by his executors at prices often not realising one tenth of the amount that he had paid for them. But, from whatever cause, the whole enormous collection has now been entirely dispersed and not a single item can now be identified[11]. The same is true of all his more perishable treasures, clocks, coins, enamels, medals, mosaics and marquetry[12], all have utterly perished, while all the goldsmith's

[1] For la grosse perle de Berry, de Navarre, see Guiffrey, i. 320.

[2] Cf. un saphir citrin (or sceptrin) en façon d'un œil, see Guiffrey, i. 322; ii. 73. For saphirs saterins (i.e. satin, see Godefroy, s.v. *Saterin*; Cotgrave, s.v. *Cabochon*), see Tuetey, Test. 448.

[3] 3000, 5000, 7300 crowns were paid for a single stone.

[4] For the rubis de la quenouille given to him by Louis Duke of Orleans and afterwards returned, see Maulde la Clavière, i. 16. It was still in the possession of the House of Orleans at the end of the 16th century, Thevet, i. 298.

[5] Rubis de la caille, Cosneau, Connétable, 29.

[6] Balay de la creste du coq, Guiffrey, ii. 26; cf. un ruby à creste, ibid. i. 304.

[7] Given to him by the Duke of Burgundy in July 1413, who had purchased it from a Venetian merchant, Morosini, ii. 98.

[8] For le bonhomme, le cœur de France, la fossette, le grain d'orge, le teigneux, la poule, la chastaigne, see Guiffrey, I. pp. xliii, lxxxviii, xc, xci, xcii, xciv, 67, 100, 102, 103, 106, 112, 131, 306, 310, who notes that rubies were by far the most highly prized of gems in the Middle Ages.

[9] For ruby d'orient bought of Loys of Gradenigo, merchant of Venice, living in Paris Sept. 1412, see Guiffrey, i. 402. For rubis d'Alexandre, see ibid. i. 35, 176, 203. For ruby worth 20,000 francs given to the Duke by the Sultan of Turkey in 1386, see Barante, ii. 68.

[10] For a gold rosary given to him by the Duke of York on Sept. 14, 1413, which he gave away again on Oct. 7, see Guiffrey, i. 300; also a large diamond sent to him by Queen Joan of England on July 13, 1414, given away on Sept. 5, ibid. i. 317; also a ring given to him by the Duke of Anjou on Jan. 1, 1408, and given away to the Duke of Clarence on Dec. 22, 1412, ibid. i. 442. For jewels given to the Dauphin Louis, see Pannier, xxvii. 37–42; Cosneau, Connétable, 28. For gold ring with ruby given to him by Louis Duke of Orleans in 1394, see Roman, 41.

[11] Guiffrey, I. xci, clxxxviii, who thinks that some of them may still be amongst the great collections of Europe.

[12] Musayque, ymaiges de merqueterie, Salmon, 86, 90, who recommended to him a marqueteur from Siena; cf. Champeaux, 410; Morenvillé, 8; for un escrinet de cipriés fait de merqueterie par dehors, see Guiffrey, ii. 76. For triptych now in the Louvre with marquetry and ivory, and the vase bequeathed to the Abbey at Poissy by the Duke of

work, the crosses, images, reliquaries, spoons, salvers, ewers, hanaps with all their delicate wealth of mediaeval workmanship, have passed to the melting-pot beyond recall[1] and nothing survives of his enormous hoard but the detailed inventories that were drawn up when his debts had to be faced for the benefit of his expectant heirs and clamorous creditors[2].

But to this wholesale destruction one notable exception must be made. His great collection of books[3] has somehow not been altogether annihilated, and though a very large proportion of them has quite perished[4] yet it is calculated that at least 89 of the most precious of his volumes can still be identified distributed amongst different public and private collections in all parts of Europe. Of these 10 are now in England, including a great illuminated Bible in two volumes[5] and other splendid examples either in the British Museum[6] or in the hands of private owners[7]. Besides these, three

Berry, see Champeaux, Meuble, 99. For un coffre de boys marquété to hold relics, see Guiffrey, ii. 113.

[1] Guiffrey, I. xcvi. For cross given to Charles VI by the Duke two days before his death and shortly afterwards sent to the mint to be melted down to pay the troops, see Guiffrey, I. xxxix.

[2] Raynal, ii. 509, who shows that they were removed to Paris and locked up in a chest with six keys, two of which were kept by the executors and four by the creditors; cf. presque pauvre, Plauchut, 899; les grandes et grosses mises et depenses, Bradley, i. 130; tenus et obligez et demeures en debtes envers plusieurs personnes marchands et autres, D. Godefroy, 677; Delisle, Cabinet, i. 64. His house was broken to indicate that he died in debt, Raynal, ii. 507. Not that he made the state his heir, as Sylvestre, iii. 22.

[3] For his books, see A. Bastard; Delisle, Cabinet, i. 56–68; iii. 170–194; do. Recherches, ii. 223–270 (297 vols. with names and descriptions from inventories of 1402, 1413 and 1416); Guiffrey, i. 223–371; ii. 121–136; Baudot, 275; Bouchot, Primitifs, 171–176; Wylie, iv. 85, note 5. Some of them had formed part of Charles V's library at the Louvre, see Delisle, Recherches, i. 148, 150, 153, &c. He is called ce bibliophile raffine in Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 6. For 41 of his volumes kept at Moulins by his daughter Marie Duchess of Bourbon, see Christine, II. p. x. For Pietro of Verona, a Lombard qui s'est mesle de aler à l'estude et de gouverner la lybrairie de mons. de Berry, see Mirot, Fusoris, 102; H. Martin, Boccace, 16.

[4] Called 70 or about a quarter of the whole in Guiffrey, I. cli with list.

[5] i.e. Harl. MS. 4381–2 (not 4831, as Woltmann, i. 362; Colvin, i. 498), i.e. le Bible hystoriaux ou les Histoires escolastres translated by Guiart des Moulins in 1298 from the Historia Scholastica of Peter Comester, Dean of Trèves, who began it in 1291 and finished it in 1294. It contains an inscription "Ceste belle bible fust a Jehan filz de Roy de France Duc de Berry" in the handwriting and with the signature of Jean Flamel (not "Mancel," as Michel, Rapport, 134) who has appended a complicated flourish as his private mark, see G. F. Warner, Reproductions, Plate xxiv; do. Illuminated MSS. (1903), Plate xliv, exhibited in the British Museum, King's Library Case 5, no. 55; Herbert, 238, 252.

[6] e.g. a Bible translated by Raoul de Presle, Lansdowne MS. 1175; Herbert, 252; Delisle, Recherches, i. 147, and "le grant livre des VII Arts," Burney MS. 275; Delisle, Cabinet, i. 65; Guiffrey, i. 252; also the Missal, Harl. 2891; Herbert, 248.

[7] For two among Lord Ashburnham's MSS. and one in Sir Thomas Phillips' library,

others were until recently in the Library at Turin[1], three at Brussels, one each at Berlin, Geneva[2] and The Hague, and the rest are in the Duke's own native land[3], and of these the three greatest gems contain such exquisite specimens of the illuminator's work as have never been surpassed. No words can justly tell the delicacy of the Great Psalter[4] painted by Jacquemart of Hesdin[5] and valued by the executors at 4000 livres[6]. It long remained the property of successive kings of France and is to-day one of the chief glories of the National Library in Paris. Another known as the Great Hours[7] was illuminated by André de Beauneveu[8], the imager and tomb maker[9] of Valenciennes,

see Guiffrey, I. cli; also the "Belles Heures" in the collection of Baron Edmund de Rothschild, Herbert, 273.

[1] For the "Heures de Turin" ce trésor sans prix que l'incendie a détruit, see Durrieu, Souvenirs, 5; H. Martin, 83; do. Miniaturistes, 36 (who refers to 45 leaves of reproductions published in 1902); Herbert, 309, quoting Revue Archéologique, Ser. IV. vol. xvi. 1910. For the Turin Book of Hours with many subsequent illustrations by Flemish artists, see Durrieu, *passim*; Bouchot, Primitifs, 218.

[2] i.e. Boccaccio's Fall of Princes given to the Duke by Bishop Martin Gouge on Jan. 1, 1411, H. Martin, 15.

[3] Delisle, Heures, 38; Gonse, 402; Guiffrey, I. cli, who gives four at Brussels.

[4] Or the Great Hours now MS. Lat. 919 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Delisle, Heures, 27; Guiffrey, I. cxvii; Lasteyrie, 93, 102, 110, Plate viii; H. Martin, 43, 52; do. Miniaturistes, 36 (containing five portraits of the Duke). For specimens, see Sylvestre, iii. 496, Plate 195; Madden, iii. 544; Curmer, 98, 99, 102, 103; F. Denis, 84; Woltmann, i. 359, 364; Colvin, i. 375, 379; Champeaux-Gauchery, Plate 9; Coudere, Album, Pl. lxii, who pronounces it (p. 27) to be un des manuscrits les plus merveilleux que ce Moyen Age ait laissées.

[5] Who finished it in 1416, Delisle, Cabinet, i. 63; cf. Bradley, ii. 104; Grande Encycl. xx. 51; xxiii. 1053; Guiffrey, I. cliii, 253. Called "Odun" in Laborde, II. T. i, p. cxxi; Guiffrey, ii. 132; Lasteyrie, 85; or "Hodin" in Delisle, Heures, 29, 34; Guiffrey, I. pp. lxxv, lxxxvii; "Hodun" or "Esdun," Champeaux-Gauchery, 96, 119; not "Jacquevrart de Hodin," as Madden (Sylvestre), ii. 544. For account of him, see Herbert, 250, who calls him "an eclectic copyist of great experience" (p. 252); Martin, Miniaturistes, 80–82, who calls him "tout à fait original" though "il se rattache directement à la vieille école parisienne d'enluminure."

[6] Delisle, Heures, 27, 29, 36; Lecoy de la Marche, 322.

[7] For Psalter, see Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 13091; Delisle, Heures, 26; Bradley, i. 110; Woltmann, i. 362; H. Martin, 48; cf. Champeaux-Gauchery, 95, and Belleville Breviary, S. Lami, 41.

[8] See page 417, note 3. He died circ. 1400. For account of him, see Delisle, Cabinet, i. 62; Sylvestre-Madden, ii. 544; Champeaux-Gauchery, 4, 5, 9; Guiffrey, i. 235; Herbert, 248; Martin, Miniaturistes, 78, 79; Lami, 41, 42, where he is "nostre ymager," i.e. to King Charles V; Lethaby, 241; Marcon, 38. He was commissioned, at a cost of 4700 francs d'or, in 1364 to carve the tombs of Charles V, Philippe VI and his wife Jeanne de Bourgogne (now disappeared), Jean II and his wife Jeanne de Bourbon (whose effigies still exist at St Denis), that of Philippe VI being in the Louvre, Vitry, Brière, 132. For Beauneveu, see Dehaisnes in Revue de l'Art Chrétien (1884), pp. 135–145 (not in British Museum). Not Andrien Beauneveu, as Lethaby, Westminster, 283.

[9] For order to him in 1374 to carve the tomb of Louis de Male Count of Flanders at Cambrai, which was probably never actually carried out (see Monget, i. 248, who supposes his unfinished work to have been transferred to the church of St Pierre at Lille,

who was ever working out his fancy whether in colour or in stone[1]. But the great gem of mediaeval book-craft[2] is his wonderful Book of Hours discovered some 50 years ago in a girls' school at Genoa[3] and purchased by the late Duke of Aumale[4], who bequeathed it to the French nation together with many other treasures collected in his château at Chantilly[5]. This book, now known as the Chantilly Hours[6], was not finished at the time of the Duke's death, but it was even then valued at 500 livres though it was still in sheets[7] without any costly jewelled binding, and the exquisite delicacy of its workmanship must for ever place the names of the Flemings, Paul of Limburg[8] and his two brothers Hannequin and Hermant[9], on the very topmost pinnacle of mediaeval art[10].

Wylie, ii. 81; Barante, i. 210; Monget, ii. 8), see Grande Encycl. v. 1055, where he is called faiseur de tombes.

[1] De taille et de peinture, Froiss. iii. 74; Gauchery, 94. For his work at Mehun-sur-Yèvre and elsewhere, including the tombs of Philippe VI, Jean and Charles V at St Denis, see Dehaisnes, 250, 482; F. Denis, 83, 102; Gonse, Sculpture, 21.

[2] Le plus splendide témoignage du génie de nos maîtres enlumineurs, Gonse, 403; le plus remarquable spécimen de l'art de l'enluminure française, Champeaux-Gauchery, 1; un pur chef d'œuvre, Grande Encycl. xxiii. 1052; Guiffrey, I. lxxxiv, clviii; le roi des MSS. enluminés, Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 4.

[3] i.e. in December 1855.

[4] In 1856, the whole cost including all charges being 19,280 francs (£771. 4*s.* 0*d.*). For an interesting account written by the Duke, see Chantilly, 60, with a description of the volume, ibid. 62, where the Count of Beauchamp is referred to as making a minute study of it, ibid. 67; also Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 1, 11. It had passed from the Duke of Berry to his daughter Bonne and thence to her daughter Jeanne of Savoy (b. 1392, d. 1460) who (in 1418) married Jean Jacques Paleologue as Marquis of Monteferrato and died in 1445, Mas-Latrie, 1720.

[5] For gift of them to the Institut de France by deed dated Oct. 25, 1886, see Grande Encycl. x. 530.

[6] Delisle, Heures, 34, who gives four very beautiful specimen pages. For others, see Champeaux-Gauchery, Plate 16 (Poitiers), Plate 18 (Lusignan); Robuchon, 5, 21, 136; Grande Encycl. vi. 420; Gazette Archéol. x. 176; Lecoy de la Marche, 223; Gonse, 294, 402 (Louvre and Palais in Paris); Chantilly, i. 59, with description of contents. But all these are surpassed by the splendid edition published by P. Durrieu in 1904; see also Herbert, 271, who refers to the "dazzling beauty of its pages."

[7] Cahiers or quairs, Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 7, 34. It was not completed till circ. 1485, when it was in the possession of Charles I, Duke of Savoy (1482–1489), the later illuminations being by Jean Colombe.

[8] Herbert, 266, 273. For MS. Douce 144 in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, illuminated by him in Feb. 1408 (called anno MCCCCVII quo ceciderunt pontes, see Wylie, iii. 151), see Burlington Mag. vii. 435.

[9] i.e. Jehannequin, Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 80, who has a fanciful supposition (p. 131) that they may be represented by the figures entering at the dinner scene in the Calendar (January); Bradley, ii. 211; Delisle, Heures, 37; Toulgeot-Treanna, 76, 143; Guiffrey, I. pp. lxxvi, 323, where they present étrennes to the Duke, viz. a salt-cellar of agate with a gold lid and a block of wood painted to look like a book, though this need not be regarded as a joke, as Guiffrey, I. pp. l, 265, 323. For a ring given to Paul Limburg by the Duke of Berry in 1408, see Roman, 68, 69; Champeaux-Gauchery, 136.

[10] For note see next page.

Several of the Duke's books contain his signature "Jehan[1]," together with that of his secretary Jean Flamel[2], the most accomplished penman of his time[3], and these have proved in themselves sufficient means of identification wherever they occur. But another singular verification mark is the frequent recurrence of the motto "Le temps venra[4]," the two capital letters E and V interlaced[5], the brown bear and the white wounded swan, all of which have given rise to much variety of speculation, though no final or satisfactory solution of their meaning has yet been reached. The motto "The time will come" has been supposed to refer to the Duke's return from his captivity as a hostage in Eng-

Bouchot, Primitifs, 201, claiming that they were really French, suggests that their real names were Baulequin, Jacquemin and Arnaud, that their family name was Malverel, and that they lived in Paris. For miniaturists in Paris in the 13th century, see H. Martin, Miniaturistes, 12, who however regards the Limburgs and Beauneveu as Flemish in origin (p. 14).

[10] Les meilleures peintures qui ont été exécutées au moyen âge, Martin, Miniaturistes, 87. The authorship of the Limburgs is doubted by Bouchot, Primitifs, 150; cf. la prudence élémentaire commande de mettre un point d'interrogation après le nom des Limbourg, ibid. 175; ces Limbourg encore un peu légendaires, ibid. 186, who conjectures that each of the pictures of the months may be by a separate hand (172). Martin, Miniaturistes, 86–91, regards them as "moins parisiens que Jacquemart de Hesdin," "les premiers paysagites," "qui ont laïcisé l'art religieux," "des artistes incomparables." For the Duke of Berry's copy of Livre de la prince et mort du roy Richart d'Angleterre escript en françoys rimé, see Guiffrey, i. 249; Delisle, Cabinet, iii. 191–2; Prost, Tapisseries, 387. For les vers trop prosaïques de creton, see Faguet, 131 [107]. For copy of the Livre des Merveilles du Monde (MS. fr. 2810) given to him by Jean Sans Peur Duke of Burgundy in 1413, see Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 35, 53, 65, 98; Herbert, 267, who refers to the edition by H. Omont published in 1907.

[1] e.g. the copy of Josephus, Omont, Antiquités, p. 2; Lansdowne Cat. ii. 285; Michel, Rapport, 138; Woltmann, i. 360; Bradley, i. 130.

[2] e.g. Chantilly, ii. Plate; Froissart, iii. 383; Champollion-Figeac, Louis et Charles, 407; F. Denis, 81, 84; Dibdin, Tour, ii. 175; Guiffrey, i. clix, clxxxi, in Merveilles du Monde (MS. fr. 8392); Petit Psalter (MS. Lat. Suppl. 2015); Harl. MS. 4381, Frontispiece; Sylvestre, iii. 22, 96, 148; Madden, ii. 532, 543, 545; Curmer, 98, 102, 103; Delisle, Cabinet, i. 58; do. Recherches, ii. 314; Guiffrey, i. cxlvi, clii, clviii, 251. For his (Flamel's) signature from MS. fr. 1023 (circ. 1400), see Lecoy de la Marche, Manuscrit, 75, with others as specimens of Gothique fleurie. For account of Jean Flamel, see ibid. 109. For his brother Nicholas Flamel, see Guilhermy, i. 176, though the relationship is doubted in Flamel, 155, who thinks (p. 205) that he was no relation of Jean Flamel who sold the Romances of the Four Sons of Haimon, Roland and Oliver and other books to the Duke of Berry for 30 francs.

[3] For the Duke of Berry's other copyists, see Bradley, i. 131.

[4] Curmer, i. 98; Delisle, Cabinet, i. 58; do. Recherches, ii. 293; Champeaux-Gauchery, 9; called "sa devise" in Sylvestre, iii. 96; his "entire motto," Madden, ii. 546; "son chiffre," Lasteyrie, 96. It occurs on a scroll held by a swan on the lid of a crystal salt-cellar, Guiffrey, i. 179; also embroidered on cushions, ibid. ii. 148. In the official description of the tomb in 1757 it is said to have been exprimé par un chiffre, Raynal, ii. 516.

[5] The letters occur on a fragment of damask from the Sainte Chapelle at Bourges, E. Beaurepaire, Vitraux, p. 7; also on a ring, Guiffrey, i. 442, who gives up the meaning of ces deux initiales mysterieuses, ibid. pp. xli, cxxv. For "le chiffre VE," see Coudere, Album, 13.

land[1] or to his ambition to become King of France[2] or to be merely a pious yearning for the future life without political significance whatever[3]. The monogram "EV" has usually been reversed[4] and interpreted as indicating the mysterious word "Ursine," a theory that has dominated the consideration of the question from the outset. But the motive for this puzzling word is certainly traceable to the juxtaposition of two of the Duke's devices, the bear (*ours*) and the swan (*cigne*[5]), and it was not long before the two were read together as one word. Swans and bears appeared together at Bourges on a chimney-piece in the Duke's Palace[6] and on his monument[7], and in the great chandelier[8] in the Sainte Chapelle. They were sculptured in stone over the gateway at Concressault[9], they were painted on the same border of the same page in his books[10]; they appear in his church-windows[11], his vestments[12], his hangings, book-clasps[13], ships[14], reliquaries[15] and chalices[16], or as bearers of his helm[17] or supporters on opposite sides of his shield[18]. Yet it is to be noticed that in all these cases the creatures are invariably represented apart either in

[1] i.e. in 1367, Raynal, ii. 409; Delisle, Heures, 29; Champeaux-Gauchery, 5. He arrived in England in Jan. 1361, returned to France May 26, 1361, but afterwards returned for a long captivity as a hostage for payment of the ransom of his father King John who was captured at Poitiers in 1356, Aumale, 38; Ledes, 91.

[2] Romelot, 251; Raynal, ii. 576; Ménorval, ii. 61.

[3] Guiffrey, i. 324; qui semble raduire une préoccupation religieuse plutôt qu'une ambition politique, Champeaux-Gauchery, 44.

[4] This mistake is still repeated in Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 132.

[5] Called "vignes" in Mély, xxxii.

[6] Raynal, ii. 410.

[7] Raynal, ii. 515; Champeaux-Gauchery, 44, from a minute description drawn up when the chapel was demolished in 1757 where "Oursine, le temps vendra" is said to have been on the hem of the Duke's mantle (see also Ménorval, ii. 61) though it is distinctly stated that the first word was expressed by the figures of a bear and a swan.

[8] Chaumeau, 230.

[9] Champeaux-Gauchery, 9.

[10] For specimens, see Woltmann, i. 357.

[11] e.g. in the Sainte Chapelle at Bourges, Raynal, ii. 515.

[12] Guiffrey, ii. 156; Mély, xxxii; E. Beaurepaire, Vitraux, 7.

[13] e.g. to a volume des Lamentations de la Mort du roy Charlemagne, Revue Archéologique, vii. 158.

[14] Champeaux-Gauchery, 144; see the banquet scene in Chantilly, Plate.

[15] e.g. on a gold reliquary with the head of St Philip that he gave to the church of Notre Dame in Paris. It stood on a silver foot which rested on five bears each held by a child with a chain and one swan at the back, Faigniez, Inventaires, 394.

[16] Chaumeau, 230.

[17] Guiffrey, i. 120.

[18] Guiffrey, i. pp. cxxix, cl; Durrieu, Très riches Heures, Frontispiece, Plate xix. For his seal, see Revue Archéologique, vii. 158, Plate 139; Champeaux-Gauchery, Titlepage, Plate 44.

separate initial letters[1] or medallions[2] or on separate parts of the same piece of plate, whether boat[3], goblet, salt-cellar[4], inkhorn, or penner[5], and never in rebus form at all. If therefore any sound opinion is to be arrived at as to the origin and meaning of these badges it will certainly be safer to treat them separately and apart.

To begin with the swan. A story was very early current that when the Duke was detained in his youth as a hostage in England after the disaster at Poitiers[6] he had the usual *amour* with an English lady and for her sake he vowed to put below his shield a white swan wounded in the breast. This story comes to us on the authority of his grand nephew King René of Anjou who wrote it down within 40 years after the Duke's death and had every opportunity of knowing the truth of the circumstances that he relates[7]. But this story does not include a bear and indeed expressly excludes it in so many words. About 100 years later the same story was dealt with by a local historian of Bourges who had seen the swan and the bear together on the tomb and gave the explanation that the lady's name was Ursine[8]. From that date the bear and swan have been universally believed[9] to be a rebus representing the word "Ursine," though every variety of conjecture has been hazarded as to

[1] Durrieu, Très riches Heures, Plates xxiii, xxviii.

[2] The only possible exception that I have found is in Sylvestre, iii. 96, from the Grandes Heures where the bear carries a pennon with a swan on it, but even there we have other medallions in which the bear carries a banner with a fleur-de-lis where there is certainly no suggestion of a rebus at all, cf. Woltmann (Colvin), i. 375.

[3] e.g. une navete qui siet sur un ours et dessus la dicte navete a un cyne esmaillé de blanc, Guiffrey, ii. 8.

[4] e.g. a crystal salt-cellar with a swan on the lid and a bear at the base, Guiffrey, i. 179.

[5] e.g. escriptoure a forrel (sheath) et cornet d'argent, Guiffrey, ii. 136; see Cotgr., s.v. *Escriptoure.*

[6] Deschamps, ix. 387; Miroir, 176, where he is "Jehan Comte de Poitiers."

[7] Pour elle prins ung mot et mist souls mon escu
Le sisne blanc navré autre mot plus ny fu.
René (Quatrebarbes), iii. 117; Chantilly, 65; Coudere, Album, 27. From La Conquête de la douce mercy MS. fr. 24399, or Cuer d'Amour espris written in 1457, Lecoy de la Marche, ii. 158.

[8] J'ay entendus qu'il estoit amoureux
D'une jadis ayant le nom Ursine.
Il est certain, "Vous voyez l'ours et cigne"
Repond Asye "qui sont en sa devise."
Chaumeau, Bk. vi. 231; not 241, as Champeaux-Gauchery, 45; Guiffrey (I. cxxix) thinks that the swan may have been an emblem of the Duchess.

[9] e.g. "sans doute," Chantilly, 65; Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 5; Bouchot, Primitifs, 178.

whom or what the name was intended to denote. Some have supposed it to have been a pet name of the Duke's wife[1] but for this there is no existing evidence at all. Others see in it a reference to St Ursin or St Ours (*Ursinus*), the apostle of Berry and patron saint of Bourges[2], but if this were so there would obviously be no final E. Accordingly feeling the need for the feminine pronunciation some think that the word is the name of a "famous German princess[3]," others that the badge was really a she-bear and not a he[4] whereby they give up the supposition of a rebus altogether. But indeed the whole of the "Ursine" interpretation is upset by the fact that in the only passages in the inventories in which the EV letters are named the E appears before the V and not *vice versa*[5], and until some better explanation is forthcoming I incline to the belief that the letters EV contain no cryptic meaning any more than the various other initials that are found on the Duke's spoons and cups and ewers[6]. And not only is the "Ursine" solution proved to be mere guess-work, but the more closely we study the items of the Duke's possessions the more frequently do we find the swan and the bear entirely dissociated. Swans without bears were embroidered on his gowns[7], woven in his tapestry[8], worked in pearls on his buttoners[9], chased on his goblets[10], pyxes[11], enamelled on his standing cups[12] and salers[13], wrought in his boats[14] and

[1] Romelot, 251; Woltmann, i. 363; Bradley, i. 131.

[2] Delisle, Heures, 29; Guiffrey, ii. 84; not "Urins," as Grande Encycl. vii. 766. He was reported to have been the first Bishop of Bourges, Gall. Christ. ii. 4; Gams, 522; Raynal, i. 239. Among the Duke's relics is summitus capitis sancti Ursini wrapped in un cendal, Guiffrey, ii. 40; also one of his ribs and an arm-bone, ibid. ii. 114, 115.

[3] F. Denis, 104.

[4] Cet ours ou peut-être cette oursine, Gonse, 402.

[5] e.g. un diamant taillé d'un E et d'un V, Guiffrey, i. cxxxv; un E et un V on the rim of a horn, ibid. ii. 136.

[6] For letter I and twisted tail marked on the back of the Duke's gold spoons, see Guiffrey, ii. 170. For letter P with a crown stamped on the bottom of one of his cups, see ibid. 198. For the letters JRE on a cup lid, see ibid. 195, also A and V on the lid of a ewer (esvière), ibid. ii. 67, 99.

[7] Champeaux, 414; Salmon, xix; Willemin, ii. 9; Durrieu, Maitre, xx. 24.

[8] For the Chambre aux Cignes and the Chambre aux Enfants in the Palace at Bourges, see Prost, 391; Bouchot, Primitifs, 167.

[9] Noces, 569 (1375).

[10] Noces, 527; Guiffrey, i. xvi.

[11] Cf. une petite boite de jaspe a mettre pain a chanter resting on two little swans, ibid. ii. 101.

[12] The standing pece that was my faders, Fifty Wills, 57.

[13] Guiffrey, i. 180, 326. For "salers of silver," see Fifty Wills, 56, 57; Wylie, iv. 360.

[14] For a nef with four white swans in a pond and two castles each surmounted by a swan cloaked round the neck (un cyne emmentellé parmy le col), see Guiffrey, ii. 18.

dredgers[1] or engraved on the clamps of his books[2]. The bleeding breast-wound glints with a ruby or a balai[3] in his argenterie or is painted in flame[4] by the limners of his books. The bird bears a scroll with "le temps venrra" in its bill[5] or is gorged with a cloak about its neck[6], or glides, floats, flutters, lights and preens in every imaginable variety of pose[7], but in all this it is an emblem apart with a heraldic identity of its own.

But of all the Duke's emblems the most obtrusive is the bear[8]. Everywhere he is in evidence. In the books he walks a bough[9] or plays the bag-pipes in a barrow[10], or sits with uplifted paw[11] or swings[12] and gambols in endless antic attitudes. He lies muzzled at his master's feet on the table[13] of his monument at Bourges[14] or carries a banner with one or other of his many cognisances[15]; he hangs as a pendant to a necklace[16]; he is cut on rings in ruby, sapphire, emerald, serpentine or chalcedony[17]; he sits as a fretlet on a lid[18] or holds a jasper salt-cellar on his enamelled back[19]; he is carved on the tympanum of church doors[20],

[1] For a drageour d'argent doré on a castle with a white swan at the bottom (au bout), see Guiffrey, ii. 24.

[2] e.g. a book on the Union of the Church, Guiffrey, ii. 126, where the swans hold escutcheons with the Duke's arms.

[3] Guiffrey, i. 63, 179.

[4] Quatrebarbes, iii. 97.

[5] Guiffrey, ii. 18.

[6] Page 428, note 14.

[7] e.g. Curmer, i. 97, 99; Sylvestre, ii. 96, who fancies that it is a pelican; Humphreys, 6.

[8] For a picture of bears, see Coudere, Pl. 12, 56, 66.

[9] Durrieu, Très riches Heures, Plate xxviii.

[10] Ibid. Plate xxviii.

[11] Ibid. Plate xxxvii.

[12] Ibid. Plates 27, xxii.

[13] Cf. The whiche ymage held a table of gold, Melusine, 328, 331, 334.

[14] Champeaux-Gauchery, Plates 28, 29.

[15] e.g. in "Merveilles du Monde," given to him by the Duke of Burgundy, Humphreys, 6; Guiffrey, i. 97; ii. 39.

[16] Un fermaille d'or given to the daughter of the Duke of Burgundy who was to be married to a son of the Duke of Anjou, Toulgeot-Treanna, 141.

[17] Roman, 68, 69; Guiffrey, i. 62, 119, 141, 142, 159, 160, 162, 163, 181, 312.

[18] Guiffrey, i. 208. For "fertelet," see ibid. i. 214, 323, 324; for "fretlet," see Wylie, iii. 103; for "frutelet" (i.e. fruitelet), see Faigniez, Inventaires, xxvii, 395. For fruitelet, frutellet on a lid of a gold hanap, see Brachet, 628, 633; Mirot, Trousseau, 133, 149; do. Isabelle, xix. 78. For Pomell = croppe, see Baildon, Inv. 171; Halliwell, ii. 636.

[19] Guiffrey, i. 180. For an alms dish called the Tygre made in the fashion of a ship standing on a bear belonging to the Duke of York in 1415, see York, xxiii.

[20] e.g. on the Collegiate Church of St Ursin at Bourges. The church was demolished at the Revolution but the stone still existed near the Grille St Michel in the Place Seraucourt at Bourges, Cahier, Nouveaux Mélanges, i. 222, where the bear seems to be playing with a ball and it is difficult to connect him with the adjoining group showing a fox shamming to be dead and drawn to its burial by a cock and hen from the Bestiary.

punched on gilt goblets[1], needleworked on cloaks[2] and cushions[3], enamelled in black and white on collars[4], embossed on ewers, tasses and basons[5], cut in white cameo[6], or he serves as a trinket[7], a mount for a reliquary, an inkhorn[8], a scent-box[9], a Christopher, a tablet[10] or a pax[11]. It is true that he is very often found in association with the swan, but so is he also with a dog[12] or an orange branch[13], a leaf[14] or any other of the ducal badges[15], and there are abundant instances in which the bear appears quite alone without any swan or other concomitant whatever. There is no doubt that the living bear was a favourite animal with the Duke as it was with far humbler folk in the Middle Ages[16]. He kept them caged in Paris and at

[1] Poinconné, Guiffrey, i. 210; ii. 145. Cf. the kevered pece of sylver the whiche is pouncés (*sic*) with a crane, Fifty Wills, 57.

[2] Roman, 68, 69; Add. Ch. 2146.

[3] Guiffrey, i. 75.

[4] Ibid. i. 59, 298, 311.

[5] Ibid. i. 187, 325; ii. 22.

[6] Ibid. i. 120, 161.

[7] For bears as trinkets interchanged between the Dukes of Berry and Brittany, see Lobineau, ii. 921.

[8] Guiffrey, i. 304.

[9] For 1 musk ball d'or, see Rot. Parl. iv. 219; cf. une pomme d'or en laquelle il y a du must (*sic*), Guiffrey, i. 302; une pomme faicte du must, ibid. i. 303; ii. 32, 35, 73; patenostres de must et d'embre, ibid. ii. 30. For the musk-tree = Olearia (Eurybia) argophylla, see Cent. Dict., s.v. For musk-wood (Trichilia) a genus of the order Meliaceae, see Ogilvie, Imp. Dict., s.v. = Guaria trichiloides or Trichilia moschata, Cent. Dict., s.v.

[10] For tableau d'or with portion of the True Cross resting on eight little bears given by the Duke to the cathedral at Chartres in 1406, see Guiffrey, I. xcix; Mély, xxxii.

[11] Pourte paix, e.g. for a gold pax, Guiffrey, i. 296. Called un étui servant à contenir la patène appellée paix, Godefroy, s.v. For picture of a pax, see French, 107; Rock, iv. 187. For a carved ivory pax (10th century) at Nürnberg, see Hefner, i. 128. For ung pourte paix d'or 6 inches high and 1 palm broad, see Guiffrey, i. 298; une paix en argent, Novilleau, 312; paxbrede argenté, Test. Ebor. iii. 58; Archaeol. Journ. xv. 269; called "paxleed" in Hist. MSS. Var. Coll. iv. 35. For gold and silver "paxbredes" belonging to Henry V, see Rot. Parl. iv. 226; not "pixbrele," as Amyot, 248, who supposes it to be a box; not a patène d'église, as Guizot, ii. 244, or a church paten called peace, as R. Black, ii. 265. It is called table pour pees in Boys, 383. For deosculatorio eburneo (1417), see Freshfield, 2, 9. Cf.

> Kisse the pax before his neighbour.
> Chaucer, Parson's Tale, 533.
>
> For whyche the pepyll of hygh and lowe degre
> Kysse the pax a token of unite. Lydg. Min. Po. 107.

[12] e.g. at the base of a jasper salt-cellar, Guiffrey, i. 180. For a lion and a dog on the same border with the swan, see F. Denis, 84. Also for a gold salière faicte en façon d'un petit chiennot given to him by the Duchess, but given away again on New Year's Day 1413, see Pannier, 39.

[13] Guiffrey, i. 210, 326. For the orange branch on gowns in the banquet scene, see Durrieu, Très riches Heures, 131, Plate i.

[14] For lid of a gold salt-cellar poinconné à fueilles et à ors, see Guiffrey, ii. 104.

[15] For the horned owl (*duc*) with the word DUX cut on a sapphire, see Guiffrey, i. 142. For the lion frequently occurring in the inventory of 1402, see Guiffrey, ii. *passim*, where the bear is very seldom noted.

[16] For pictures of performing bears, see Aubrey, i. 688; Wylie, iii. 215, note 2.

Mehun-sur-Yèvre[1]; they roamed wild in his mountains in Auvergne and Le Velay[2], and he usually had one trundled about in a cart with him as he moved from place to place[3]. He instituted an order of the Bear[4] and his retainers wore a bear as a crest on their basnets[5].

Whether the bear badge had any intentional significance may be doubted, though looking to the heraldic connection of the creature with such places as Berne and Berlin there is probability in the suggestion that it recalls the first syllable of the word Berry[6]. It is just as likely however that it pleased the Duke merely from his taste for oddities and whimsicalities. He seems indeed to have been fascinated by anything eccentric or out-of-the-way. He had a passion for freaks. Dwarfs as well as fools appear among his household staff[7]. He kept apes and dromedaries in his menageries; among his curios is a cup made of an ostrich-egg[8] and his first-class collection of relics was as well stocked as money could buy, though like all mediaeval devotees he was wildly blind and uncritical in his principles of choice. Of the True Cross he had not only the piece in the Sainte Chapelle at Bourges but several others set in gold crosses and reliquaries[9], to say nothing of the pavings that he gave to the cathedral at Chartres[10] where his first wife Jeanne of Armagnac was buried[11], and he had the Crucifixion Sponge and one of the Nails and some of the Holy Coat[12]. But besides these rather common masterpieces[13] he had some drops of Our Lady's milk[14], her smock[15], her wedding ring,

[1] For Simon garde de l'ours, see Champeaux-Gauchery, 9. For keeper of the Duke of Orleans' bear, see Maulde la Clavière, i. 122.

[2] Luce, i. 226.

[3] Guiffrey, i. cxxx, cxxxi.

[4] Toulgeot-Treanna, 165.

[5] En cémier, ibid.

[6] Guiffrey, i. cxxx. For a bear on the seal of Rössel (1337) one of the Prussian towns belonging to the Teutonic knights, see Vossberg, Münzen, Plate xvii. Cf. the arms of Berne, Berlin and Berwick, though probably the last name is derived from bere-wick as being a grange (or barn) of the Abbey of Coldingham, Lewis, s.v.

[7] See page 413, note 5. For his joueurs de farces, de bateaux, de couteaux (i.e. with 10 knives) in 1413, see Toulgeot-Treanna, 161.

[8] Guiffrey, i. 195.

[9] Guiffrey, ii. 9, 35, 36, 142; also a portepaix with du fust de la vraie Croix, ibid. ii. 7.

[10] Page 430, note 10.

[11] Sablon, 181; see also page 394.

[12] Guiffrey, ii. 32, 36, 40, 61.

[13] Wylie, i. 157. For a picture of the Emperor at Constantinople receiving relics of the Passion, i.e. the True Cross, the Sponge, the Napkin, &c., from an early 15th century copy of Mandeville's Travels, see G. F. Warner, Reproductions, Plate xxxvi.

[14] For some of it at Le Pay, see Hanotaux, 52, where they had also some of the wine from the marriage feast at Cana.

[15] See Wylie, Constance, 29.

some of her hairs[1], and enough of her teeth to be able to give some away[2]. Also he had one of Charlemagne's teeth[3] and a piece of Elijah's mantle, two legs of one of the Holy Innocents and a leg and a rib of another[4], a skull of one of the 11,000 virgins from Cologne with a certificate of its genuineness[5], and a good collection of skulls and bones of saints of the very first rank[6], including even a rib and a finger of St Louis of Marseilles who had only been a century dead[7]. He had one of Christ's shoelatchets[8], a stone that He had turned into a loaf of bread at the Temptation, the towel with which He washed the disciples' feet, the cup He used at the Last Supper and a piece of the door of the church that St Peter made Simon Magus build at Rome[9]. Some of these treasures he divided up, distributing portions of them to various churches that he favoured, but with a comprehensive greed he sometimes condescended to unworthy means of acquisition which one would think would scarcely have been possible even in the case of a much smaller man. His name however is prominently connected with a certain highly discreditable incident concerning the head of St Denis, a short account of which may perhaps fitly find a place here.

[1] Given to him by Clement VII in 1384, Mély, xxv. For les cheveux Notre Dame in Paris, see Faigniez, Inventaires, xxvii, 391; also two of her hairs in the cathedral at Rouen, Pommeraye, Cathédrale, 73. There was some at Reading, Hurry, 128; Eng. Hist. Rev. iii. 116.

[2] Guiffrey, I. p. xcvii; Faigniez, Inventaires, xxvii, 396, where he gives some of them to the church of Notre Dame in Paris.

[3] Guiffrey, ii. 30.

[4] Ibid. ii. 44, 117. For a leg and a rib of one of the Holy Innocents in the church of St Jacques in Paris, see Le Villain, 65. They had the lips of one of them at Canterbury in 1465, Rozmital, 38. For Sigismund's jibe when he looked at the bone of St Elizabeth at Marburg that it might perhaps be a bit of a dead cobbler, see Lindner, ii. 289. For the shrine in the church of St Elizabeth at Marburg from which the remains were removed in 1527, see Villard de Hennecourt, p. 50.

[5] Guiffrey, ii. 61, 64, 92.

[6] Ibid. ii. 92, 113, 114; Collas, 64.

[7] He was the son of Charles the Lame, King of Sicily (d. 1285), and was born at Brignoles (Var) in 1274. At 16 years of age he was made Bishop of Toulouse and occupied that see from 1290 till his death in 1297 (Gams, 638; Eubel, i. 575). He was canonized April 7, 1317. In 1423 his body was removed from Marseilles to Valencia where it is still held in great veneration, Gall. Christ. xiii. 32, 34; Alban Butler, ii. 254. The Duke of Berry received one of his ribs and one of his fingers from the Duke of Anjou and gave away the top-joint of the finger to the cathedral at Chartres on June 20, 1410, Mély, 66, 109. For a figure of the saint together with the Duke of Berry and his first wife in tapestry at Chartres, see Montfaucon, iii. 182.

[8] Les corroyes de Notre Seigneur, Guiffrey, ii. 113; see Cotgr., s.v. *Courroye*. For a piece of His shoe at Reading, see Hurry, 128.

[9] Guiffrey, I. cii, cxxiv, 54; II. 77, 113.

Everybody knew that when Denis or Dionysius the martyred apostle of France[1] had had his head cut off he got up again and carried it in his hand down the hill at Montmartre to the spot where the great Abbey of St Denis was afterwards built[2], where it still remained decked with a golden mitre for the faithful to kiss on days of ceremony. But though the monks at St Denis claimed to possess the perfect skull, yet the large coronal or frontal bone of the saint was at the same time preserved in a shrine[3] with equal sanctity and kept in a window in the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris not five miles away, and it is not surprising that the nearness of the two rival relics should have caused doubts as to the genuineness of both[4]. Indeed the canons of Notre Dame had long been very outspoken and contemptuous in their language on this point. They were quite sure that their piece was right and therefore the whole skull at St Denis must be wrong. It might of course possibly be the skull of some other saint, but it was most probably only some pauper's skull tossed out at the Innocents'[5] or any other of the common cemeteries of Paris. The monks at St Denis of course defended their undivided skull and said that their rivals' claim was silly, and when feeling was running high some of them even came over to Notre Dame and charged the canons there with idolatry, to which the latter replied that if they came that way again they would have them locked up. And as they had the Bishop of Paris[6] on their side they carried their frontal

[1] Simeonis, 7. For the legend, see Dulaure, i. 120. "Protectour of France, Lodesterre of Paris the Citie," Lydg. Min. Po. 127, 129.

[2] St Denys, iii. 438. For a 17th century plan of the Abbey buildings, see Grande Encycl. i. 38. For the church in 1785, see Dulaure, i. 122. For pictures of it, see A. Laborde, II. Plates cli–cliii; Lasteyrie, Plate viii; Le Vallois, 164; Kraus, II. i. 181. For Count Montalembert's protest in 1847 against the "ruine" of the façade "qui est devenue la risée des artistes et des voyageurs," see Didron, Vandalisme, 116.

[3] Os couronnel enchasé illec, Delaborde, 310.

[4] For another body of St Denis at Ratisbon, see St Denys, iii. 400; and there was another of his heads at Canterbury, Windecke, 200; Act. Sanct. October IV. 951.

[5] Delaborde, 304. For 1 franc left in 1407 operi sanctorum Innocentium ubi pauperes mortui sepeliuntur, see Tuetey, Test. 453. Cf.

> Quand je considère ces têtes
> Entassées en ces charniers
> Car d'Évêques ou lanterniers
> Je n'y connais rien a redire
> La je vois toutes assouvis
> Enocente en un tas pêle mêle. Villon, in Faguet, 200 [162].

[6] i.e. Pierre d'Orgemont, whose brother Nicholas was one of the canons of Notre Dame, Mirot, D'Orgemont, 99–107.

bone in procession through the streets to the church of St Catherine, where Gerson preached a sermon, in which he said that the Canons' fragment was genuine, and the Bishop forbade anyone to say anything else[1]. But the monks kept on contradicting and became violently abusive against both Gerson and the Bishop and the latter threatened excommunication, setting out his case on a placard for the church-doors, which occupies three pages of close modern print[2].

Now the Duke of Berry, although he had previously had many friendly transactions with the monks in mutual gifts and exchanges of revered heads and arms and chins and jaw-bones[3], had nevertheless failed to obtain from them a piece of the famous skull[4]. He therefore now declared for the canons, who had given him a piece off their bone in 1406[5], and as the king had been induced to side with the monks the canons approached the Duke of Burgundy, and then both sides were told to hold their tongues and their pens and for a time the squabble died down.

But in October, 1408, the monks put forward a document purporting to prove that long, long ago people used to pray that God would take away the veil of error from the canons' hearts, showing that it was known even at that time that the bone at Notre Dame was spurious. Naturally the canons did not like being prayed for as if they were Jews on Good Friday[6], and so they said that the document was nothing but a modern forgery blurred and blackened to make it look old. At this point Gerson wrote an open letter[7] to the Abbot at St Denis in which he tried to smooth things over and advised the monks to withdraw their charges. Everybody knew that countless numbers of heads of John the Baptist[8] were to be found in different

[1] Gall. Christ. vi. 142.

[2] Delaborde, 306–309. For mediaeval posters, see Wylie, ii. 215, note 1.

[3] He had given them a piece of the head of St Benet, St Denys, ii. 780; Gilles, 223 (edition 1570). For the chin of St Hilary which he gave to the church of St Hilaire at Poitiers, see St Denys, ii. 116; Collas, 64.

[4] St Denys, ii. 116, 780.

[5] Mirot, D'Orgemont, 107; Delaborde, 351. It was given by his executors to the Sainte Chapelle at Bourges, Guiffrey, i. 55. Called "une pièce du chef St Denys," ibid. ii. 30.

[6] Delaborde, 311, 318, 328.

[7] Dated Oct. 8, 1408, Gerson, iv. 722.

[8] Sine numero, Gerson, i. lvii; iv. 722; quantités innombrables, Delaborde, 311,

churches and so there were of St Benet and St Lazarus[1] and the Magdalen, but where, he asked, would the worship of relics be if every church called its neighbours' relics a fraud[2]? There was really no reason why contradictory relics should not exist side by side. It might not perhaps be possible to prove that they were genuine[3], but all had at least some *probable* evidence to go upon and it would not do to call them lies for a lie was culpable in a matter of religion.

Afterwards the affair got into the hands of the Parliament and one of the ushers of that court went with two attendants into the church at St Denis, closed the door and passed unnoticed as an ordinary worshipper with the utmost appearance of devoutness along the aisle, till he came to the pillar where the offensive document was exposed, then whipped out a hammer, smashed the glass, tore down the document and produced his warrant to the bystanders before they could recover from their surprise. But in next to no time a crowd of monks and varlets surrounded the intruder with arms in their hands, threatening to kill him if he did not put the document back. The alarm bell was rung, the town gates were shut and it is said that the usher received a stab with a knife. In the end he had to give up the paper, which the monks triumphantly fastened on to the pillar again with iron clamps, leaving him to go and tell the authorities of Notre Dame what they had done.

Two days later other officials came over from the court to remove the document again. This time they came in their furred gowns but mass was going on in the church at the time, and they had therefore to wait till it was over. In the meantime they had sent for a blacksmith but he came without his hammer and so they "packed him off to the devil[4]" only to find that they could not get another

For the head of John the Baptist in the cathedral at Amiens, see Simeonis, 7, with picture in Daire, ii. 117, who thought it superfluous de prouver l'authenticité si souvent et si savamment démentrée. For his arms at Constantinople, see Wylie, i. 157; his hand in a reliquary at Malta in 1753, Bedford, Holbeche, 54; one of his teeth at Canterbury in 1465, Rozmital, 38.

[1] For St Lazarus as Bishop of Marseilles, see Simeonis, 10.

[2] Errorem mendosum, error intolerabilis et mendositas, Gerson, iv. 722; Delaborde, 311.

[3] Ne se trouvent dans la vérité, Delaborde, 311.

[4] S'envoièrent de par le diable, Delaborde, 321.

man to do the work, though there were plenty of smiths and farriers in the town. When they got back to the church they found the pillar guarded by five or six young monks with arms under their frocks who threatened to give them their mitches[1] in the Abbey or kill them outright. Seeing crowds of other monks collecting in the arcades above[2] ready to pelt them with stones if they touched the paper, they thought it better to go and have their dinner.

But this insult to the king's officers soon brought its own punishment. Five of the St Denis monks were imprisoned, and the Abbot, the Grand Prior and other heads of the Abbey were cited to appear before the Parliament in Paris, where the whole matter was argued out on April 3, 1410. The canons based their case on histories, ancient writings, old pictures and probable conjectures[3]; the "old pictures" in particular showing that it was only the top of the saint's skull that was struck off[4] and not the whole of his head, and surely it was not likely that the pictures would have shown this if it had not been true[5], or if the evidence had not been convincing how could the Paris University have come to believe it? Surely they would not have gone to sleep without finding out the facts[6]. Then there was the evidence of the Duke of Berry; and so they went on. Both sides set their moral and intellectual damage at a sufficiently high figure. The canons claimed that the Abbot should be fined 100,000 livres and that the bell that sounded the alarm should be recast and re-named, or at least that the clapper should be taken off and the bell silenced for five years for taking part in the rebellion[7]. The monks said that they had only called the canons' relic "faulty," which was a different word from "a fraud[8]"; and they claimed 100,000 marks of fine, the offending official being made to walk to the Abbey in his shirt and breeches with a lighted candle in his hand

[1] Cf. Wylie, iv. 354. In Bergerac la miche de pain cost 2*d.* in 1414, Charrier, i. 174, where the prices of wheat, rye, &c. are given.
[2] Sur les alées des voultes, Delaborde, 322.
[3] Delaborde, 324. [4] Ibid. 328. [5] Ibid. 325, 329.
[6] Ibid. 326. [7] Ibid. 329.
[8] Mendosa ne vient pas de mentiri, ibid. 331.

as a penance[1]. On April 19, 1410[2], the council decided to postpone its decision till the matter had been further examined, and here it seems to have got lost in the general violence of the ensuing times. But the story is so circumstantial and the details are so well authenticated that it seems worth recalling the incident as a curious illustration of the boundless credulity of educated minds in that age and of their utter inability to weigh and estimate the value of written evidence. The canons could get no further back than the *Memoriale Historiarum* of Jean de St Victor, who had only been dead about 200 years[3], while the monks relied upon Guillaume de Nangis (d. 1300), Rigord's Lives of Philippe Auguste (1180–1223), Guillaume le Breton (d. 1226) and their own chronicles (i.e. the Grandes Chroniques[4] in Latin and French), forgetful of the fact that not one of these books was much more than 200 years old and that they were all written in their own Abbey[5] and mostly by members of their own community.

The Duke of Berry wrote no book himself, but his name is associated with the production of abundance of literary material. Christine de Pisan dedicated to him her Livre de la Paix[6] and sent him a copy of her romance of Hector

[1] For Ulysse de Cabaret (1252) condemned to visit churches in Carcassonne barefoot en chemise et en braies, see Robert, 126; I wente barefote on my fette, Pol. Songs, ii. 205–8; Harcourt, 381. For canonical penance (i.e. to walk nu en chemise carrying 4 lb. wax candles) for two sergeants who violated sanctuary at the Carmes in Paris (1440), see Bibl. de l'Éc. des Chartes, xv. 172. For Lollards condemned to stand in their shirts in the market-place, see Workman, i. 255.

[2] Delaborde, 332.

[3] He died in 1207 and the book was continued to 1322.

[4] Edited to 1375 for Charles V by Pierre d'Orgemont, who was Chancellor of France from 1373 to 1382, Mirot, Boiteux, xiv. 307; Delisle, Facsimile, p. 20, Pl. xiv, printed in Paris 1477, Chronographia, III. p. xxvii; Mirot, p. xi, with continuation to the Accession of Louis XI in 1461; Champion, Martiniane, p. i, quoting Molinier, no. 3099; called une histoire officielle de premier chef, Delachenal, Chas. V, p. xix; and A. Hauser, Etudes critiques sur les sources narratives de l'Histoire de France au XVIe siècle, in Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, v. 172 (1905). For account of them, see Demogeot, 188; Masson, pp. 158, 159, who calls them "useful but somewhat dull" (p. 163); see also Paulin Paris' edition of Grandes Chroniques (who quotes La Carme, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. xxiii); Faguet, 84 [77]. For five copies still surviving from the library of Chas. V, see Delisle, Recherches, 309–318. For the Chronographia Regum Francorum from 1279 to 1405, written between 1415 and 1422, see Chronographia, III. p. xlvii.

[5] Cf. Li livres ki les anchiiens Fiesmougne les maux et les bien en l'Abeie St Denise, Guillaume de Nangis, 6, quoted in Barante, iii. 17.

[6] i.e. on Jan. 1, 1414, Guiffrey, i. 332. For her volumes in Bibl. Nat. MSS. 835,606, 836,605, presented to him for 200 crowns between 1408 and 1413, see Christine, II. p. v; also Livre de la Mutation de France, March 1406; Livre du Chemin de longue Etude, Mar. 20, 1406; Faits et bonnes Moeurs de Charles V, Jan. 1, 1405; Sept Psaumes, Jan.

and Othée[1], her Livre des Faits de Charles V and her Chemin de Long Estude, and Jacques le Grand his Livres de Bonnes Mœurs; Laurent de Premierfait[2] presented to him his translation of Boccaccio's Decameron and the Falls of Princes; and his secretary, Jacques of Ableiges[3], wrote the *Grand Coustumier* which is the great text book on French feudal law[4]. But the most notable masterpiece with which he had to

1, 1410; Faits d'Armes et de Chevalerie, Jan. 1, 1413; and "presque tous ses ouvrages," Christine, II. p. x.

[1] Otherwise called the Epitre d'Othée, sent to the Duke circ. 1401, G. F. Warner in S. Scrope, xix, xxxiv, who thinks that this very copy was brought from France by John Fastolf. For a copy of it in Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 12438 with dedication to the Duke of Berry, see S. Scrope, xxv. Scrope embodied Christine's praise of the Duke of Berry in his preface, S. Scrope, pp. xxxviii, 3. See page 405, note 2. The Epitre d'Othée was dedicated to Louis Duke of Orleans (S. Scrope, xviii) and was translated into English as "The Boke of Knyghthode" in 14— by Stephen Scrope, step-son of John Fastolf, whom he addresses as "yowre most humble son" or "sonne in law," S. Scrope, pp. xxiii, xxv, 2; Amyot, 263. He was the son of Stephen Scrope who died Sept. 4, 1408, Wylie, iii. 168, and Millicent Tibetot who afterwards married John Fastolf, i.e. on Jan. 13 or 14, 1409. She was allowed £100 per annum for her chamber (ad ejus cameram), Amyot, 275; cf. Wylie, ii. 279. She died at the age of 78 in 1446, Scrope, Castlecombe, 170, 171, 184, 262, 264, and was buried in the Abbey of St Bennet's in the Holme or Cowholme (cf. de Holme or de Hulme, Monast. iii. 83, 86, 87; Monasterium Hulmi, Ecclesia de Hulmo, Nasmith, 116, 331–336, 341, where dimensions of the buildings and list of Abbots are given; called "the Hulm" in Dict. Nat. Biogr. xviii. 238) on the banks of the Bure near Horning in the Norfolk Broads, Scrope, Castlecombe, 172. She is called "La Dame Mylicent" in Paston Lett. i. 92; or "Milecencie" in an inscription formerly in a window in Pulham Church, Blomefield, v. 590; D. Turner, Caister, p. 24; cf. "Mylcentie," Amyot, 269. This window was put up by Thomas Howes, rector of Pulham, who was one of Fastolf's executors (Paston Lett. i. 467). It contained figures of John Fastolf and his wife Millicent, but no trace of it now remains. She (Millicent) was 17 years old when in 1385 she married Scrope, to whom she brought the manor of Castlecombe in Wiltshire, and 41 when she married Fastolf, who was then only 29 years of age. He survived her and died on Nov. 5, 1459, at 79 years of age. He was buried beside her in St Bennet's Abbey, where he had built the south aisle and the Lady Chapel eorum benefactor praecipuus, Nasmith, 116. For a picture of the church, see Monast. iii. 80, and of the present ruins with the windmill, D. Turner, Caister, 33. Stephen Scrope the younger also translated the Dicta Philosophorum, a popular book which had been originally translated from the Arabic into Latin by John de Procida (circ. 1282), and from Latin into French as "Dis des Philosophes" by Guillaume de Tignouville who died in 1414. This French edition was translated into English as "Dictes and Sayeingis of the Philosophres" by Caxton in 1477, who however was not aware that an English translation had been made by Stephen Scrope 27 years before. Two copies of Scrope's translation still exist in the British Museum, viz. Harl. MS. 2266 and Add. MS. 34193, Amyot, 263; S. Scrope, pp. xxiii, 4. For the "Book of Noblesse," most probably by Wm. Worcester (though the author was supposed to be entirely unknown by its editor J. G. Nichols, Noblesse, p. 1; cf. Blades, ii. 207) in collaboration with Stephen Scrope, see Scrope, pp. xxxiii, xliii, xlvi. The side-notes in MS. Reg. 18 B. xxii, are in Worcester's hand, and many of the facts regarding John Fastolf are clearly derived from Stephen Scrope writing in 1451, cf. Noblesse, 42, 48. Cf. sorefull and hungry he findeth hem table, Kail, 98; cf. "bordiers," Puiseau, Caen, 79; cf. £20 "pour sa chambre," Lyte, Dunster, 54; cf. 12*d.* a week pro mensa sua et filia ejus, i.e. for a mother and daughter who were commensales with Thomas Suett, Maldon Records, 13/1, Feb. 17, 1421.

[2] For picture of the presentation, see Sarrazin, 99.

[3] Near Pontoise (Seine et Oise). He was secretary to the Duke of Berry in 1371, Delisle, Coutumier, 7, 12, 20. For his signature Feb. 22, 1389, see ibid. 19.

[4] For "le Coutumier de l'Auvergne" circ. 1450, see Rivière, i. 448.

do was the matchless romance[1] of the serpent-fairy Melusine, that chased away black thoughts and lit up the tedium of life in many a mediaeval home[2] and has not yet ceased to influence the art, the music and the literature of the western world. Among the Duke's possessions was the famous castle of Lusignan[3] in the plain of Poitou, the cradle of a great feudal family whose members had roamed the earth slaying Turks, killing giants, rescuing heiresses and founding kingdoms in farthest heathendom. Their branches spread to Cognac, to Luxembourg, to Bohemia, to Cyprus[4], but wherever they were they all traced back their origin with awe to the eponymous Mère Lusine[5] who circled in the air round the towers at Lusignan[6] keening her three-days' warning cry[7] whenever death or disaster threatened them in any quarter of the world[8]. She it was who haunted

[1] Cf. this romaunce, Laud Troy Bk. 549; a romaunce, do. 535.

Car ils ôtent le noir penser
Deuil et ennui font oublier.

Quoted in Denis, Pyram; Demogeot, 127.

Cf. Ete and drank and tolde fables. Laud Troy Bk. 430.

[3] See page 415, note 4. For a subtety (*entremets*) at the banquet at Lille in 1454, representing the castle of Lusignan with Melusine en forme de serpent, see La Marche, 491; Matthieu de Coussy, 149; Barante, vi. 11. For the park at Lusignan, see Débat, 6, 57.

[4] For Guy de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem (1186) and of Cyprus (1192), see Lannoy, Survey, 294; Hodgson, 340; Cox, 101. For Pierre de Lusignan, King of Cyprus (1360–1368), who sacked Alexandria in 1365 (Wylie, ii. 199), see Lannoy, Survey, 280, 313, 352; do. Œuvres, lxxxvi, quoting Froissart, iv. 213, 215; Machand in Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. vol. xxxiv; Lusignan, Hist. Gen. de l'Isle de Cyprus, p. 145; Giblet, Hist. des Rois de Chypre, II. liv. 9, with other references. He was assassinated on Jan. 18, 1368=1369, Baudot, 132, where he receives a warning from Melusine three days before; see also Arras, 423; Melusine, 370; see also Le Voyage d'Outremer, p. xxvii, &c. quoted in Bouvier, Descr. 69, for les Lusignan 1422–1426 in Cyprus. For tablet erected to his memory by his Chancellor Philippe de Mézières (Wylie, iv. 324) in the church of the Celestins in Paris, see Froiss. (Johnes), iii. 212. Cf.

And for no thing but for thy chivalrie
They in thy bed have slain thee. Chaucer, Monk's Tale, 14705.

The reigning King of Cyprus was James of Lusignan who married Charlotte daughter of the Duke of Bourbon and died in 1432.

[5] Desaivre, 204, 205, 225, 232, quoting le Counte de Marsy in Bull. Crit., March 1, 1884, and Revue du Bas Poitou (1894), p. 494. For derivation from Melle and Lusignan, see La Mure, i. 489, 490; also from Melisande, i.e. Millicent, see Bullet, 128; Coudrette, viii; Yonge, Christian Names, i. 25.

[6] For la Tour de Melusine at Lusignan destroyed in 1622, see Grande Encycl. xxii. 775. It is called "la Tour trompée" in Arras, 100; "the tromped Towre" in Melusine, 88.

[7] "A feminyn cry," Melusine, 354; an horrible cry and pyteous, ibid. 320. For le cri de Melusine, see Desaivre, 206; Coudrette, ix.

[8] Melusine, 370; do. Brunet, 423. Cf. After apparence shall have a lord novel, Coudrette, 179; she wailed when the castle at Lusignan was destroyed by Montmorency in 1574 or 1575, Paulet, v. 372; vi. 218; Baring-Gould, 479; also when it was finally demolished in the reign of Louis XIII, Mezeray, iii. 359. For picture of the church at Lusignan, see Joanne, iv. 2359.

the spring[1] at Lusignan; she built the castle with a mystic army of magic masons[2] in one night, carrying up the huge stones in her lap[3] or underneath her arm[4]. Many and various are the forms of the legend of the "Serpent of Lusignan[5]," but if in some places she thrashes peeping husbands[6] or pops up out of ditches to slap naughty children[7], yet on the whole she is generally a sweet, courteous and benign ghost[8] and does no harm to anybody. At Lusignan at any rate she is a harmless banshee[9] "all good and fair[10]" who shares the joys and sorrows of the house, appearing like the White Lady of Avenel[11] when a child is born to cheer them or warning them of some pending calamity before it actually comes.

[1] "Fountaine of fayerie named the fountaine of soyf," Melusine, 27; fontaine de la faée, Arras, 35; not "font de sée," as Keightley, 48; or Font de Cé (i.e. Caesar), Roy, 3. She appeared to the Englishman Godart near the well where the poultry were kept (Melusine, Brunet, 423) and she haunts the spring in the limestone caves at Sassenaye near Grenoble (Isère) in Dauphiny, Paulet, v. 363; Polybiblion, 2nd Ser. xviii. 312. For Sassenaye, see Chorier. For ondaines, pédangues and mermaids near springs, see Desaivre, 226.

[2] Arras, 14; Melusine, 62; Brantôme, i. 484; Rozmital, 59.

[3] Dans sa dorne, see Godefroy, s.v. She is called la bâtisseuse, la fée architecte in Roy, 69.

[4] Melusine, 6, 9; Arras, 14. She also built the Priory Church of Our Lady at Lusignan (Desaivre, 234) as well as the castles of Melle near Niort (Deux Sèvres), Arras, 103, though it did not belong to the Lusignan family, Paulet, vi. 84; Bullet, 127; also the castles of Rochelle, Vouvent in the Gâtine (for the Gâtine en Poitou, see Cosneau, Connétable, 39; for Vouvent, see Baring-Gould, 475, also picture with the Tour de Melusine, Robuchon, x. 16); Mervent (near Fontenay le Comte (Vendée), not "Mersent," as Dobeneck, 11, nor "Mursent," as Keightley, 481); Bessay (near Mareuil (Vendée), Desaivre, 226); and St Maixcence (near Parthenay, Melusine, 103; Ledain, 200, who regards her as une personnification poétique du génie civilisateur of the lords of Lusignan and Parthenay). In Brittany she built the castles of Fougères, Bois-roux and Sucinio (for picture see Grande Encycl., s.v. *Sarzeau*) and the Trinitarian Convent at Sarzeau near Vannes where they show the stone beneath which she lies buried (Desaivre, 215, 239; Bulletin Critique, v. 189) though the convent was only founded by John III Duke of Brittany in 1341. She haunted the castles of Ham in Picardy and Enghien in Hainault, Paulet, v. 222. For account of Enghien near Mons, see Collins, p. 1. For the Chapelle de Melusine at Lusignan, see Desaivre, 233; Bulletin Critique, v. 88. For the castle of Mervent, see Revue Anglo-Française, i. 213; also the castle at Niort, Melusine, 299; also the castle of Parthenay, Lecesne, 111.

[5] Arras, 432; Melusine, 370.

[6] As at Luxembourg.

[7] As at Arthonnay near Tonnère (Yonne) where the children throw stones on to her heap on the road-side to keep her quiet, Desaivre, 232, quoting C. Moiset, Les Usages du Département de l'Yonne in Bulletin de la Société des Sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne, 1888.

[8] Coudrette, xiv. 92. "Un rabat qui rode," Godefroy, s.v. *Rabast.*

[9] Baring-Gould, 489.

[10] Ne peut-on dire autrement que tout beau et bon, Brantôme, i. 484; Paulet, vi. 215. Cf. "the lady of this place," Melusine, 369.

[11] For similar cases in Neuhaus and Rosenburg in Bohemia, Guttenberg on the Neckar, Cobalto in Italy, &c., see Barante, vi. 13 note.

When the castle was in the hands of the English in September, 1374, she appeared in the form of a serpent to the commander Churchill when he was in his bed, and three days later it surrendered to Du Guesclin and the Duke of Berry[1]. It was natural therefore that with such recent and personal evidence of the reality of the apparition the Duke, who had a passion for romances[2], should have been keen to find out all that could be traced about the banshee; and so when quieter times returned he commissioned John of Arras, a book-dealer[3] with whom he had frequently had business transactions, to work up the story for him, giving him free access to any family or other records that were at his command[4] and helping him also by introductions to the ex-commander Churchill[5], together with another Englishman named Goddard[6] and a Welshman named Yvon[7], all of whom had actually seen the apparition, and also to his friend[8] the Earl of Salisbury who had himself written a book on the subject[9], and obtained information for him from an Englishman named John Creswell[10]. The Duke of Berry's sister Marie, who was married to Robert

[1] Ledes, 94. Cf. "by manere of conqueste," Melusine, 369; Arras, 420.

[2] Luce, i. 215.

[3] Baudot, 260. He is called secretary to the Duke of Berry in Lecesne, 94, 95, 681; Desaivre (ouest), 205; Nouvelle Biogr. Gén. xxvi. 561; Coudrette, p. v; Dinaux, iii. 289; Suchier, 263; cf. clerc du Duc de Berry, Bulletin Critique, v. 88. For payment made by Valentine Duchess of Orleans, Jan. 18, 1399, to Jean d'Arras libraire for repairing a copy of "Giron le Courtois" (written by Helie de Borron for Henry II, King of England, see Faguet, 21. For a copy of it in the library of Charles V, see Delisle, Recherches, ii. 184), see Champion, Libr. xvii; Collas, 277, quoting L. E. Laborde, iii. no. 5871. For work done by him for Queen Isabel, see Delisle, Recherches, 133.

[4] Emong many gestes and trew cronikles, Melusine, 369. For supposition that there were "some documents that had been carefully preserved in the castle at Lusignan," see Coudrette, p. 5.

[5] Called "Sersuelle" in Arras, 421; or "Sersuel," Melusine, 362. Not "Serville," as Keightley, 484; Baring-Gould, 482.

[6] Or "Godart," Arras, 423.

[7] Arras, 423. For seal of "Yvain de Gales" on receipt for wages in Perigord in 1376, see Demay, i. 415.

[8] Wylie, i. 85, 329.

[9] Melusine, 1; do. Brunet, 9; Baudot, 168, 274; Wylie, iv. 285. Cf. This historie confirmed Anthonye (should be John Montague, d. 1400, Wylie, i. 100; called "Amery" in Coudrette, 231).

> The Erle of Salz and of Berry also
> In a book which had of this castel hye
> But always spake in his wordes al
> Unto these bokes above said egal
> Of bokes three that boke drawen oute. Coudrette, 6.
> (= Car il parloit en tous ses dis
> De tous les faits que je vous dis. Coudrette, 232).

[10] Cf. Froiss. Johnes, ii. 137; Baudot, 130.

Duke of Bar[1], was also interested, for her neighbours at Luxembourg[2] were members of the house of Lusignan, and within her husband's dominions stood Ligny[3], one of the many castles built by the fairy's magic hand.

Under such high patronage did John of Arras approach his task. He began it on Nov. 23, 1387[4], and finished it on Aug. 7, 1394[5], and from the first it had an enormous vogue as a pastime[6] or a pillow-book[7] and old and young alike were spellbound under the fascination of the story[8] of the beautiful wife who was "the most faythfullest and truest lady that ever was born[9]" who did a weekly penance[10] by changing every Saturday[11] into a serpent with a body as thick as a herring tun[12] and from the navel downwards[13] a tail anything from 8 to 15 feet in length[14]; how when her husband peeped through a hole and found her combing

[1] Cf. Qui en Barrois reprinst et fist son raim, Deschamps, i. 143; Höpffner, 82. She was born in 1344, Baudot, 22; Renard, 66; married Robert Duke of Bar on June 4, 1364 (Anselme, i. 108; Smyttere, 4), and died Jan. 2, 1404, ibid. 359; Baudot, 73; Melusine, i. 9, 13; Arras, 9, 421; Desaivre, 225, who thinks that Jobst, Marquis of Moravia, wanted amusing also. For the Duchess of Bar's Book of Hours bequeathed by her to her son Louis the Cardinal, who passed it on to his sister Bonne, see Renard, 135. For her funeral in the church of St Maxe at Bar-le-Duc, see Renard, 138.

[2] For claim that Melusine was a German goblin originating in Luxembourg (where the war-cry of the Ducal house was "Le Signen," Coudrette, 184) and afterwards passing into Poitou, see Polybiblion, Ser. II. xviii. 311; Paulet, v. 290; vi. 132, 185; Bulletin Critique, v. 89; called cette vieille légende *celtique* in G. Paris, Esquisse, 214; do. Temple, 120.

[3] Desaivre, 226. For picture of the Tour de Melusine at Ligny-en-Barrois, see Grande Encycl. xx. 232.

[4] Melusine, 2; Arras, 10; Coudrette, vi, where Skeat thinks the year should be 1384.

[5] Melusine, 368; Arras, 420; Baudot, 185; Lecesne, 94, 95. For notes by scribes at the termination of books, see Lecoy de la Marche, Miniatures, 101, 103; e.g. Deo Gratias! detur pro pena scriptori pulchra puela explicit (i.e. explicitus est liber), P. Vidal, Perpignan, 296. Cf. explicit hoc totum; pro christo da mihi potum...written at end of the Winchester City Customary, Leach, 163. For c'est tout, see Chaucer (S.), vii. 235, 502.

[6] Ung beau livre qui se nommera Passe-temps, Débat, p. xxx.

[7] Un livre de chevet, Baudot, 121; cf. la prose des boudoirs et des alcoves, Demogeot, 102.

[8] For abstract of the story, see Bullet, 117–119; Dobeneck, 10; Keightley, 480–482; Coudrette, viii; Polybiblion, Ser. II. vol. xviii (1883), p. 309; Marsy, 87; Baring-Gould, 471–480; Paulet, v. 217–222. For literature of the subject, see Paulet, v. 224; vi. 84.

[9] Melusine, 297. Cf. the most sage, most humble, most charytable and curteys of all other lyving in erthe, Melusine, 317.

[10] "Penanced lady-elf," Keats, Lamia, 113. In Rozmital, 59, she is changed into a serpent propter malitiam et petulantiam.

[11] The Setterday unto a serpent repair, Coudrette, 192. Cf. sammstägiges Versperrtseyn, Dobeneck, 11; called "Sabbath seclusion" in Baring-Gould, 476.

[12] Quaque de harene, Arras, 332; cf. "thick as a barrel," Melusine, 297; Roy, 10; Lecesne, 138; Baudot, 135; cf. Wylie, iv. 33, note 6.

[13] Coudrette, 100; Melusine, 15, 29; do. Brunet, 17, 23.

[14] Melusine, 320.

her hair in this guise she mounted into the air and after wheeling thrice about the great donjon tower at Lusignan flew away and vanished from his sight. For a time she was said to have returned each night just to wash and milk her two little babes[1] and hold them up before the fire and ease them as she could, but this was only what the nurses said and her mourning husband saw her no more[2]. A hundred and fifty years later when Catherine de Medicis talked with the washerwomen at Lusignan they told her that they had actually seen the lady sitting in a widow's weeds beside the well known as Caesar's spring, but the castle was then demolished[3] and no one pretends to have seen her since. So strange and marvellous is the story[4] that most moderns are content to believe that John of Arras spun it out of his own head[5]. But his references to time and place are so circumstantial and precise and he so constantly quotes from "the history" or "the chronicle which I believe to be true[6]" that there seems no doubt that he was actually compiling from some books that lay before him "in litteral scripture[7]"; while as to the difficulty of understanding how a woman could change into a serpent and fly about in the air, he believes that God has secrets as yet unrevealed to men, which will some day be made plain by a more extended knowledge of the world[8] though how this may be the human creature may not now conceive. From this point of view he put his most diligent effort into the story of the tower of Lusignan just for the very reason that there were about it "more marvels than in any place of the world[9]." He found that Melusine had plenty of children, but that every one of them had some

[1] Cf. Thou milkest the sone of God with thy brestes brode, Coudrette, 221.

[2] Melusine, 322; Arras, 361.

[3] Brantôme, i. 485; Paulet, v. 223.

[4] For an account of it, see Dinaux, iii. 292; Lecesne, *passim*; Boudot, 126.

[5] N'a fait que broder sur un thème des épisodes à sa façon, La Mure, i. 490 note, where the references to "old chronicles" are regarded as une figure de rhétorique. Cf. "les prétendus chroniques," Desaivre (ouest), 205, 214; "les manuscrits soi-disant," Bulletin Critique, v. 88.

[6] Arras, 36, 42, 43, 358, 421, 424; Melusine, 2, 4, 27, 28, 312, 368, 370; Coudrette, 206.

[7] Coudrette, 77, 92, 205, 219; "in old scripture," ibid. 76, 196.

[8] The further that he travaylleth in reaumes and countreis the greater knowleche hath he of every thing, Melusine, 371; Arras, 429; cf. Wylie, iv. 139, note 8. For seraine (i.e. syren) with a fish's tail, see Philippe de Thaon in Petit de Julleville, ii. 168.

[9] Melusine, 361.

"wem[1]" or "inconvenience[2]" from his birth. One had ears as large as fan-handles[3], another had one eye red and the other blue, another had one of his eyes higher up than the other, another (viz. Anthony, the ancestor of the house of Luxembourg[4]) had a lion's claw growing in his cheek[5], another had a hairy top like the skin of a mole or a foin[6] on his nose, another had three eyes, one of them being in the middle of his forehead, another had a front tooth pointing downwards as long as your thumb[7], and yet another whom they rightly called "Orrible" killed two foster-nurses before he was three years old "through hys bytyng all off their pappes[8]." Another writer, who calls himself Coudrette[9], dealing with the story refers to two Latin books that he had consulted in the castle of Mainbresson[10], while

[1] Coudrette, 23, 224.

[2] Melusine, 206; quelque estrange tache, Lecesne, 141.

[3] "The handlyng of a fan," Melusine, 65; = "mamilles" in Arras, 74; Paulet, v. 218; les manilles d'un van, Desaivre, 213, who gives vannosas aures (not in Du Cange) of some giants who wrap their ears round them when they go to sleep.

[4] Paulet, v. 264.

[5] Melusine, 197.

[6] Fouant, Melusine, 102; Arras, 118. Called a musk-cat, wood-marten or beech-marten in Cotgr., s.v. *Fouinne*; cf. Godefroy, s.v. *Fouin*; or an animal of the pole cat or weasel kind, Murray, Dict., s.v.; cf. Wylie, iv. 345. Cf. furred with funes, Fifty Wills, 8; cf. 1 chymmer furrez de foynes, Add. MS. 4601/95 (122); 300 fouyns pour une robe fourrée, Blanchard, ii. 245; deux pannes de fouyngs, do. ii. 249.

[7] i.e. Geoffrey with the great Tooth, Melusine, 6, 17; not a boar's tusk, as Dobeneck, 12; Keightley, 482; Baring-Gould, 475. For a medal showing Geoffrey with the Great Tooth, see J. Kohler. For portrait of him from the castle of Lusignan, see Desaivre, Bull. Crit. v. 90; Paulet, vi. 224 (quoting Shevet), who says that his tooth was so long that his enemies could not look him in the face. Ledain, 134, identifies him as Geoffrey II of Lusignan, Lord of Vouvent and Mervant, circ. 1320.

[8] Melusine, 311; Lecesne, 108, 111, 143.

[9] Coudrette, 219, 220; Grande Encycl. xxiii. 619; Nouv. Biogr. Univ. xxvi. 561. In Paulet, vi. 82, he is supposed to have written circa 1400; also Robuchon, 7; called "un troubadour" in Ledain, 198; un Poitovin, G. Paris, Esquisse, 214; do. Temple, 119; not that he is the same as Jean d'Arras, as Barante, vi. 14 note.

[10] i.e. near Chaumont-Porcien in the Ardennes. Cf.

> Within the toure of noble Matregon
> To faire bokis were fonden thereon
> In latin and al preved at devise
> That me made me translat in most frenshest wyse.
>
> Coudrette, pp. vi, 6.

(Or Mantbregeon, Coudrette, 231; cf. point devys, Wylie, iii. 331, note 7; Hit was ydoon hardly at point devise, G. W. Taylor, 221.) This is usually supposed to be a translation of Jean d'Arras (Le Mure, i. 190 note), but it seems to have been an independent version undertaken for Guillaume Larchevesque, 7th Lord of Parthenay (1358–1401), and his son and successor John, Coudrette, vii; Ledain, 198; both of whom were descendants of Geoffrey with the Great Tooth, Coudrette, p. x. For supposition that it is a prose translation of a vieux chant en roman, see Biogr. Gén. xxvi. 561; Le Mure, i. 190 note; Paulet, vi. 82, 185, who dates it circa 1350. For seals of the family of Larchevêque, Lords of Parthenay, see Demay, Inventaire, i. 26. In 1418 the Mayor of St Jean d'Angély and others going to the Dauphin (? at Poitiers) had to be protected as far as

a perusal of the text shows that the writer, or the original from whom he copied, worked in the story of Sparrowhawk Castle[1] and the Daughter of Hippocrates from such old-established favourites as Gervais of Tilbury[2], Vincent of Beauvais, the "*Speculum Naturale*," and the Travels of Sir John Mandeville[3].

Coudrette's version was undertaken under the patronage of Guillaume Larchevêque, 7th Lord of Parthenay[4], and quite early in the 15th century a translation of it was made into English, the translator eulogising Jean II the last member of the family of Larchevêque who was Lord of Parthenay[5], after whose death in 1427 his castle of Parthenay passed to Arthur Count of Richmond[6]. If anything could prove the ever-increasing popularity of the story of Melusine it would be proved by the large number of translations of it that were made into every language of Europe. In 1456 it was translated into German prose by the Berner Thüring von Ringoltingen whose work was printed at Augsburg in 1474, and a Spanish version soon

Lusignan par cause des périls tant des Anglois que de ceulx de la garnison de Partenay, Aussy, Reg. iii. 272, where Arthur of Richmond has garrisons at Mervent, Vouvent and Le Coudray-Salbert.

[1] Melusine, 362; Arras, 412; Coudrette, 185. For the Lai de l'Eperrier, see G. Paris, 1–9; Bédier, 229, with Eastern versions, Bédier, 231–236.

[2] circ. 1185, Marsy, 87.

[3] Desaivre, 206, 209, 210; Mandeville, 17, 98. Called "a mendacious and pseudonymous production" by "a dishonest writer" in Garnett, i. 194, 198, 199, who refers to its translation into all the chief European languages including Bohemian and Irish. For a copy of it among Charles V's books in the Louvre, see Delisle, Recherches, i. 275; do. Facsimile, p. 11, Plates vi, vii, stolen in 1840 but bought back for Bibl. Nat. in 1888.

[4] i.e. from 1358 to 1401, Coudrette, vii; Ledain, 198. He compiled the "Coutumes de Poitou" in 1417, Ledain, 213, quoting Bulletin de la Société d'Agriculture de Poitou, 184. He went Burgundian in 1413 when the castle was confiscated and given to the Dauphin Louis on May 14, 1415 (Ledain, 207), who granted it on May 23, 1415, to Arthur Count of Richmond, Cosneau, 38, 486. Richmond opened operations against Parthenay on June 25, 1415 (Cosneau, 40, 493) and continued the siege till Oct. 10, 1415. He was however unable to capture the place and subsequently authorised his brother the Duke of Brittany to compromise on his behalf when he was a prisoner in England (i.e. at Angers on July 2, 1417, Ledain, 212; Cosneau, 49). After the death of Jean Larchevêque without male issue in 1427 Parthenay passed definitely into the possession of the Count of Richmond. He married Brunissant (or Brussinant) eldest daughter of Archambaud V Count of Perigord (Cosneau, Connétable, 485, where he is called Comte de Pierregort on July 15, 1417), but according to her own account he treated her very strangely (*assez estrangement*) making her kneel and kiss the ground on which he walked. He shut her up in the castles of Parthenay and Vouvent, allowing nobody to come into the latter who was under 40 years of age, Cosneau, Connétable, 485.

[5] i.e. from Coudrette, Melusine, 213. For portraits of Coudrette and Guillaume Larchevesque (d. May 14, 1401) the father of Jean, see Coudere, Album, 22, Pl. li.

[6] Grande Encycl. xxvi. 5; Ledain, 207, together with the castle of Mathefelon (probably Matafelon near Izernore, Ain), Coudrette, 214, 216.

appeared among the earliest productions of the printing-press of Seville[1]. Successive translations of it appeared in English, Italian[2], Flemish[3], Danish[4], Czech, Icelandic[5] and Russian. In France they named their guns after Melusine[6] and she has many times been staged in drama[7] in various parts of Europe; she appears in every phase of art from the skill of the die-graver[8] to the sculpture of the salon[9]. In the Middle Ages she was served as a subtlety at ducal feasts[10] and the children still eat her in parkin at the booths of the country fair[11], and while she has inspired the music of a Mendelssohn and a Halévy[12] she can still coax out the sous and groschen of the fiction-loving public when issued as a penny novelette[13].

For many generations the story in spite of its obvious unreality was accepted as historical evidence in establishing genealogical trees[14], then through the rationalising stage[15] it passed into the region of kelpie yarns yielding a mine of wealth to the speculations of the students of folk-lore and legend[16], some of whom have discovered her at the base of every serpent myth if not of every legend that ever circulated in the whole wide world[17], while quite recently a learned

[1] For list of early printed editions, see Brunet, iii. 519; Nouv. Biogr. Univ. xxvi. 561. For general lists of printed editions, see Dinaux, iii. 290; Baring-Gould, 483.

[2] Desaivre, 217.

[3] Grande Encycl. xxi. 95.

[4] K. L. Rakbek in Brit. Mus. Catalogue.

[5] Kronyka Krato-chwgena etne a Islechetné Parmé Meluzýně (1595); do. do., s.v. Melusine. For an abstract in Icelandic called Melusinae og Remunds Saga, see Add. MS. 4870; said to be "of late date" in Coudrette, p. v.

[6] e.g. at Nantes in 1473, Desaivre, 215; Baudot, 364.

[7] Baudot, 363.

[8] Bulletin Critique, v. 90.

[9] D. Kohler. For "Die Schöne Melusine" in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna by Moritz von Schwind (b. 1804, d. 1871), see Brockhaus, xiv. 754.

[10] La Marche, ii. 357; Barante, vi. 12.

[11] Keightley, 481; Coudrette, ix; Polybiblion, 2nd Ser. xviii. 312. For gateaux Melusins at Lusignan and Champdeniers (near Niord), see Bulletin Critique, v. 90.

[12] "La Magicienne" (1857), Baudot, 363; also Karl Grammann, Melusine (1876), Brockhaus, xi. 758; Karl von Perfall, "Raimondin" (1881), ibid. xii. 1010.

[13] e.g. Bibliothèque Bleue, Paris, 1859; J. L. Tieck in Coudrette, vii; Karl Simrock (b. 1802), Die deutschen Volks-bücher, Brockhaus, xi. 759.

[14] e.g. La Mure, Book ii. chs. 77–84, quoted in Coudrette, p. 5. Ledain, 134, 200, who believes that the story has un fond de vérité (p. 199), identifies Melusine with Eustache, daughter of Thibault Chabot II Lord of Vouvent and Mervant, who was married in 1200 to Geoffrey I of Lusignan and died in 1229.

[15] e.g. La Mure, i. 491, who takes the serpent story as a mere symbol of her prudence.

[16] Gaidoz-Rolland, i. 4.

[17] Kohler, 1–31, who calls it die Krone aller Sagenstoffe and the World's Kindheits-

treatise has been written by an enthusiastic researcher into the family history of the Dukes of Bar who has laboriously endeavoured to trace all the allusions direct and indirect in Jean d'Arras' romance on the will-o'-the-wisp assumption that all of them are somehow founded on historical fact.

traum; see also Nowack, Die Melusinensage des Kindheitstraums der Weltgeschichte (Zurich Dissertation, 1886).

CHAPTER XLVII

GREAT WALTHAM

In the lull that comes over the political life of England while her king and nobles are busied in the conquest and settlement of Normandy we may find a place for the study of the uneventful annals of an Essex village which formed part of the domain of one of the great captains that were fighting at the front. William Bourchier[1] had gone with the negotiators to Paris before the fighting actually began, served with both expeditions that sailed with King Henry V to France, and when the rewards were distributed he was created Count of Eu on June 10, 1419[2]. He never returned to England but died abroad on May 28, 1420[3], and the records of his manor of Great Waltham[4] near Chelmsford still exist in excellent preservation on the spot[5]. These rolls have been quite recently examined by a patient investigator[6] to whose notes (as yet unpublished) I am greatly

[1] He was the son of William Bourchier and Eleanor de Lovain, heiress of Little Easton or Easton-at-the-Tower near Dunmow in Essex, Morant, i. 466; ii. 430. For arms of Bourchier and Lovain, see Doyle, i. 705; Waters, 401, 419. For Bourchier pedigree, see Waters, 401. For John Borrughchier (Essex) in 1381, see Cal. Pat. Rich. II, ii. 85. For the Invocation to St Anne, "that Ledegate made at the commandement of my Ladie Anne Countesse of Stafford" (Wylie, ii. 285), see Lydg. Min. Po. 130; not noticed by Schick though he notes that "many of Lydgate's smaller poems can be dated," Lydg. Temple, cxii. She married as her third husband Wm. Bourchier Count of Eu (d. May 18, 1420), Doyle, i. 705. For stall-plate of Hugh Stafford Lord Bourchier (d. 1421), see Hope, Heraldry, 151, 152; he married Elizabeth daughter of Bartholomew Lord Bourchier, Comp. Peer. ii. 247; Beltz, clviii.

[2] Doyle, i. 705; Sarrazin, Jeanne d'Arc, 75; Brequigny, 99; Ewald, xli, 408; Carte Rolles, i. 321; Dugd. ii. 129; Waters, 258, 401, 402; Comp. Peer. iii. 292.

[3] Doyle, i. 705.

[4] For Jeffry atte Hill, "the lord's baker," and William Crawland or William de la Boterye, both from Great Waltham serving with him in France, see Clark, 147.

[5] i.e. in the possession of the present Lord of the Manor (Mr W. N. Tufnell) of Langleys where they are kept in what is known as the Armada Chest, Clark, 4, 136, 137, with pictures of it. For picture of the house at Langleys, see ibid. 65, 68, 72.

[6] i.e. Dr A. Clark, Rector of the neighbouring parish of Great Leighs, who tells me

indebted for much material from which may be constructed a fairly adequate picture of the peaceful tenor of English village life at home contrasting strangely with the storm and devastation that followed on the track of English victories abroad.

The village of Waltham and the neighbouring castle of Pleshey had come into William Bourchier's possession by his marriage[1] with the Lady Anne, daughter of Thomas Duke of Gloucester[2], who was murdered by order of Richard II at Calais, and widow of Edmund Earl of Stafford, who was killed fighting for King Henry IV at Shrewsbury[3]. The muniments in question record the proceedings both of the Court Leet and the Court Baron which met periodically for the transaction of manorial business either at the manor house known as Walthambury[4],

that he proposes ultimately to deposit his note-books in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The manor rolls of the adjoining manor of Chatham Hall are also fortunately extant; also they have been examined by Dr A. Clark, who has kindly allowed me to peruse his notes. It was one of seven manors in the parish of Great Waltham, Clark, Serfdom, 479.

[1] i.e. in 1404, Waters, 402; or before Feb. 19, 1405, Wylie, ii. 285, note 5, though in 1421, Inq. p. Mort. iv. 63, Great Waltham is entered among the possessions of Hugh Stafford and his wife Elizabeth (Dugd. ii. 128), heiress to Bartholomew Bourchier, who died in 1409, Wylie, iii. 287; not 1408, as Beltz, 344. For his monument at Halstead, Essex, see Macklin, 144; Wylie, iii. 287, note 7. She afterwards married Lewis Robsart, kt., Dugdale, i. 174. This Hugh Stafford was a younger son of Hugh Earl of Stafford and was summoned to Parliament as Lord Bourchier in 13 H. IV. He was in France in 5, 7 and 9 H V, Dugd. i. 174.

[2] For his tomb in Westminster Abbey, see Sandford, 230. He was lord of the manor on June 4, 1393, having acquired it by his marriage with Eleanor de Bohun, daughter of the Earl of Hereford, Clark, 7. She died on Oct. 2, 1399, and the manor passed to her daughter Joan, Clark, 12, where she is called Countess of Buckingham, her father having been Earl of Buckingham as well as Duke of Gloucester, Wylie, iv. 166, note 2. Joan's first manorial court was held at Pleshey on July 28, 1400, but she died in the autumn of the same year and the manor passed to her sister Anne, whose first court was held on Dec. 18, 1400. On Nov. 30, 1413, the joint owners of Waltham are "dominus et domina," i.e. William Bourchier and his wife Anne, Waltham Rolls. For her arms, see Foster, Feudal Arms, 188. For inventory of his goods at Pleshey in 1397, see Dillon-Hope, p. 275, from Escheator's Accts. Q.R. Herts and Essex, 79/4, under writ Dec. 13, 1397.

[3] She is called Countess of Stafford in Early Chancery Proceedings, i. 10, where she and Wm. Bourchier bring an action *re* riots in Huntingdon (Herefordshire) and the border of Wales; also in Brut, ii. 446, where she is present at the Coronation Feast of Queen Catherine on Feb. 24, 1421. She was born in 1379 (Dugd. 172; not 1382, as Waters, 402) and had married (1) Thomas Earl of Stafford, who died July 4, 1392, (2) his brother Edmund Earl of Stafford (who was killed at Shrewsbury June 21, 1403, Wylie, i. 362), Doyle, iii. 387, 388; Purey Cust, i. 236, who refers to the Stafford arms in York Minster, ibid. i. 238. For her will (1438) in which she is called Countess of Stafford, Buckingham, Hereford and Northampton and Lady of Brecon, see Test. Vet. 237, where she is wrongly called the *eldest* daughter of the Duke of Gloucester. For partition of Bohun lands between her and Henry V, May 23, 1421, see Add. MS. 24513, f. 5, where she is late wife of Edmund Earl of Stafford.

[4] Clark, 3, 200, 202, with picture. Not that manorial courts were held in the open air, as Chandler, p. vi.

which still stands, or at Pleshey Castle[1], where the lord actually resided about two miles away[2].

Five or six times every year[3] the freeholders met under the superintendence of the steward of the lord of the manor and formed a Court Baron[4], at which they "viewed[5]" and decided disputes arising out of the mutual relations between the lord and his men. They appointed the provost[6] (*praepositus*), the reaper (*messor*[7]) who reported trespasses on the manorial lands in harvest-time[8], the constable who was charged with arranging the duties of the watch[9] and setting fast idle comers and goers that will not work as true people should[10], and that all-important functionary the beadle[11], all of them as a rule being nominees of the lord himself[12]. The Court intimated to the lord through his council[13] any failure or omission to fulfil his obligations

[1] In Clark, 67, 70; Waltham Rolls, July 6, 1395, Thomas Cowland, parker of Apechild Park, delivers 12 oaks pro reparcione novi Collegii apud Plessitz (i.e. the college founded by the Duke of Gloucester in 1393, Wylie, iii. 242, note 1); also on Sept. 15, 1395, John Parker "parcarius de les Plees," reports eight elms felled in a Newode (new wood) pro pilis faciendis pro quodam capit[ali] stagno juxta novum Collegium. For derivation from "plees," i.e. woodland enclosed with a hedge (plexitium, in Du Cange, cf. "pleached"), see Clark, 70; called a "hag" or "heyge," ibid. 71. Cf. Murray, s.v. *Hag*.

[2] Not that this is "near Romford," as Purey Cust, i. 124, who draws still more on his imagination when he adds that its "stupendous keep" still remains as well as its "magnificent bridge." Lannoy (173) who visited Queen Catherine there in 1430 describes it as une maison de plaisance et gros vilaige nomme Plassiet ou il y a ung parcq aux dains about 30 miles from London.

[3] Clark, 7, 135. During the reign of Henry V there were 53 meetings of the Court Baron or an average of about six a year. In 1418 and 1420 there were six meetings each but in 1422 only 1.

[4] For the Court Baron or Curia Intrinseca at Castlecombe, see Scrope, 155, 231; called "Court of Barony," Hume, ii. 368. For suggestion that the title may mean the Court of Barons, i.e. freeholders, see Stubbs, ii. 298. For Wapentakes, Hundreds and Courts Baron, see Rot. Parl. iv. 115. For barons, landowners or tenants in chief, see C. R. L. Fletcher, 146.

[5] For view of Frank Pledge belonging to the Manor of Ashton-under-Lyme (Lancs.), see Baines, i. 424.

[6] Cf. nul provost ne nul bedel ne nul hogward, Henley, 80, 92, 100; del provost e del hayward e del estorror (=keeper of cattle), ibid. 88; si le provost o le hayward accountent plus en semence ke le dreit, ibid. 84.

[7] For "messor Anglice tethingman," see Scrope, Castlecombe, 214, though identified with the hayward in Lyte, Dunster, i. 314. For office of the hayward to manage the woods, meadows and growing corn, see Henley, 103. For l'office de Seneschall, de Bayliffe, de Hayward, de Vacher, de Porcher, de Boucher (? Bercher), etc., see Robinson, James, 36.

[8] Clark, 77.

[9] e.g. a fine of 3*d*. quod non vigilavit vigilias nocturnas sicut praemunitus (? praemonitus) fuit per constabularium, Chatham Hall, April 9, 1325.

[10] Bateson, Peterborough (1461).

[11] He made anon a bedel cry, Laud Troy Book, 457; Wylie, iii. 209.

[12] Waltham Rolls, Sept. 20, 1402.

[13] Per concilium domini, Waltham Rolls, July 4, 1405.

towards his men, and imposed fines upon the men for trespasses or non-performance of their covenants with the lord[1]. It has recently been said that on these occasions "the villagers had to report themselves and tell tales of one another[2]," but the indictments[3] were really presented by certain sworn members of the Court who themselves formed a jury[4] to accuse and report any offenders who had infringed the lord's vested rights in the matter of heriots, refuse timber[5] or any such venerable customs. They sconced a man if he did not make his butt (*meta*) for practice with the bow, or lent his bull to the lord and the bull did not do his office[6], or sold his calves without the lord's permission[7], or let his beasts get into the lord's wheat or barley or peas[8], or his pigs stray into the lord's stubble. It was at these Courts that the oath of fealty was taken by new-comers or the sons of residents after reaching their twelfth year. It was here that holdings were surrendered and re-issued on the death or incompetence of a tenant, and we have a touch of tragedy in the record of a smith who had gone out of his mind and was brought to the Court in irons with a crowd following him[9]. The Court settled bickers[10] about debt[11] or trespass or right of

[1] Scriven, 261, 422; "trespasses against the Lord," Clark, 201.

[2] Pollock and Maitland, i. 580.

[3] For 20*d.* pro dytement and 20*d.* pro grenewex, see Maldon Rolls, 13/2, April 21, 1421; cf. Blount, s.v. *Greenwax* and *Foreign opposer*.

[4] Called "official informers" in Clark, 199. For the "presenting" or "accusing jury" or jury of presentment corresponding with the modern Grand Jury who present a true bill of indictment (vera billa, Dep. Keep. 53rd Rept. App. II. p. 29) as distinct from the trying or petty jury, see Pollock and Maitland, i. 151; Forsyth, 215; A. T. Carter, 285, 207, 217; C. R. L. Fletcher, 144; Encycl. Brit. xiii. 785, 786; Green, 107; M. D. Harris, 50; duodecim fide digniores de homagio jurato, Scrope, 162; cf. le dozein, ibid. 155, where they are called 12 principal inhabitants; cf. homagium (or decenna) presentat, ibid. 167; *ordinatum* fuit per xx^{ti} iiij^{ter} (24) probos et legales homines ejusdem lete, Cov. Leet, 19, where the mayor, coroner, bailiffs and custodes redditus civitatis of Coventry are elected by 24 electors, ibid. 22. Cf. per sacramentum xii Jur' *presentatum*, Rot. Parl. iv. 108; cf. we *present* and compleyn, Bateson, Peterborough, 527. For law Hundred presentments in a law Hundred Court at Colchester, see Benham, 38, 46.

[5] For tithes of mortuaries and dead-wood (1404), see Holmes, Reg. 46.

[6] Non fecit officium suum, Chatham Hall, Feb. 5, 1323.

[7] Ibid. April 5, 1323, where two tenants are fined 2*d.* quod vendiderunt vitulos sibi vitulatos without licence.

[8] Waltham Rolls, Oct. 8, 1398.

[9] Cathenis ligatus et inter homines ad curiam ductus, Waltham Rolls.

[10] Wylie, iii. 108. Cf. bekir, beker, biccor, byker, Laud Troy Bk. 56, 183, 361, 490, 521; Halliwell, i. 173, 175; cf. Bowmen bickarte upon the bent, Chevy Chase (R. Bell), 82.

[11] Clark, 205; Scrope, 155.

way[1], or forcibly removing goods or digging clay or worrying lambs, or uprooting land-marks[2] or breaking pound, or they inflicted fines for not reporting the lighting of a swarm of bees in a tree on the tenant's land[3]. They reported the number of ewes and stots[4] that died in murrain[5] with particulars as to the shearing and flaying of the carcases[6]. One man gets punished for carrying part of a meadow of hay; another cuts eleven "wyches" and runs a ditch through his neighbour's land and they fine him 6*d.* for the wyches but give him 2*d.* back, but the ditch-squabble was *injusta querela*, or a man cuts down three ash-trees and two oaks, the total value of which was 1*s.* 4*d.*[7] without first obtaining the lord's permission. He pleaded that he wanted the wood for his cart and plough and the court let him off the value of the timber but fined him 6*d.* for not first asking leave, while on the same day another man was fined 4*d.* for cutting down six oaks and having them removed besides having to pay 3*s.* 4*d.* for the value of the timber[8]. The river Chelmer flowed through the domain and Waltham had three water mills[9], viz. the corn mills at Great and

[1] De una chacia (i.e. a pathway) 10 ft. wide across a field, Waltham Rolls, April 16, 1422; cf. impedivit gressum in tenementum, Chatham Hall, April 17, 1324.

[2] Abradicavit metas et bundas, Chatham Hall, April 17, 1324; Clark, 203.

[3] e.g. a fine of 2*d.* because grex apium venit ad domum Reginald Adams et non presentavit domino, Chatham Hall, April 5, 1323; also the chief Pledges of a tilling fined 3*s.* quod fecerunt concelamentum per tres annos elapsos de quibusdam apibus recelt' in quadam *haria* (?) hinc super quodam arbore vocat. Aubel, Chatham Hall, Mar. 25, 1315.

[4] i.e. a stallion, Chauc. Prol. 617; Halliwell, 813; cf. unus equus stottus, Waltham Rolls, Sept. 20, 1403, where steer or bullock = boviculus.

[5] Quod 1 ovis matr. mortua est in communi morina post agnell' et ante tonsuram, Chatham Hall, April 2, 1336; projecit ix porcul' fetant' et mort' ex morina in quodam stangno, do. April 12, 1463. For the king's horses mortui in morina at Reading, Chertsey, Abingdon, &c. between Michaelmas, 1414, and Michaelmas, 1416, see Exch. Accts. 416/24 (1); For. Accts. 6 H. V, 19; de morina unius bovis (that died at Cirencester) or de uno bove mortuo in morina, For. Accts. 5 H. V. Cf. animalium per morinam destructionibus, Rym. ix. 855, page 884/1 d; carnes succinatas vel morte morina, Stat. i. 202; murina at Heacham near Lewes, Archaeologia, xli. 10–14, which includes dead swans, bees, &c.; pro timore morinae, ibid. p. 7.

[6] Called "bête crevée" in Godefroy, s.v. *Morine*, or "mortalitas" in Du Cange, s.v. *Morina*. For "flesh of morreyn stynkyng ne corrupt" at Ipswich, see Black Book of Admiralty, ii. 145; "beestis of moren," Cov. Leet, 25. Cf. chars de murie, or de mornie, morina mortuarum called "wool of sick sheep dead with the morin" in Blount, s.v. *Morina*; or "found dead," Clark, 264.

[7] On June 14, 1399, the cop (i.e. all except the trunk) of an oak that had been blown down is sold for 3*s.* 4*d.*, Waltham Rolls. In 1417 an ash-tree is sold for 8*d.* and an elm for 4*d.*, Clark, 201, where 100 faggots are sold for 1*s.* 9*d.*, 300 for 3*s.* 6*d.*, and 1000 for 7*s.* 6*d.*

[8] Waltham Rolls, May 13, 1416. For similar cases, see Clark, 201.

[9] For picture of a water mill circ. 1186, see Strassburg und seine Bauten, p. 83. For "le millehous" at the manor of Hyde in 1460, see Rackham, 21; le Sansemille and le Knyfemille at Exeter, Cotton and Dallas, v. 153.

Little Waltham and the fulling mill known as "Champneys" where they felted and beetled cloth[1]. All these were let to farmers, who made what they could out of the multers[2] paid by all who came within their thirl[3], and in return undertook to keep in repair the dam, the stank, the lade and other appurtenances[4]. though the lord himself was bound to keep the actual fabric of the mill in proper repair. Accordingly the court might order the beadle to see to the daubing of the walls, or thatching[5] the roof, or fixing new needles[6] on the floats or rowelboards[7] of the wheel, or reshoeing the stock[8], or mending the flood-gates[9],

[1] Clark, 7. For 3 mills at Castlecombe, viz. 1 pro frumento, 2=fullcritium aquaticum vocatum Walkermille, 3=le Gyggemille (i.e. for raising cloth, Halliwell, s.v. *Gig*), see Scrope, 216; cf. Murray, s.v. *Gig-mill*, for the perchynge (i.e. piercing (?), Halliwell, ii. 616) and burlinge of cloth, Stat. iv. 156 (1551–2). For burler, extuberarius, see Cathol. 48; Wylie, iv. 269, =a dresser of cloth; also Murray, s.v. *Burling*, =to dress cloth by removing lumps (extuberare). For ordinances of the "foulons" at Orleans (1397), see Cuissart, 166, 306. For the "fulliers" at Verdun, see Clouet, iii. 510. For a fuller at Maldon, see Maldon Rolls, 9/4. For 10*d.* pro fullacione unius panni, see Maldon Rolls, 12/5. For "fouleur de draps," see C. Beaurepaire, Invent. Rouen, 7; "fuller," Pat. 2 H. V, i. 8; Lett. Bk. I, 11, 146, 173, 207; Wylie, iv. 272. For 2 escroes (i.e. pieces, Godefroy, s.v.) de draps containing from 22 to 24 ells à fouler, laver et tendre (i.e. tenter), see Beaurepaire, Invent. Rouen, 7; Wylie, iii. 197, note 11. For terre blanc pour fouler un' drap and 7 mottes (i.e. clods) of terre rouge à l'eschantillon (i.e. cantle or piece broken off) de la terriere (i.e. auger, Cotgr., s.v. *Terrier*), see Ordonnances, xiii. 211, from statutes of the drapers of Rouen 1424, forbidding them to load (compeser) their cloth with anything except fleur de froument (p. 210) or dress it with anything except sunt (? lant) or wine lees. For "walkermoll," a tax paid by fullers to the lord, see Bateson, II. lxvi. For "walker," i.e. fuller, see Cal. Pat. H. V, i. 210; Wylie, iv. 279. For Adam Lyon de Walkmyl, see Exch. Rolls Scot. iv. 296. For tucker (touker or touser), i.e. fuller, see Halliwell, ii. 893; Izacke, 84; Hoare, vi. 113; Scrope, 362; Stratmann, s.v. *Tucken*, *Tuken*, to tease or full (cloth).

[2] See Blount, Cowell, s.v. *Multure*. For blat de modura (mowture) at Agen, see Magen, 261; cf. Godefroy, s.v. *Molturage*; Cotgr., s.v. *Moulture*, *Mousture*; Littré, s.v. *Mouture*. For la maille as droit de moulage added to the price of the loaf to the customer, see Boutiot, ii. 348, at Troyes in 1403; qu'ils fuissent quites de tolne et hoper fee al molyn, Gaunt, Reg. ii. 104.

[3] Dowden, lxxxv, where the tenants who give suit to the mills are said to be "thirled" to them; cf. Cent. Dict., s.v. *Thirl*.

[4] Dowden, lxxxix; see Murray, Dict., s.v. *Lade*.

[5] In Caxton, Dial. 40, the thaccher (couvreur d'estrain) covers the house with straw and reeds, provides laths, makes walls and daubs them with earth whereof he was dauber (*placqueur*).

[6] Instrumentum quoddam vocatum le Nedele.

[7] Ruelberd, Waltham Rolls, Dec. 18, 1414; Cotgr., s.v. *Rouelle*, i.e. levat-board, Murray, Dict., s.v. For "Berd" (i.e. board), see Murray, Dict., s.v.

[8] Reading "ferrura" for "furrura" in Waltham Rolls, Jan. 16, 1414.

[9] Porta; fluvialis. Cf. the waterlades be drawyn up every nyght eschewyng perell of floodes, Cov. Leet, i. 32 (1421); cf. "a waterlad over the river" or "set within the stream," ibid. 28, 31; i.e. waterlets, Murray, s.v. *Lade-leat*, *Mill-leat*. For the "new Lead" about half a mile in length cut through the marsh ground at Exeter beyond the north gate of the Exe, see Izacke, 145, 180, 190; Oliver, 149; water-lete, Exeter Deeds, 215; cf. Lytil water lete. Cotton and Dallas. iv. 60.

or pitching the by-wash (*os pro fuso*), or earthing[1] the flash. The manor house or mansion place[2] was also let, but the lord had to keep it in substantial repair together with its numerous outbuildings, such as the bothy[3], the dovecot[4], the wheat-barn, capon-lodge[5], barton[6], fold[7], byre[8], stable-close, barnhaw[9] and pinfold or pound[10], and the beadle had to find the lime, the tiles and all other necessary materials[11]

[1] Opus terrenum.

[2] Exeter Deeds, 1469, or mansion-house, ibid. 1507.

[3] i.e. the male servants' lodgings; called also the inclausa, or domus famulorum cum cameris annexis, Clark, Serfdom, 482. For board and lodging for the farm-servants, see Wylie, ii. 465, note 5. In these contracts the worker binds himself for 1, 2, 2½ or sometimes as long as six years under penalty of imprisonment not to work for anyone else nor to absent himself from work. On Saturdays and the eves of feast days work ceased at 12 o'clock, but they went on for the whole day (p. 219). If three holidays (féries) fell in one week the wage was reduced by one-half, though there was no reduction for one or two feast days in a week (p. 217). For 1 sol p. d. *with keep* for hedgers and thatchers in France in the 14th century, see Duclaux, 239, though little can be inferred as to the real rate of wage on account of the great difference between the value of French and English money. E.g. in 1404 a furbisher of steel plates for sword blades gets 16 francs (or livres) per year with all above allowances, including fuel (*feu*) but no clothing (p. 220), others get 14 sols per week (217) or 2*s.* 4*d.* per day (219) or 1*s.* 6*d.* per day (220).

[4] For the coulombier at St Ouen, see Pannier, ii. 100; also at St Lyé, a castle belonging to the Bishop of Troyes, Artois de Jubainville (1873), p. 98. For a 14th century example at Crampet near the castle of Roquetaillarde near Mazeres south of the Garonne, see Drouyn-Guienne, i. 16, with picture in Bordier-Charton, i. 419. For 15th century picture of a round colombier, see Durrieu, Très riches Heures, Plate ii; also at the manor of Ango in Varengeville (16th century) near Dieppe, see Bordeaux, II. i. 64; Albert, Petit. 216. For account of Ango, see Normandie Monumentale, 317; Joanne, i.; also at Campigny near Bayeux, see Caumont, Stat. Mon. iii. 339. For 30 setiers comblés (heaped) de mixture as a year's supply for the pigeons at Gages near Rodez, see Affre, Aveyron, i. 225.

[5] Logge pro capones, Lyte, 120; cf. caponcote, Murray, s.v.

[6] For a key for door in bertona at Dunster, see Lyte, 121, where it is evidently a closed building possibly for barley. For other suggestions as a poultry pen, a threshing-floor or the whole of the outbuildings, see Murray, s.v. For the burtoner (*bertonarius*) in a monastery, see Stone, x; Murray, Dict., s.v. For a parcel (13 acres) of the Barton of Polloslo, see Exeter Deeds, 1720. For the Barton (or farm) of Cowick Priory at Exeter, see Worthy, 154; also le bertyn place, otherwise known as the Halle House (1512), Exeter Deeds, 1378, 1398.

[7] Bercaria. For picture of a sheep-fold, see Durrieu, Très riches Heures, Plate ii. For the sheepcote, cowhouse and shepon at the manor house at Hyde and Paddington in 1458, 1479, see Rackham, 21, 22.

[8] Vaccaria for the shepon, Rackham, 22.

[9] Bernhaw, Waltham Rolls, Nov. 9, 1418. Cf. churchhaw (i.e. churchyard), timberhaw (Rackham, 35), beanhaw, hemphaw, Murray, Dict., s.v. *Haw.*

[10] Le pound, Rackham, 22; pundfold, Waltham Rolls, Feb. 21, 1415; punfold, Maldon Rolls, 12/5; pondefold, ibid. 4/4; cf. Halliwell, s.v. *Pynfold.* For the Pynfold at Castlecombe, see G. P. Scrope, 158, 215; la Pynfold (at Reading), Hist. MSS. Rept. XI. vii. 174. Cf. Pejoravit penfold domini cum curiagüs suis...non emendavit muros penfold, Scrope, 237; pinfaude, Henley, 165; cf. our heyward pyn a flokke of neȝt (neat), Hist. MSS. Rept. Lord Middleton's Coll. 109.

[11] In a contract dated Nov. 29, 1402, for building a chapel at the Grey Friars at Rouen the monastery provides chintrez (cf. seintrees, Wylie, iv. 36), fais, briz, claiez, licurez et toutes autres choses à fere establies (? sheds), C. Beaurepaire, Notes, iii. 187. For making granges (greniers) in the castle at Angers circ. 1370, see Darue, 50, where

for the purpose and see that the work was efficiently carried out. The fishing was strictly preserved, whether in the river or the dykes, pools, pits, ponds or motes[1], and fines were imposed for spearing, lamming or shovenetting[2] the lord's tench, roach, pike or eels. If a man broke park[3] or strolled through the lord's conigar[4] with his dog or his leece[5] or came away with a pheasant[6], or a partridge[7], or snared[8] a hare[9] or a rabbit[10] from the clapper[11], or a duck

the account specifies les corbeaux (corbels) a soutenir les soliveaux (joists) et pour faire les parpaings (=perpens or perbends, Murray, s.v.) ou murs a mettre les diz corbeaux; also for terracer (digging) devant d'iceux greniers. Cf. pour massoner le parpain entre la chapelle et la chambre de pavement, Darue, 74; le parpaign d'icelle tour, ibid. 75; =buttress, Cotgr., Godefroy, s.v. *Perpaigne*, or a large stone reaching from one side of a wall to the other.

[1] Cf. Ponds, Pools, Motes, Stanges, Stewes or Pittes, Stat. iv. 449 (1562).

[2] Spertes, lammes, scofnetts (or schoffnetts, Clark, 201), Waltham Rolls, July 28, 1418; Clark, 74, 201; cf. Murray, s.v. *Lammet*; Halliwell, s.v. *Lamme*.

[3] Chatham Hall Roll, April 21, 1321; parcum fregit domini, Scrope, 162; cf. ne brek noo lordys parkes for to sley hur dere ne hur conyes, Cov. Leet, i. 27.

Off herte and hynde bore and bul
And other many sauage bestis (in parks).
Laud Troy Bk. 16, 82.

[4] "Conyngers," Stat. ii. 65. For the Conigar at Dunster and repair of domus vocata Logge in cunaculario (*sic*), see Lyte, 52, 133. For the coniger at Lincoln's Inn, see Linc. Inn Black Books, iv. p. xvi; G. F. Turner, 6.

[5] Nul lev'er ne leece nautre chien pr̄ chacer, Stat. ii. 65, or liesche, Rot. Parl. iv. 122; circumivit et spatiavit cum canibus et leporariis, Waltham Rolls, March 15, 1402; cum duobus canibus et una lacesca, ibid. July 4, 1415; Clark, 201; called "Lisse" in Du Cange, s.v. *Licissa*, *Letissa*; or Femelle d'un chien de chasse in Littré, s.v.; or bitch in Cotgr., s.v. *Lice* or *Lyce*; not a wolf-hound, as Cal. Pat. Rolls H. VI, p. 29. For exemption from cheminaye and expeditatio canum, see Rot. Parl. v. 99; another form of disabling dogs was by hamstringing, houghing or hoseing them, see Spelman, Gloss. 207; not "horing," as Du Cange, s.v. *Expeditare*; see Prompt. Parv., s.v. *Howhwyn*; cf. genuicissio in Thorpe, p. 184; Forest Laws of Canute, sec. 3. For practice of maiming or "expediting" (York, 142), or "lawing" (Stat. i. 120, Spelman, Gloss. 207; Halliwell, ii. 508; Palgrave, iv. 648; Freeman, v. 163; Murray, Dict., s.v.) dogs by cutting out the ball of the foot and cutting off three claws to prevent them from worrying the game, see Blount, s.v. *Expeditare*; Cowell, do. do.; cf. money received pro expeditacione canum in the Forest of Galtres, Exch. Accts. 131/5-14.

[6] Unum phasianum infra warrenum domini, Scrope, 162.

[7] Circumivit garennam dominae et capit perdrices, Waltham Rolls, May 7, 1399. For quidam assumens sibi nomen insolitum, see frere Tuk vulgariter nominando and other poachers in Surrey and Sussex who take hares, rabbits, pheasants and partridges in the warrens and burn the houses and lodges used for the same, see Pat. 5 H. V, 27 d, May 22, 1417.

[8] Retia in parco pro cuniculis capiendis fixit, Scrope, 162, 164.

[9] Cf. fug' (=fugavit) in warenn et occidit in eadem unum leporem, Chatham Hall, April 20, 1378.

[10] For cage a connins in an inventory of household effects at Rouen in 1412, see St Germain, 447. For Ratches that rennen to a cony hym ou3t to be astried (rated) sayeing to hem "ware Riot ware" (cf. "ware rascayle ware," York, 83, to call off the dogs when the quarry was too young or lean to be chaseable) in York, 40, 184; Halliwell, ii. 686, adding "for no other wild beast in England is called Ryott sauf ye conye alonely"; cf. "riotant en son langage"="questyng and makyng gret melody," York, 60; cf. "for he will make al the ryot and al the harm," ibid. 66; cf. the spaniel who

[11] For note see next page.

from the stews[1], or stole the lord's geese[2], or took away wax or honey from the lord's park[3], the court inflicted punishment, or if a tenant refused to do the services[4] subject to which he held his land the court ordered the beadle to seize his ewes and lambs[5] or whatever else he had to distrain upon and force him to perform his covenants. On the other hand, if the lord failed to do his duty in mending and maintaining roads and bridges they made the beadle supply the sand or other metal and see that the work was properly done, thereby acting as a safeguard both for lord and tenant and shielding both alike against encroachment and wrong. But besides the Court Baron, which was attended by the freeholders only[6], there was a general court[7] composed of the whole of the members of the leet[8] or township which was known as the "Court of the Leet" or more concisely "the Leet[9]." It was also

is a "gret baffer," i.e. barker; cf. bilaissh hem wel saying lowde, Ware ware ha ha ware, ibid. 105.

Thei go and hunte with her grehoundes
With hauke, brache and with kenetes
Thei hunte conynges with her ferettes. Laud Troy Bk. 400.

See Halliwell, ii. 491, s.v. *Kenet*; Kempe, 20.

[11] For wareyns of conynges or hares, see York, 37; cf. yonge rabettys be to their claperys ronne, Lydg. Burgh, 41.

[1] "Les stues," Clark, 75, who refers to traces of them still existing at Walthambury. For four oaks felled for the paling round les etuez, see Waltham Rolls, May 16, 1397.

[2] Chatham Hall, April 21, 1321.

[3] Scrope, 160. Consydre what servyce longyth ther-to, Pol. Relig. Po. 44. For land held sub aliis servitutibus in Languedoc (1407), see Laurent, 125.

[4] For onera ordinaria rationabilia, see Rym. x. 84. For onera et servitia, ibid. ix. 727, 733; Brequigny, 94; see also Wylie, ii. 117; called "*works* and services," as Clark, 130. For "feudal services" immutably fixed by 13th century, see C. R. L. Fletcher, 226.

[5] Waltham Rolls, Jan. 31, 1397.

[6] Scriven, 424. Cf. cour des pers or pairs, i.e. hommes libres fidèles or leudes, see Rittiez, Palais, 30. For "foreign" as opposed to freemen in regard to essoins in the Court at Maldon, see Maldon Rolls, Feb. 27, 1413; cf. socmen = free yeomen holding their own land, Strang, 19.

[7] Curia Letae, Monast. vi. 1417; curia et Leta, Chandler, 2, 24, or curia cum Leta, ibid. 52, 64, 72; Leta cum curia generale (*sic*), ibid. 84, 98; curia generalis, ibid. 94; curia generalis cum Leta, ibid. 102. For ordinances for the regulation of the steus in Southwark drawn up April 10, 1459, by 12 men of the "Greate Leate" of the manor of Winchester, see Harl. MS. 293132 (68). See J. Kitchen, Le Court Leete et Court Baron, 1623.

[8] For "leet" = villa integra, see Ramsay, Foundations, i. 518, 520; Seebohm, 10. Cf. omnes villani jurati, Chatham Hall, April 20, 1308; omnes capitales, ibid. April 13, 1417; omnium tenentium, Cov. Leet, 8, 31, where the leet = "the general council of this city" consisting of 24 elected members (ibid. 31, 35), there being also a "Leet specyall"; Kleine cour, Cotgr., s.v., not "law-day." The Leet was a subdivision of the Hundred, possibly the same as Lathe, Murray, Dict., s.v.; cf. ex assensu totius villatus, Scrope, 167.

[9] Cf. "fesant servyce a nos cours et leetes de nostre manoir," from a letter of Eleanor Duchess of Gloucester in Waltham Rolls dated London, Oct. 13, 1398. For 5*s*. received

known as "the King's Court[1]" because its authority was derived from royal grants[2] or delegated through the sheriff[3] as a royal officer, and the jury who presented the cases were called "jurors of our Lord the King[4]." The leet met usually once or twice a year[5] and dealt with local breaches of the law of the land as distinct from offences against the customs of the manor[6], though the legal distinction was liable to be obliterated when the leet and the Court Baron met at the same place and on the same day and both dealt with the same kind of offences[7]. The leet has thus been sometimes called a "public jurisdiction vested in private hands[8]," a "police court for the punishment of minor offences[8]," or of "offences of a public character[9]," though it was previously supposed that it had no power to punish offenders directly, its functions being limited to inquiring into offences and certifying to the Justices of Assize[10]. It is quite true that if a man was not content to accept the decision of the leet he could "put himself on the country[11]" and have his case submitted to the verdict of a jury of 12 good men of the neighbourhood[12]

de exitibus cujusdam letae at Fulbourn near Cambridge, see For. Accts. 5 H. V. For proceeds of two leets held at Fulbourn (2*s.* and 3*s.*) in 1415, see do. 6 H. V, 20. Cf. Franches, Lete or Lawday, Stat. iii. 25.

[1] Cowell, s.v. *Leet*; Scriven, 434.

[2] Stubbs, ii. 298; C. R. L. Fletcher, 95, who calls this the "feudalisation of justice" because the king "farmed out the hundred courts to great men to hold." For juridiction haute (called jus gladii, Rittiez, Palais, 191) moyenne et basse, see Batiffol, 226.

[3] Chandler, 116, quoting Scrogg's Practice of Courts Leet and Courts Baron (edition 1728), p. 1.

[4] Seebohm, 10.

[5] Pollock and Maitland, i. 532. The Waltham leet met once a year. At Chatham Hall the leet was held every year on Easter Tuesday during the reign of Henry V, except in 1420, when it was held on Whit Tuesday. In every case the Court Baron was held on the same day except that in 1414, 1415 and 1416 it held an additional sitting apart, viz. on Sept. 28, Sept. 16 and Feb. 26 respectively.

[6] Stubbs, i. 102, 452, 453; Ramsay, Foundations, i. 519. Not that "the jurisdiction of the Court Baron was civil and that of the leet criminal," as Lingard, i. 201.

[7] The Moot of the Leta is an undifferentiated court distinguishable only from the later Court Baron by a difference of procedure, Sat. Rev. Mar. 13 (1909), p. 341. For proceeding at "a court of Frank Pledge with the Court Baron," &c., see Scrope, 167 (1387).

[8] Pollock and Maitland, i. 532; "petty offences," Cov. Leet, p. ix.

[9] Scrope, 231.

[10] Cowell, s.v. *Leet*, quoting Stat. 1 Edw. III, which however does not seem to bear out the assertion.

[11] Ponit se super patriam, Waltham Rolls, June 10, 1399; cf. Letter Book I, 230; Riley, Mem. 640; Harcourt, 372.

[12] Probos et legales homines de visnet' (i.e. vicinitate, or vicinage), Harcourt, 434. For une enqueste de dousze homes, see Harcourt, 368; per sacramentum duodecim

who were technically known as "the country[1]" as to which a caution has lately been entered that the phrase must not be taken as equivalent to "our fatherland," for it really only stands for the country-side[2] and the 12 men are only some of the tithing-men under another name[3]. But the Waltham Rolls prove beyond doubt that the Court Leet dealt quite summarily by fine or otherwise with the bulk of the cases that came before it without any indication of appeal[4], indictments being presented by a jury empanelled from the Chief Pledges of the tithings, who were bound to attend unless they had an essoin[5] or exemption on account of ill-health or otherwise[6]. It was from the prominent part taken by these Chief Pledges or tithing-men that the Court Leet was known as the "view of Free Pledge[7]",

virorum, Stat. ii. 201, where each is to be a freeholder in the county (Lancashire) possessing 100*s.* value p.a.; par le serment de xii hommes dez queux chescun est frank, Rot. Parl. iv. 119, 127; duodecim fidedigniores.

[1] e.g. Waltham Rolls, May 16, 1397, where Joan Lefchild disputes a claim for rent for a hedge and offers to prove her case "per patriam"; cf. "ad patriam," ibid. Jan. 4, 1399. For "jurata patriae," see Forsyth, 196, 198, from Glanvil, De Legibus, xiv. 3, as a substitute for the ordeal which was rapidly dying out since the condemnation by the church at the council of Latran in 1216, A. T. Carter, 204; Green, 107; M. D. Harris, 51. For the ordeal by fire and water, see Tanon, 308–312. For the hot ploughshare, hot water, hot tank (*fossa*) and cross (i.e. outstretched arms) with the form of prayer for each, see Henderson, 267, 274–319. For hot plates of iron at Falaise, see Floquet, Echiq. 153. For "juratores patriae," see Gairdner, Lollardy, 16, who calls them "grand jurymen."

[2] Pagus, pays, Pollock and Maitland, i. 624. Cf. Waltham Rolls, Nov. 8, 1419, where a miller who farmed the mill is bound by his agreement ad dominum *et patriam* bene et fideliter serviend'.

[3] Clark, 11, 210, 211.

[4] Cf. to do punysshment of that that longethe to a lete, Shillingford, 10 (1447), where the Bishop of Exeter wanted to have "a lete and a grete court" and to "holde plees of gretter somme thenne Court Baronne" (i.e. 40*s.*), ibid. pp. 11, 12.

[5] Scriven, 238; Bracton, v. 130. Essonium sectae, Clark, 135; excusaverint seu essoniaverint, Lib. Cust. 105; cf. essoigneur, or assoignour, ibid. 281, 697, 222, 800; essoine, Halliwell, i. 334; M. D. Harris, 47.

[6] Propter languitudinem, Chatham Hall, April 22, 1337.

[7] Cf. del viewe de Franc plegge, Rot. Parl. iv. 138; G. P. Scrope, 155; visus franciplegii, Monast. vi. 1417; Cov. Leet, 8 and *passim*; M. D. Harris, 50. For 2*s.* as receipts cujusdam visus de ffrancipleg' at Hemingford-Grey near St Ives in Huntingdonshire (1417), see For. Accts. 5 H. V, Part 5. For vis' Frank' pleg' at Chatham Hall, April 16, 1308, &c., see Chatham Hall, notes *passim*; also at Hyde (1451), Rackham, 21. For "la voirie" at Troyes, see Boutiot, ii. 354; see also Wylie, iii. 192. For "a view of Frank Pledge otherwise called a Lete" (1527), see Exeter Deeds, 220 (cf. St Nicholas' Priory, Exeter, where the Prior deals with "mysrule or mysdemenure of bawderie, lecherye, thevys and vacabundes"); Court Baroun letes and vewes of frankeplege (1447), Shillingford, 137; cf. ibid. 10, where "the Bishops' side claymed a view" but "y seide they hadde no more but sympell Court Baron"; not "to view the Frank pledges or freemen within the liberty," as Ruding, i. 257; called "mutual security or frank-pledge" in Green, 106. In Murray, Dict., s.v. *Frankpledge*, the word franciplegium is supposed to be *apparently* a mistranslation of Frithborh or Friborg (=peace pledge), a view followed in Stow (Kingsford), ii. 69, quoting "Nichols Britten"; also Cov. Leet, p. ix;

but it was presided over like the Court Baron by the lord or his steward, and in the case of Waltham it was held in the lord's castle at Pleshey[1].

The meeting of the leet was celebrated by the customary "recreation[2]" and a fair idea of the subjects that came within its jurisdiction may be formed from a perusal of the general charge delivered to the Frank Pledge in the reign of Edward II[3], and these subjects still held good in the smaller local leet that sat at Pleshey 100 years later. The leet had to see that every male resident took the oath of fealty[4] to the king and was enrolled a member of a tithing[5]; it appointed constables[6], aletasters[7], viewers of

francus plegius, Stow, Kingsford, ii. 69, 406, quoting "Nichols Britten," where it is supposed to be a mistake for Fridbohr or fribohr (i.e. pledge of peace). For Head-man or Capital Pledge, see Hudson, Leet Jurisdiction in Norwich, Selden Soc. vol. 5, pp. xii–xxvi, quoted in W. D. Harris, 48. For view of frankpledge, otherwise called a "Lete," allowed to the Prior of St Nicholas at Exeter in 1527, though for certain offences the tenants are only to be regarded as suitors to a Court Baron, see Cotton and Dallas, from Exeter Municipal Records, Deed 220; also view of Frank Pledge, and court of the same with Court Baron secured to Dean and Chapter of Exeter (1437), H. E. Reynolds, 13; sauve les feez, vehues de franke plegg et les courtes, Armitage Smith, Reg. 161.

[1] Clark, 210.

[2] Rackham, 2.

[3] Stat. i. 246; Ruding, i. 257, where it is said to have been instituted by King Alfred.

[4] At Colchester, 215 men swear fealty in 1451, Benham, 79. Cf. quod quilibet infra libertatem de Maldon juvet coram ballivis et S[cilicet] pro rege qui est in etate duodecim annorum et ultra, Maldon Rolls, 12/2. In Chatham Hall, April 5, 1323, the Chief Pledges are fined 8*d.* for not presenting that John Henikyn is infra libertatem et non in decena. Cf. Du Cange, s.v. *Plegius* and *Fidejussor*.

[5] Clark, 12; Chatham Hall, April 20, 1378; cf. non est de decena neque de capitagio, Scrope, 234.

[6] On April 13, 1417, John Brewer was elected constable by omnes capitales at Chatham Hall and fined 6*s.* 8*d.* quia illud facere recusavit in contemptu domini regis. For two constables for the manor of Castlecombe, see Scrope, 232. For custodes fori et supervisores victualium, see Maldon Rolls, July 3, 1413; cf. them that the maiour hath ordenyd for to oversee suche maner of vitales, i.e. fish and meat, Cov. Leet, i. 25; also Wylie, iii. 190. For "visiteurs" appointed by the mayor at St Jean d'Angély, see Aussy, Registres, 6. At Coventry in 1421 no wine was to be set abrouche until the mayor had seen that it was "well fyned," Cov. Leet, i. 24. At Maldon in 9 H. V and 13 H. V the town Court elected the following officers (two each), viz. Bailiffs, Constables, Camerarii, Custodes fori, affurers (see page 464, note 6), Ponderatores panis, Tastatores cervisie, Custodes calcee (? causeway), Supervisores conei (?), custodes clavorum communis ciste, and from 18 to 20 Wardemanni, see Maldon Rolls, 10/2, where they occupy the position of Chief Pledges.

[7] Tastatores or gastatores cervisii, G. P. Scrope, 158, 163, 339; called "ale fonders" or "fanders," see Murray, Dict., s.v. *Fand*, or ale-konner, Lett. Bk. I, 131, 191; Boys, 786; Wylie, iii. 190; cf. "lede us into no fondynge" (i.e. trial), Myre, 13; in Bateson, Peterborough Court Leet, 527; Scriven, 443; Scrope, 236. In Great Waltham there were separate constables and aletasters, one for each of the three "ends" into which the manor was divided, Clark, 7, 208, who infers (p. 207) from the frequent fines inflicted on them that their duties were deliberately and persistently neglected and that the office was by this time practically obsolete. For aletasters at Exeter, see Izacke, 94.

flesh, and searchers of leather[1] to carry out the provisions of the Statute for the Assize of Bread, Meat and Ale[2]. It fined bakers for selling light weight[3] with their penny loaves and halfpenny loaves[4] and farthing loaves[5], wiggs[6], cracknels, wastels[7], buns[8], brown loaves[9] and mitches[10]. and

[1] Scrope, 339.

[2] Stat. i. 199 temp. Ed. II or III, an assize which governed the whole country, Bateson, II. xxiv.

[3] For a baker drawn on a hurdle from the Assize of Bread in the Guildhall, London, see Lib. Alb. iii. Frontispiece, i.e. the judicium cloyce, ibid. iii. 425; Sharpe, Letter Book B, ii; Benham Welch, 24; Wylie, iii. 190. For the stamp (*signum*) required on every loaf, see Boys, 498, 576. For seal of the bakers' gild at Stendal, see Vossberg, Siegel, 20, Plate F. i. For the talemeliers (or tallemelliers, tameliers, Joubert, Vie, 37), i.e. bakers in Paris, see Piton, 162; also at Orleans, Cuissard, 95; Boullé, 162; called boulanger de gros pain, Godefroy, s.v. *Talemellerie* (called Tallemerie in Boutiot, ii. 347) or "hedgebaker," Cotgrave, s.v. For ponderatores panis, see Maldon Rolls, 8/2, and *passim*. Cf.

> Put out his armys shewith abrood his face
> The fenestraillys be made for hym so wyde
> Wher they (i.e. fals bakerys) may freely shew but ther visage

(i.e. the thievish Millers and Bakers), Lydg. Selection, 207; Chron. Lond. 273; Pol. Relig. Po. 56; MacCracken, p. xviii. Cf. shewe out thi visage to glad ne sorg, Hazlitt, iii. 28; Wylie, iii. 192; shewe out a fair face, Lydg. Min. Po. 68. For tables used for Assize of Bread at Hull and Andover, see Reliquary, N.S. IV. 242 (1890). The former were found in the binding of the Corporation Bench Book, and seem to form a ready reckoner for calculating changes of weight which should correspond with fluctuations in the price of wheat, according to Stat. 51 H. III (1266–67), the weight being reduced as the price of flour rose and *vice versa*; cf. M. D. Harris, 107; A. T. Green, ii. 35; Boys, 543, with a scale showing variations in the price of wheat from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 12*s.* per quarter. For wheat at 4*s.* per quarter in 1306, see Benham, 58; 16*s.* in 1401, Wylie, i. 194; 8*s.* 8*d.* in 1420, Maldon Rolls, Nov. 18, 1420 (i.e. 1*s.* 1*d.* per bushel). For arms of the bakers of Ghent, i.e. oven-boards with 2 loaves on each, see Vigne, Recherches, 33, Plate 5; also Brussels, ibid. Plate 26. In Montreuil the bakers were not to sell chandelles, suif ne autre crasse, Lhomel, 5, nor to put leveure (i.e. yeast, Cotgr., s.v.) into their bread (p. 7) which must be bien boullangé, bien cuit et ressuié (dried) (p. 6).

[4] For a baker fined 6*d.* quia vendidit panem putridum et minus salubre, see Scrope, 235. For les maitres visiteurs boulangiers at Orleans, see Cuissard, 95.

[5] Panis frumenti vocat' peny lof, panis albus vocat' hafpeny lof, Maldon Rolls, 11/3; libans ob', libans quadr' (i.e. farthing loaf), ibid. 12/5, though this word is not in Du Cange. For farthing wastell and cocket bread, see Bateson, Leicester, ii. 133; panis albus, Maldon Rolls, 9/4.

[6] Cf. for a baker fined because his wigg is in defectu, see Maldon Rolls, 9/21; also Halliwell, Cent. Dict. (probably a wedge); cf. Jamieson, s.v. *Wig*. For Lambkyn Wigmaker distrained per unum almerye (i.e. awmbry, Halliwell, s.v.) et unum querne, see Maldon Rolls, 10/6. For wastell, simenel, cocket, boxlof, wigg and panis viliginis (fine wheaten bread) at Exeter 1353, see Oliver, p. 313.

[7] For panis wastel, panis franc (cf. paniz franciscus, i.e. french bread, T. Wright, Exeter Archives, 313; Kirby, Ann. 146; Hist. MSS. Rept. XI. vii. 172; Leach, Winchester, 140; cf. Wylie, iv. 272), panis frumenti, see Blount, s.v. *Wastel-bread*, i.e. gâteau, see Godefroy, s.v. *Gastelet*. See Du Cange, s.v. *Wastella*; Halliwell, s.v.; yayled hem not a wastel, Laud Troy Bk. 405. For wastell, symnell, first cokett and tray, see Black Book of Admiralty (Ipswich), ii. 173, 175; cf. toastez (ou pasts ou festins) fait *par* le fourniere, Renard, 212; watheaux (i.e. gateaux), ibid. 37. For wastellum de quadrante (farthing-wastell), panis cokettes, panis de Simenells, de trect (or treet) panis dominicus franciscus raugiatus vel sangatus, see Boys, 541, 543. At Coventry the baxter is to sell four wastels, also four coket loaf so that they ben of good bultre (or boulter, Wylie, iii. 190)

[8, 9, 10] For notes see next page.

simnels[1], alehouse keepers known as tipplers[2] or gannockers[3] for regrating[4], brewers[5] for brewing unsound beer[6], butchers for selling flesh of murrain[7], tanners and all others.

and wele bake, also four whetloves, Cov. Leet, 22. Cf. bultell of Reynes, Black Bk. of Adm. ii. 173; cf. beete and bulted floure to make of brede, Lydgate, Min. Po. 98. For wastel=bread of first quality, cocket=seconds and simnel=twice baked bread in Lent, see M. D. Harris, 295, quoting A. S. Green, ii. 35. For pain blanc (de albo, Worcester Itin. 372) dit de provende et de prebende at Troyes in 1413, see Boutiot, ii. 348, where it should be sold at 2*d.* a lb. when the septier of wheat cost 16*s.* or 20*s.*, should weigh 48 oz. unbaked (or 42 after baking) and be made of bon blé de menage et de bonne fleur.

[8] For pain mollet et brioche, pain blanc, see Delisle, Agric. 186, 190. For pain blanc or pain de table for madame v. pain groux (i.e. from groats, grits, grist, gruau, i.e. rye-bread) or pain commun for varlets, see Joubert, Vie, 36, 59, 84, 85; cf. tendyr brede makyd of the floure of whete, Secreta, 246.

[9] For pain bis, see Delisle, Agric. 100; bisum panem, Monast. iv. 44; unam bisam michiam, Lib. Nig. Scac. ii. 654, 655; for pain biset, see Lhomel, Edits, 5. For painman (pain demaigne) and maincham (manchet) not to be sold in Lent but only tourte bis (or tret, a brown bread) and white, see Riley, Mem. 644. For pain offeren or gros pain, see Brossard, 150, from Ordinances of the Bakers at Bourg-en-Bresse in 1423.

[10] For miches brunes qui n'estoient pas de brunes loy...miches blanches trop brunes at Dijon in 1407, see Vallée, 20, 203; duos panes qui vocantur magnae michiae, Lib. Nig. Scac. ii. 654.

[1] For a cymereaul trop brun et de pouvre blef at Dijon, see Vallée, 23 (1419). For a three-cornered simnel, see Godefroy, s.v. *Seminel*; Cotgr., s.v. *Eschaudé*.

[2] i.e. such as keep alehouses, Latimer, Sermons, i. 123; cf. that sell ale owth be the mete and lyfe thereby, Bateson, Peterborough, 527; Clark, 22, 208, who supposes that the Court Baron restricted operations to trades connected with food; cf. Wylie, iii. 393, note 3.

[3] Chatham Hall, April 5, 1323; Chandler, 32, 33, 136, where they are women fined for *buying* and selling ale and bread. Cf. "no ganeker shal occupye or use any ganekyng or tapkyng," Benham, 23; Gannaker or Ganneker, cf. Murray, Dict., s.v.; also Halliwell, 391, who derives it from Gannock, a standard; or possibly from Jannock, a cake, ibid. 482.

[4] Faciet forestallum mercato, Boys, 503. For regraters of fish at Ipswich, see Black Bk. of Adm. ii. 103; also at Coventry in 1421, where no "fisher" was to buy fish on Thursday night "by way of regratry," nor before 9 o'clock on Friday, Cov. Leet, i. 25. For forestallator et regraciator at Sandwich, see Boys, 503, 576; at Leicester, Bateson, i. xxxv, 180, 181; regratiavit et forestallavit caseum, butirum, ova et alia victualia at Castlecombe (1415), Scrope, 326; regratier in Paris, Piton, 162. In Chatham Hall, April 15, 1376, Edmund Prat's wife is regratiatrix; she is called brasiatrix, ibid. April 20, 1378; see Wylie, iv. 360. For forestallers going out in boats to buy engroos and afterwards sell à retaille dearer than the first merchant would have done, see Black Bk. of Adm. i. 161*f*.

[5] Cf. Bruer, Fr. Roll 8 H. V, 8; "brewer," Mun. Acad. ii. 638; berbrewris, W. G. Benham, 20. For the doom of the ale-wife carried off by devils, see Mrs Ashdown, 168, from a miserere in Ludlow church.

[6] The beer must be enough sodon and not scal and made from good malt, not stynkyng nor ful of vermyn called wevells (i.e. weevils), Benham, 20, where the town "sercheours" have "the assay" of the hops to see that they are not "stinking and old," and a barrel of beer (36 gals.) costs 2*s.* 8*d.* in Colchester (i.e. less than 1*d.* per gall.), when malt is 3*s.* 4*d.* per quarter, cf. Wylie, iii. 190. For seyngle coyte and dowble coyte, see Benham, 21, where it is derived from a Flemish word "kuyte," i.e. small ale; see also Murray, Dict., s.v. For fine for selling 4 lagenas cervisiae minus salubris, see Scrope, 234. At Coventry in 1421, no "breuster" was to sell good ale at more than 1½*d.* per gallon "will hit is new under the here syve" (? hair sieve) nor 1½*d.*

[7] For note see next page.

who "broke the assize[1]," whether by highing or lowing[2] prices already fixed[3] or making a profit of more than 1*d.* in the shilling on their sales[4] or using unstamped measures[5]. The rolls record an interesting example of treasure-trove decided by the leet on June 15, 1413[6], where a servant of the farmer of the manor found 47*s.* 2*d.* concealed in the thatch of an old building and was ordered by the court to give it up *ad opus domini.*

A large part of the business that came before the leet had to do with the upkeep and cleansing of the roads. They amerce[7] a man for not scouring a ditch[8] or for stopping a watercourse with a cart-gap[9] or neglecting to

when it is "good and stale," or higher than 18*d.* a "cestron" to a "hukster," Cov. Leet, i. 25. For servoise, 4 galon à trois mailles, see Stengel, 13; cf. vous (the English) gastez plus blez pour faire votre boisson c'est a savoir vos servoises et vos godales, Débat, 43; Pyne, 117, quoting Fleetwood, Chron. Preciosum, p. 91; for 2*d.*, 3*d.* and 4*d.* the gallon as price of good ale, better sort and best in 1459, see servoise à trois mailles, Stengel, 13; Wylie, iii. 191. For beer at 1½*d.* per gall. from Midsummer to Michaelmas, 1¼*d.* from Michaelmas to Christmas or less, see Benham, 20. For ale at 1*d.* per gall. (lagena), see Maldon Rolls, 13/6, Nov. 3, 1421; for "godale," see Amiat, 204 (Dec. 1425); Wylie, iii. 190, note 20; for ale at 2½*d.* per gall. for breakfast of the King's Council, see Baldwin, 13. For "godailler," see Godefroy, iv. 299; Littré, s.v.; Wylie, iii. 191 note.

[7] For the pillory as the punishment for second offence for butchers, see Black Bk. of Adm. ii. 145.

[1] Quia fregerunt assisam, Scrope, 163.

[2] From Colchester Red Paper Book.

[3] Cf. braciavit et vendidit contra assisam, Chatham Hall, April 16, 1308, vendiderunt excessive contra assisam. For "cloth of assize," see Scrope, 9. For order at Castlecombe that no one was to brew dum aliquis tenens domini habuit aliquam cervisiam ad vendendum, see Scrope, 167.

[4] Clark, 24, 207. Cf. of more increase than 2*d.* at Schillyng, Cov. Leet, i. 29 (1421).

[5] For mensura non assigillat', see Chatham Hall, April 5, 1323, or "non signata," ibid. April 17, 1324; "measures enscalyd" after the standard for common profit, Cov. Leet, i. 24, 25, 32. In Maldon Rolls, 13/2 (April 7, 1421), no one within the town of its liberty is to sell or buy with any measure unless it is scaled per sigillum ville under a penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.* For lo senhet ab que se senhan lasttassas de l'argen (i.e. the cocket) for stamping vessels at Agen in 1300, see Magen, 218; signator et apatronator mensurarum ville, ibid. 266; ferrum cum signo ville, signum ferrenum, ibid. 267; signetum deauraderie cum quibus tasse et vasa argentea signantur, ibid. 351. For wax and parchment for the cocket, see Whitwell, 200; for 10*s.* paid pro sculptura duorum foliorum coketi, Exch. Rolls Scot. iv. 246, 247; altera pars sigilli nostri quod dicitur coket, Rot. Parl. iv. 111; cf. Wylie, iii. 66, note 3. For fines for selling wine, &c. per parvas mensuras sigillo regis non consignatas at Exeter in 1353, see Oliver, 313.

[6] Clark, 204.

[7] Cf. put them at mercy, M. D. Harris, 46, 48; tho' ye may amercy hem, Halliwell, i. 55.

[8] Clark, 3. Cf. non escuravit cursum aque fossati sui, Chandler, 54. For a fine (misericordia) of 12*d.* inflicted for an unscoured ditch at a Law Hundred Court at Colchester in 1347, see Benham, 35; pro una fovea non escurat' (1457), pro escuracione le mote (1451) at the manor of Hyde, see Rackham, 21.

[9] Clark, 28, 211; Chatham Hall, April 13, 1417; pons carectatilis, Waltham Rolls, May 20, 1399.

repair a "wholue[1]" or creating a nuisance[2] by throwing out dung or offal[3] or timber or the clearings of a ditch[4] on to the roadway, or for letting their hedges overtop it, or making a sawpit[5] in the common vennel, or leaving holes unfilled, or making purprestures at the road-side[6], or putting up a leafy seat or arbour seat[7] on a public path, or encroaching on the common or on a right of way. Other offences for which they fine include horsewaiving[8] or stealing a ewer of a candlestick or other such petty bribery[9], or breaking open a door after the constable had sealed it up[10] or for assaulting with a stick, a stone, a baslard[11], a bill-hook[12] or the fist, or for forcibly entering a croft or doing a hamsoken[13], i.e. attacking a man in his own

[1] Waltham Rolls, June 4, 1395; Clark, 211; i.e. a hollow or covered drain, cf. Murray, Dict., s.v. *Hulve*. For "swolon," see Halliwell, s.v. *Swallow*; not "swolne," as Lett. Bk. I, 138. For gutters or swolons lying or beyng upon any partye of the grounds, see Hist. MSS. Rept. ix. 217.

[2] Cf. gret noying of the king's pepell (ad nocumentum communitatis) or of the king's hy-way, Bateson, Peterborough, 517, 518; what thing thou trowest noye the, Förster, 9; hys lyff doth him ennoy, G. W. Taylor, 84, translating il est ennuyé de la vie, Chalvet, 202. In Caxton, Dial. 29, "fro noyeing of mischief"=dennuy de meschance; also "annoye" in Curial, 11=nuir in Chartier, 398; to noye, a-noye, Laud Troy Bk. 247, 450; Lydg. Troy Bk. 101; in noye and wo, Laud Troy Bk. 522; anoye and smerte, do. 322; me nuyth, Secreta, 152, 164; as nuous as a mouse, ibid. 212; annuys, annoy, Piaget, Ballades, 336.

[3] Projecit intralia bestiarum quas occidit et alia foetida in communi stratâ, Scrope, 235; bones and filth that the bucher doggs bryng in the church yard, Bateson, Peterborough, 527.

[4] In one case a nuisance is caused by making macionabilem fossam, which seems to have something to do with pitching, cf. Du Cange, s.v. *Macio*.

[5] Puteum ad sarrand', Chatham Hall, April 21, 1321. For siours de bois, see Marest, 40. For 58 taises (i.e. toises) de seaige (i.e. sawing), see Darue, 51.

[6] i.e. encroachment, Cent. Dict., s.v.; Godefroy, s.v. *Porpresure*; Du Cange, s.v. *Porprendere*; fecit preposturam in cursu aque levando quendam gurgitem (i.e. the Countess weir at Exeter), Archaeologia, xxviii. 9; make no purpresture ne stoppyng with trees ne stones ne other filth in the said Ryver, Cov. Leet, i. 30; fecit purpresturas, Chatham Hall, April 16, 1308. For purprestures or strips taken from the highway granted by the Court Baron on condition of paying a small quit rent, see Clark, 197, 212; cf. "purprestures or any maner of usurpations (occupationibus)," Stat. i. 43.

[7] For a fine of 3*d*. imposed for having a levesell in Maldon, see Maldon Rolls, 3/1, Jan. 1407. For lefsel, see Chaucer, Reve's Tale, 4060; Parson's Tale, 337; Halliwell, s.v. *Levesele*.

[8] For waiving (bona or catulla weiviata) a horse or diversa ferramenta pertinent' caruc', see Chatham Hall, April 7, 1461; April 17, 1465.

[9] Minuta instrumenta, Clark, 214. For a "pete bribur"=labro de parvis rebus, see Bateson, Peterborough, 528; cf. Halliwell, s.v. *Bribour*; Murray, Dict., s.v. *Bribery*. For a "bribe buck," see Merry Wives, v. 5. 22.

[10] Quod fregit quandam ceram pendent' super hostium domus sue, Chatham Hall, April 15, 1376.

[11] Scrope, 165 (1394), where the baslard is confiscated, its value being 8*d*.

[12] Cum fulcastro, Clark, 34, 213.

[13] Or hamesucken, Clark, 213; fecit homsonkne, homsogene, Chatham Hall, April 5, 1323; homsonoken, do. April 17, 1313; fecit homsokene super personam ecclesiae, Scrope, 162; homsokone, Maldon Rolls, 2/4; Murray, Dict., s.v.

house or garden[1]. To take an example or two in illustration of their powers. Two men quarrel, one draws a knife and is fined 3*d.*, the other attacks cum fracto petulione and draws blood and is fined 1*s.*[2] A man is fined for badly beating a hired horse and letting it stand all night without a feed whereby it was destroyed[3]. On Jan. 12, 1397, two men get fined 1*d.* each for being found in Agnes Drake's close at night, breaking a window and consuming her food and ale without leave and without payment[4], and two years later John Drake was fined 2*d.* for striking with his fist and 3*d.* more for arming himself with a bow and arrows and bocking a road from which the owner could only dislodge him by raising the hue-and-cry[5]. In all cases the amount of the fine was determined by the court on the advice of a couple of afferers[6] or appraisers whose business it was to assess the value of the damage done and certify that the amount was correctly totalled on the roll. In the neighbouring manor of Chatham Hall, of which Elming or Helming Leget[7] had been lord, we have instructive examples of the kind of subjects decided in the view of Frank Pledge, where on April 25, 1413, the following damages are awarded on the finding of a jury, viz. for four acres of wheat destroyed by a neighbour's cattle (39*s.* 11*d.*), four acres of dredge and oats similarly trampled (30*s.*), for three pigs (20*s.*) and one boar (10*s.*) worried by dogs, for striking a sheep (10*s.*), for barley dredge and pasture destroyed by cattle (20*s.*).

A list of the names of the tenants at Great Waltham drawn up in 1422 shows a total of 160 men and women

[1] Invasio domus contra pacem regis, Bracton, II. 464.

[2] Maldon Rolls, 10/7, Sept. 9, 1416.

[3] Feb. 28, 1393, Clark, 205, where the case is settled in the Court Baron, "being a suit for damages" (from a letter from Dr Clark dated Oct. 17, 1904).

[4] Clark, 214. At Castlecombe in 1415 a man is fined quod fecit I affray frangendo fenestram Johannis Duyk, Scrope, 235.

[5] Juste levavit hutesiam super eum, Clark, 213, May 20, 1399.

[6] Called affurer, Clark, 35, 138; affeerer, Scriven, 446; Murray, Dict., s.v.; or afforer, Cotgr., s.v. Ferers of the Cowrth, Bateson, Peterborough, 527, where there are four of them. For two affur appointed every year by the court at Maldon, see Maldon Rolls, Jan. 13, 1416. For "6-handed," i.e. with five compurgators, see M. D. Harris, 49. For "arbitrours" and an "owmper" (i.e. umpire), see Early Chancery Proceedings, xvii. no. 306; Vict. Co. Hist. London, i. 636.

[7] i.e. in right of his wife Alice (Wylie, iv. 206), sister and heiress of Thomas Mandeville who died in 1399 (Inq. p. Mort. iii. 265; Morant, ii. 84). She married Roger Spice as her second husband and died in 1420, Inq. p. Mort. iv. 47.

who hold their parks[1], cots[2], crofts, tofts[3] and curtilages[4] under agreements copied from the court roll subject to the performance of what were known as precarious burdens[5]. These burdens were of the most varied nature, such as serving as a man-of-arms or an archer[6] or furnishing a few arrows[7], or finding a capon or two[8] or supplying a ploughshare for the wear and tear of the manorial plough, or working so many days as "loveboons[9]" every year in the fields for the lord without wage, and either with or without meat and drink[10], the usual bread and garlick and beer. These were known as boondays[11], bidden-days or "preces[12]" because they were done at the prayer or the bidding[13] of the lord. Thus there were "boonploughs[14]" or "bidreaps[15]" or "dewrodes" when they had to answer the lord's summons to plough or fork his land[16] or reap his meadow or shear his

[1] For park or croft, see Exeter Deeds, 1018, 1027.

[2] For cotland, see Clark, 130, 132, 198. For cottarius, see C. R. L. Fletcher, 95, where it is translated "cottager."

[3] For a toft 88 ft. × 43 ft. (in 1400), see Exeter Deeds, 1096.

[4] i.e. gardens; cf. orti id est curtilli, courtel, cestilles, Delisle, Agric. 485. Cf. messuagium cum curtilagio adjacente, Claus. 5 H. V, 4, Feb. 12, 1418; ung appentiz de maison et ung courtel, Joubert, Vie, 130. For 2*s.* de exitibus unius cotagii cum uno curtilagio et una acra terrae, see For. Accts. 5 H. V; cf. son aistre (i.e. house or roof-tree) et appurtenance, Joubert, Vie, 129; herbergement et appurtenance, do. 131; "courtelage," Exeter Deeds, 112. For a toft or curtilage, see ibid. 1013.

[5] Cf. obedienter veniet et fideliter faciet opera domini consueta secundum consuetudinem manerii, Chatham Hall, Nov. 11, 1320.

[6] Per servitium militare, Clark, 198.

[7] Cf. a reservation of six shafts, Waltham Rolls, Oct. 8, 1398, commuted in the reign of Elizabeth into a money payment of 2*s.* per annum; Clark, 133.

[8] Solebat dare domino 1 caponem nomine chenagii. For the "kainhen" in Scotland, see Clark, 133; Ogilvie, s.v.; Jamieson, s.v. *Cane*; Murray, Dict., s.v. *Cain*. For payment of 18*d.* ut sit quietus in perpetuum de praedicto chenagio, see Chatham Hall, April 2, 1336, or pro capone de chenagio, do. April 10, 1344, where the payment for exemption is only 6*d.*

[9] Faciet duas lovebones et duas bedripes et precarias, Ramsay, Chart. i. 433.

[10] Inveniet unum bedrepe cum allece et aqua; also cum pane carne et cervisia, Ramsay, Chart. i. 49; cf. metet per unum diem in autumno ad cibum domini. For precariae siccae, see note 12, *infra*.

[11] Halliwell, s.v.; or boonwork, Seebohm, 78.

[12] In Chatham Hall, April 7, 1355, Gilbert le Herde holds a field by three precariae in one year and three precariae siccae in another; Blount, s.v. *Precarie* = a daywork; Du Cange, s.v. = servitium.

[13] i.e. ad precem, "at bene," or at the lord's bidding; cf. summonit' fuit ad precariam et non venit, Chatham Hall, Sept. 6, 1344.

[14] Murray, Dict., s.v.

[15] Iebent venire ad precariam quae vocatur à le bederepe, Blount, s.v. *Bidrep*; Murray, Dict., s.v. *Bedrip*, spelt bederipe or bederype in Ramsay, Chart. i. 52, 430, 437; Halliwell, s.v. *Bedrepes*; cf. summon' ad falcem in prato domini, Chatham Hall, July 18, 1357; cf. serclatura, Scrope, 151. For picture of reaping-hooks, see Schultz, 171.

[16] In Chatham Hall, Oct. 3, 1357, a nativus holds a messuage and 10 acres per servic. nativ. for 4*s.* with vomer'-et herc' (harrowing) dimid. quarterii aven' ad precem domine cum 1 furc' ad precem, 8 precariae siccae et 1 precar' non sicc' et necesse fuerit et 1

sheep at the boon-shearing[1] or find cloths to dry his flax at the autumn retting[2], or lift (levacio) and cock (tassacio) his hay[3], or harrow or tye his oats[4] or milk his cows[5] or carry his dung[6] or do other necessary field work according to the season of the year[7]. All these dargs or "dayworks[8]" had to be faithfully carried out without money wage by the tenant if the tenant had to give his services as "love-boons" (i.e. without payment), and sometimes "dry" (i.e. without food and drink thrown in); yet as often as not the lord had to give him his "boonloaf" with meat and beer or a herring and water on fast-days, and to provide the "boonloaf[9]" with a special "meadram" of his best hurtard with cheese and salt[10] at the "inning" of the hay[11].

The whole body of the residents dwelling within the limits of the manor was described as "the homage[12]," though they were divided into two distinct grades according to the conditions of their tenure, a few being franklins[13] or freemen

dewrode et 1 galline et 4 ova et sect.' cur.' et caviabit in autumpno per dimid. diem et habebit cibum et potum.

[1] For boon-shearing, see Murray, Dict., s.v. *Boon.*

[2] Deberent invenire pannos ad linum domini siccand', Chatham Hall, Oct. 28, 1321.

[3] Cf. making and inning the hay in the lord's mead, Clark, 214. For pictures of scythe and rake, see Schultz, 168, 216.

[4] Ad ligand' avenam domini sicut ceteri custumarii, Chatham Hall, Nov. 11, 1320.

[5] For quoddam servitium spectant. cuidam magno "bederep" scilicet in lactatione vaccarum suarum quod non permisit ministros domini in dicto lactagio ministrare sicut alii ministrare promiserunt, see Chatham Hall, Oct. 22, 1317. For the lord's claim to the milk of the serf tenants' cows while they were doing a "bede-rep," see Clark, Serfdom, 483.

[6] Chatham Hall, Nov. 12, 1323.

[7] For opera yemalia et autumnalia, see Clark, 65.

[8] Cf. Halliwell, s.v. *Darrak*; Murray, Dict., s.v. *Darg*. For "dugwerk" as a measure of land, see Waltham Rolls, June 10, 1399; Clark, 140; cf. unum cotagium cum una dugworenta terrae, Chatham Hall, Nov. 4, 1337. In the Isle of Man they still measure crops of hay by the "daymoth," cf. Murray, s.v. *Daymath*. Cf. sept journées de terre at St Jean d'Angély (1416), Aussy, iii. 139. For a "deyvas" or deyva of land, see Cotton and Dallas, v. 40, 171; or dayva, Exeter Municipal Deeds, 861 a, 1007.

[9] Murray, Dict., s.v.; cf. metet per unum diem in autumno *ad cibum domini*, Chatham Hall, Nov. 19, 1313, i.e. the brother of a tenant doing two daywercat. For meals during corvée, see Duclaux, 247.

[10] For daily allowance of bread, cheese and wine in France, see p. 467, note 4.

[11] Clark, 214.

[12] Cowell, s.v. *Homagium*; called "a selected body of customary tenants" in Scrope, 155.

[13] For "franklein," "franklin," "ffrankelayn," see P. Plo. vi. 163; Cal. Pat. H. V, ii. 20; Murray, Dict., s.v. Of the 60 tithing-men at Chatham Hall in 1329 only one was a freeman, Eng. Hist. Rev. xix. 716. Fraunchise in Englyssche is called frenys or fredome, Secreta, 130. For brass of a franklin circ. 1370 at Shottesbrook near Maidenhead, see Bibl. Top. Britt. IV. no. xiii. 105; Gent. Mag. N.S. xiii. (1840), 132; Druit, 201. At Castlecombe in 1340 there were 10 liberi of whom only one was tenens liberi pro se et heredibus.

and the rest naifs[1], serfs[2] or churls[3]. The freeman was by position a vavasour or vassal[4], but was "emancipated from the paternal power" of the lord and "could contract and keep and govern and defend his lands and do all that a liberal and free man can and ought to do[5]." He was called a "gentleman[6]." He might be a knight of the shire[7] in parliament, a sheriff, a counter[8] or a lord at sessions[9]. He was usually rich and often drew large annuities[10], in which case he lived in delight with partridges in mew and pike and bream in stew[11], while at his table plenty rained and snowed[12], but his sons often diced away his money instead of hearkening to virtue and learning gentleness[13]. But side by side with these well-to-do folk who had attained their

[1] Si bien de francs come de niefs, Rot. Parl. iv. 140, 141; both fre and bonde, Lydg. Troy Bk. 76, 86.

[2] Liberum vel servum, Conc. ii. 156. For freeholders v. villeins, see C. R. L. Fletcher, 97. For "a cherl velayn," as a term of abuse, see Laud Troy Bk. 220.

[3] Wylie, ii. 209 note. For "carle," see Secreta, 179.

[4] For charter of enfranchisement granted by Matthew Count of Foix in 1392 in the Abbey of St Volusien at Foix, see Bulletin historique du comité de Travaux historiques (1899), p. 373, where on payment of 107 francs d'or freedom is granted from all "servage corporal, taille, repairs to dykes (digues), mills, finding carts, stone, wood, without pay, but bread, cheese and wine allowance per day."

[5] Cf. "emancipé et mis hors de sa puissance paternele," so that "il puisse contraher, garder, gouverner et defendre ses terres et faire tout ce que liberal et franche personne peut et doit faire, Fagniez, Jurisprudence, 24 (1396).

[6] For "gentilman" alias "Frankeleyn," see French Roll 6 H. V, 9; do. 8 H. V, 4, Oct. 11, 1420. In the Fr. Roll 6 H. V, m. 8, a "gentilman" of Devonshire is "al-dict Marchant"; also "Gentilman alias Grocer, Cordwainer," &c., French Roll, 8 H. V, 7. For no artificer, &c. to use ferettes, haies netes, harepipes, cordes or other engyns, see Stat. iv. 1055; York, 149; pour prondre ou destroyer savagynes levers ou conyes ne autre deduite des gentilz, Rot. Parl. iv. 122, where the penalty is 1 year's imprisonment. Cf. levrers, conyes et autre savagines, ibid.; cf. smale pocketes and pursnetes with smal nettes and harepipes, York, 14; "haies and pursnettis," ibid. 37; cf. harepipes, gins and snares, Murray, Dict., s.v. *Harepipe*. For Deduit des chiens, see Brachet, 622; Deduit des oiseaux, see York, 231. Cf. the faukon gentil of nature, Lydg. Troy Bk. 330; of gentilles nor of courteseye, ibid. 339; so gentilmanly thei demened were, ibid. 50, 262; lik as it longeth to every gentilman, ibid. 436. For "the English gentleman," see Ancestor, i. 58.

[7] For brass representing a franklin with a sword in his belt in the church at Shottesbrook near Maidenhead temp. Ed. III, see Waller, 1. At his side is a priest who was probably his brother.

[8] A lawyer, Wylie, ii. 182. Supposed to be an auditor or accountant in Chauc. (S.), v. 35, or a commissioner of taxes, Noblesse, p. xv. Not a coroner, as Warton, ii. 366; Purey-Cust, i. 313; a reading gratuitously introduced by Urry.

[9] For complaint that nobles give up arms for "such a nedelese besinesse as to occupie courtis-holding to kepe and bere out a proude countenaunce at sessions and shireholding," see Noblesse, pp. xv, 77 (1475). Cf. a captaine (i.e. headman) or ruler at a sessions or a shire-day to endite or amercie your pore bestiall peple, Noblesse, 78.

[10] Called pater familias magnis ditatus annuitatibus in Fortescue, c. 29.

[11] Chaucer, Prologue, 333, 362.

[12] Lydg. Troy Bk. 57. For a feast for a franklin with two courses, see Manners and Meals, i. 170; Abram, Life, 146.

[13] Chaucer, Franklein's Prologue, 11002.

freedom were the great bulk of the tenantry who held their cot[1] with a pickle[2] of garden or pasture "in the lord's bondage[3]." But bondage such as theirs was merely the survival of a word, for the Peasants' Revolt had broken for ever the old feudal tie that had once bound the tenant as a chattel to his lord[4], though it is typical of the fictions that still existed in theory in spite of the realities of fact that lands at Waltham are sometimes described as held *liberi per servitium*[5]. Thus, though in their personal status the tenants were practically free, yet in the tenure of their land there was still a substantial remainder of the bondage of the past. They described themselves as "free by their copy[6]," i.e. they held their land by virtue of a copy[7] made from the original manorial roll, but though they were gradually obtaining fixity of tenure and the right of sub-letting they still held it as customary land[8] or "at the will of the lord[9]," or "in his danger" as the

[1] Cf. pro 1 domo, 1 cotagio, 1 curtilagio, 1 pistrina, 1 gardino cum pertinenciis, Scrope, 163. For curtilage, see G. R. Stratton in Athenaeum, 718 (1909), p. 146. For a toft or curtilage 88 ft. × 43 ft., see Exeter Deeds, 1090, 1096. For a culture, see ibid. 1107; a park or croft in Cowick Street, see ibid. 1018. For a cotland (cotagium) containing 2 acres, see p. 465, note 2.

[2] Ogilvie, Dict., s.v., or pightle, see Cowell, s.v. *Croft*; Chandler, 126. "Chalf-pyghtall" occurs on the Great Waltham roll.

[3] De bondagio domini, i.e. copyhold as opposed to freehold, Waltham Rolls, Sept. 22, 1416. For bondagium, see Clark, 14; Scrope, 151; cf. tenendas in bondagio secundum consuetudinem manorii, ibid. 162.

[4] For disappearance of serfdom in France since the 11th century, see Delisle, Agric. xxxvii. By the end of the 14th century it was quite extinct, Duclaux, 226; cf. nul servage ne d'autre condition forsque de franche...in the vicomté of Rouen in 1310, Puiseux, Rouen, 54. For its abolition in Anjou temp. Philippe-le-Bel (1270–1314), see Godard-Faultrier, ii. 317. For ordinance of 1358 enforcing freedom in order to obtain payments in money, see Deniol, 139; A. Gasquet, ii. 285, who calls it la grande de l'affranchisement (ibid. ii. 284). For its early disappearance in Normandy, see Deniol, 151. For John Ball's agitation against serfdom, see Gairdner, Lollardy, i. 10, 16.

[5] Waltham Rolls, Jan. 14, 1399; cf. "enfranchised bondmen," Scriven, 14. Snow, 40, thinks that "when the lord had no need of them some might earn a day's wage which he places at 1*d.* during the harvest and ½*d.* at other times."

[6] Cf. "free by my copy," Beaumont and Fletcher, Knight of the Golden Pestle, iii. 4.

[7] Per copiam et rotulum curiae, Waltham Rolls, Jan. 31, 1397; by copye of Courte Rolle, Stat. iv. 54. For lands held per cartam, i.e. with an agreement as to sub-letting see Waltham Rolls, June 10, 1399, or from other tenants, see ibid. May 1, 1401. The word "copyhold" appears not to occur earlier than 1483, Murray, Dict., s.v., i.e. londes et tenementz tenuz par custume de manor vulgairement appellez copihold, Stat. ii. 479; cf. secundum consuetudinem manerie, Waltham Rolls, Jan. 14, 1399; customarie or coppieholde landes, Stat. iv. 54.

[8] For custumarii, see Chatham Hall, Sept. 23, 1308. For la coutume et la loi de la seigneurie, see A. Gasquet, ii. 291.

[9] In villenagio ad voluntatem domini, Chandler, 18; cf. "tenants at will," Pollock and Maitland, i. 593; Scrope, 151; Clark, 148; taillable et corvéable à volonté, Duclaux, 226. For "gouvernez à volonté," see Ordonnances, x. 429; pro lege sufficit dominica

law expressly phrased it[1]. At every demise[2], by death or otherwise, the land had to be formally surrendered and kept "in the lord's hands[3]" till it was retaken by the successor after doing fealty afresh[4] and paying the customary gersom[5], the lord still claiming as a heriot[6] or corpse-present[7] the best beast or other chattel of the deceased as a reminiscence of the old days when the whole of the land was confiscated outright[8]. The copyholder had to keep the barns and other buildings in good repair and do or pay some one else to do the various "services[9]," but these were often commuted for an annual payment in cash[10], showing

voluntas, Usk, 66; pro ratione voluntas, Clamenges, Epist. 82; that wayveth wit and worketh by will, Kail, 72. For "skill v. will," see Gairdner, Lollardy, i. 16.

[1] For fiefs de danger, see Du Cange, s.v. *Dangerium*; Godefroy, s.v. *Dangier*; Murray, Dict., s.v. *Danger*. For dangeria or payments made by tenants for selling timber or for obtaining leave to plough or sow in pannage time (when the pigs were feeding on the mast), see Ewald, xli. 672; xlii. 458. For le tiers et danger que nous (the king) avons et prenons de leurs diz et foretz, see C. Beaurepaire, Notes, 23 (1399). For sergenterie de la forest a tiers et danger, see Brequigny, 212 (Dec. 24, 1418). Cf. in the daungere, Laud Troy Bk. 248; they ben alle in goddis daungere, Kail, 31; bounde under your daunger, Lydg. Troy Bk. 258; agenst their daungier, ibid. Night. 26; me mectre en son doulx dangier, Piaget, Ballades, 359.

[2] Cf. He demysed himself thereof, Melusine, 87; =il s'en est deffait, Arras, 99.

[3] In manibus domini, Waltham Rolls, Sept. 20, 1401; atwene myn hondis tweyne, Lydg. Troy Bk. ii. 476.

[4] Fecit fidelitatem, Waltham Rolls, May 17, 1399.

[5] Gersuma, ibid. May 16, 1397; see Halliwell, 397; Cotton and Dallas, v. 20 (1155). Cf. "garsanese," Clark, 200; "grassum," Jamieson, s.v. *Gersone*; Murray, Dict., s.v. *Gersum*. In Cotgrave, s.v. *Déport*=forfeit of one year's revenue to the lord on decease of the tenant subject to a charge of one-third reserved for the minor. At Maldon in Essex whenever land situated within the town or liberty was sold the town charged a quarter of the purchase money by virtue of a privilege granted by Robert Braybrook, Bishop of London in 1403, see Blount, s.v. *Landchepe*; Morant, i. 331. For claim for 10*s.* for landchepe of a house in Maldon called "Cornerschoppe," see Maldon Rolls, May 26, 1421; also 13*s.* 2*d.*, do. June 28, 1406. A fair idea of the belongings of an ordinary member of this class may be obtained by the perusal of an inventory of the goods of Helenese Samar, a tenant on the manor of Chatham Hall, drawn up soon after her death on April 20, 1308.

[6] For holdings reported as "herietable," or not herietable, see Chatham Hall, July 20, 1335; April 18, 1419. For a horse, heifer or ewe seized "nomine heriett," see ibid. April 22, 1337; Nov. 17, 1341; Feb. 15, 1343. For "heriot or ffarleve" (1553), see Exeter Deeds, 1477.

[7] Statutes, iii. 288.

[8] Clark, 16.

[9] See page 456, note 4. Cf. secundum consuetudinem manerii per servitia quae facere consuevit, Scrope, 165.

[10] e.g. Waltham Rolls, Nov. 13, 1413; June 8, 1415, and *passim*. Such land was known as "molond," Clark, 130; Waltham Rolls, Jan. 14, 1416. For 8*d.* per annum paid pro omnibus serviciis, see Chatham Hall, April 7, 1355. For reference to a carta of 1288 in return for 6*d.* yearly paid pro omnibus serviciis, consuetudinibus, sect. cur auxil. scutag. tallag. regularibus serviciis et secularibus demandis, see Chatham Hall, May 30, 1355. For 1*d.* as the money equivalent for messis unius rode, see ibid. Oct. 10, 1335, where 17*d.* is paid for failing to do this service for the last 17 years. For "dew-rode," see page 465, note 15. For per servitium sex denariorum per annum pro omnibus serviciis, see Chatham Hall, June 2, 1310. Cf. terra nativa, ibid. April 25, 1413; tene-

that at this time copyholders as a class were in practice a long way removed from servitude, though technically they were still so described[1]. With their 3, 5 or 9 acres of land they were still trammelled by many onerous conditions. They were not allowed to fell the oak, ash, elm, maple[2] or other timber, except an allowance of stovers[3] for fuel or the upkeep of their buildings[4], which they were bound to maintain in good repair. Without express permission they might not use the croppings of the willows[5] or remove the straw from their fields except it were to mend their thatch. It must be left like the easings of the beasts to rot into the ground as manure[6]. Wheat, oats, barley, peas[7], dredge[8] or other vestures[9] were to be grown only for their own or the lord's consumption and not to be sold for profit outside[10]. They could not marry their daughters to the sons of franklins[11]

mentum nativum, do. July 7, 1376; fecit fidelitatem servilem, do. Sept. 6, 1344; April 10, 1341; Clark, Serfdom, 482. In Chatham Rolls, Nov. 17, 1341, a nativus has acquired five acres of land in exchange for other five acres, and an order is issued to seize the land till he shows his carta; do. Sept. 6, 1344, a nativus holds a pecia by services and payment of 3*d.* rent; do. April 10, 1319, a nativus domini gives sureties that he will produce the carta by which he acquired a tenementum.

[1] In 1379, 1393 a tenementum nativum had come to mean a copyhold, terram nativam (Oct. 18, 1396) is translated "copy tenement" in the time of Elizabeth.

[2] Scrope, 153.

[3] For common of estover, see Scriven, 291; Halliwell, 814; M. D. Harris, 71; Murray, Dict., s.v. *Estover*.

[4] For allowances in the manor of Altofts near Normanton in the West Riding of Yorkshire called "howsboote, fyerboote, hayebote, ploughboote, hedge boote and fence boote," see Calendars, Domestic (1603–1610), p. 521; cf. ovesque housbote, haybote et fyrbote deinz nostre forest, Gaunt, Reg. i. 181, 224; ii. 104, 170, 236.

[5] ii wylows computavit et abcariavit, Waltham Rolls, Feb. 28, 1393; cf. croppat', ibid. Mar. 1, 1417; called "topping" in Clark, 201.

[6] Clark, 78, 202.

[7] For peas (*in pisis*) as a frequent crop, see Waltham Rolls, Feb. 28, 1393. For green peas (pisidum viridum, viridum pisarum) at Dunster, see Lyte, 50, 54, 118, 133. Cf. de pisis et taris, Lysons, Environs, i. 62, at Beddington near Croydon in 1454. For a pesse corn field with coddyngtyme or peyk harvest at Wymeswold near Loughborough in 1425, see Hist. MSS. Lord Middleton's Coll. 107, 108.

[8] For drâgg' et aven', ordenm dragget et pastur', see Chatham Hall, April 25, 1415; dragetts, i.e. buckwheat or bullymong, see Cotgr.; also Halliwell, s.v. *Bullimung*, where "mung" is called a mixture; cf. Halliwell, 567; Ogilvie, s.v. *Mong-corn*, i.e. a mixture of wheat and rye. For mengyd = mixed, see Misyn, 18; Halliwell, ii. 549, s.v. *Dragée*; Murray, Dict., s.v. *Dredge*. For three acres of peasemong or benemong, see Clark, 164. For two quarters of mixtelyn (i.e. rye and wheat), see Benham, 78; cf. Halliwell, s.v. *Maslin*, *Mixtelyn*; Ogilvie, s.v. *Meslin*; Archaeologia, xxv. 425; cf. forsnent, seggle, orge, avene, pogs, feves, drage, Henley, 84.

[9] Vesturae, Waltham Rolls, Sept. 22, Nov. 25, 1416; vestura sepium, ibid. May 7, 1399; pastur' et vestur' prati, Chatham Hall, April 9, 1325; cum vestura ejusdem, Scrope, 162.

[10] For fines for removing crops, see Clark, 78, 202. Cf. Morice, ii. 484 (1420), where labourers in Brittany are not s'adonner au commerce, but only to sell the fruits of their land pour l'entretien de leur famille.

[11] For 3*s.* 4*d.* paid on this account, see Waltham Rolls, Jan. 31, 1397, by John Rede

whereby the next generation would be freemen[1]. They could not send their sons to school[2] nor move away from the manor themselves without the lord's consent[3] which was however usually to be bought for a money[4] or other consideration[5]. It has been supposed that this latter provision can never have been effectively enforced seeing that the runaway must be pursued within three or four days after his escape[6], but it is certain that the claim was still a reality, for these rolls record a case where the beadle is ordered to bring back a *naif* who had gone to live up at Danburg[7] about 10 miles away. This word "naif," like "serf," "churl," "vassal[8]," or "vilain[9]," is now so intimately asso-

who is nativus sanguine, Clark, 49; cf. quia maritata fuit sine licentia domini nostri amisit totum tenementum, Clark, Serfdom, 481 (1312). In Chatham Hall, Nov. 11, 1320, Robert Cok nativus domini is fined *6d.* for giving his daughter in marriage without leave (cf. Clark, Serfdom, 479), though ibid. Feb. 18, 1331, shows a similar fine without signifying that the offender is nativus; see also Scrope, 155, 163, where a nativa domini pays *13s. 4d.* pro licentiâ habendâ se extra maritandi in 1376.

[1] A. Gasquet, ii. 282. For a claim that a tenant's grandfather married the daughter of a freeman disallowed because the marriage had taken place without leave, see Chatham Hall, Nov. 4, 1337.

[2] Dr Clark informs me that such a case occurs in the Waltham Roll, temp. Ed. III.

[3] Clark, 15. For fines of *2d.*, *3d.*, *6d.* quod ivit extra terram domini, see Chatham Hall, April 10, 1330, where the offender is not specified as nativus.

[4] Nativi dant domino de chivagio *12d.* ad morandum extra dominium domini till Michaelmas 1414, at Castlecombe, Scrope, 233, 234. For £4 paid by a nativus in 1429 for permission to live outside the lordship for life, see ibid. 217. In Chatham Hall, July 7, 1376, a nativus may stay (commorari) at Leighs ad voluntatem domini on paying *40d.* fine.

[5] In Chatham Hall, April 14, 1422, a nativus is allowed to stay at Felstead on paying two capons every year and doing suit (cf. "do his sewte," Chancery Warrants, Ser. I. 1364/53) at the next court after Easter. Also on April 25, 1318, a nativus domini lives extra dominium domini but on payment of a capon every Easter is allowed ut possit ire ubicumque voluerit et mercandisari absque aliquo impedimento, Clark, Serfdom, 482. For glebae adscripti or mainmortables (called servitus manus mortuae liniae humani generis inhumana in Chron. Episcop. Autissiod.), see Du Cange, v. 252, s.v.; manus mortua = servi glebae or homines manus mortuae, who were not allowed to will away their goods which became the property of the lord at their death = mainmortables envers leurs seigneurs en tous biens meubles et heritages; see Rivière, i. 409, 410, who does not agree with the belief that villeinage had altogether disappeared from Auvergne in the 13th century.

[6] Bracton, I. cap. 10, f. 6 (edition 1569) quoted in Chandler, xiii. For a villain becoming a freeman by residing for a year and a day in a chartered town, see C. R. L. Fletcher, 228; E. C. Lodge, 430; M. D. Harris, 51; Abram, Life, p. 3; Wylie, iii. 73. In the Golden Bull (1356) Charles IV forbade towns to receive fugitive serfs to their franchise, Lodge, 117, 187, and by the Statute of Labourers 1349 (Airy, 128) or 1350 (Green, 242) an escaped villain was to be branded on the forehead with "F" (*fugitivus*), S. D. Scott, ii. 410; Green, 242; Buckley, 96.

[7] Vagatus est extra dominium et manet in Danneburg, Clark, 204. In Chatham Hall, June 15, 1363, a nativus of Chatham manet ad paronatum at Broomfield, his son also a nativus stays (manet) at Walbrook in London, and a third nativus who is a tailor manet extra dominium, all sine licencia, and all three are ordered adhaerere domino.

[8] A pore vavesowre, Halliwell, ii. 907; was no where such a worthy vavasour,

[9] For note see next page.

ciated in our minds with slavery or servile dependence that we are inclined to think that it stood for a bottom division distinct from the substantial copyholder[1]. But this view is not borne out by the technical description in the Great Waltham rolls in which all who are not franklins are naifs[2]. But the distinction between bond and free was being gradually quite obliterated[3], and often where there was no record of the manumission[4] remaining the question had to be settled by appeals to the memory of the oldest inhabitant. But in many other ways the copyholder was free; not however as we should understand the term to-day. Without the lord's express permission he could not dispose of the land held on pain of losing both the land and the

Chauc. Prol. 362; see also Godefroy, s.v. *Vavassor*; Du Cange, s.v. *Vassus*. For the vavasseur or yeoman farmer, see Duclaux, 225, who calls him "the aristocrat of his condition"; "the rich semi-noble vavassour," ibid. p. 251; cf. Duke ne knyȝt ne vawesour, Laud Troy Bk. 216, 253.

[2] Melusine, 28. In Chatham Hall, Nov. 11, 1320, fealty per vilinagium is defined as quod erit obediens domino corpore bonis et catallis et bene custodiet terras et tenementa et domus cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et obedienter veniet et fideliter faciet opera domini secundum consuetudinem manerii, which seems to describe exactly the position of the copyholder except that he had his position exactly defined in a legal document (carta).

[1] C. R. L. Fletcher, 266, thinks that by the time of Ed. III the quondam villeins are freemen who pay a small fixed money rent for their land later called copyholders. For nativi called Mondaymen and terra nativa called Mondaything and Mondayland at Castlecombe, see Scrope, 151, 154, 160, 215. For cotagium vocatum Monday ys thyng, see ibid. 214. In Pat. 5 H. V, 25, July 10, 1417, the Prior of the Carthusians at Sheen has power ab omni jugo villenagii et servitutis liberare William Smart and his son nativos in his manor of Middleton Chenduit, i.e. Middleton Cheney near Banbury, Bridges, i. 184. For manumission of a bondman by Bishop Bowet (Bath and Wells), Mar. 2, 1403, see Holmes, Reg. 29.

[2] e.g. on June 12, 1397, Humphrey Clark complains that he had been slandered "pro nativo" and claims an inquisitio *per omnes tenentes liberos et nativos*, who decide that he is liber et liberae conditionis and that his predecessors have been so ab omni tempore, though it is to be noted that out of 131 tenants in 1400 only one is called a naif, Clark, 12. For "liber homo et liberae conditionis," see Ad Quod Damn. 371. On Dec. 4, 1421, John King of North End fecit domino regi sacramentum servile eo quod ipse est nativus de sanguine, cf. fecit fidelitatem servilem (1344), Clark, Serfdom, 482. For "vileyns and naifs" suing their lord a cause de leur faire franks, see Rot. Parl. iii. 212. For statement that "villeins, sokemen, freeholders, cottagers, borders, geneats, boors, roadknights and serfs are all terms found in Domesday for peasants in all manner of gradations of freedom," see C. R. L. Fletcher, 95. At Castlecombe in the 15th century some of the wealthiest and most prosperous tenants are still serfs adscript to the soil, Scrope, 166, 222.

[3] A. Gasquet, ii. 289, 290, refers to the practical abolition of the distinction between a serf and a villein (the latter alone being "contribuable") though the form of enfranchisement still went on.

[4] On Dec. 25, 1302, Wm. de Willoughby manumits Wm. Large of Dunsby near Bourne in Lincolnshire nativum meum ab omni jugo servitutis, Hist. MSS. Rept. Lord Middleton's Coll. 101. Also Jan. 3, 1410, the Bishop of Chichester frees Robt. Tye nativum manorii nostri de Cakham ab omni vinculo et servili condicione quibus nobis astrictus existit, Rede, Reg. 53.

crops that grew upon it[1], and he required a special permit if he was to be excused from the duty of serving as prefect, beadle, woodward or coroner[2], and a special licence if he was to be a carpenter[3] or engage in trade[4]. In the manor of Great Waltham there were three parks[5], viz. the old park towards Pleshy, Apechild (now called Absol or Apsol) Park towards the north and a small park called Littlehay[6] (which still retains the name of Littley). All these belonged to the lord and into one or other of them the tenant had to turn his pigs at acorn time[7] within certain months of the year[8], during which time they were not to plough or sow their own land[9], for which accommodation they paid according to a fixed tariff a porkage known either as pannage[10] or stubblage[11] according as the creatures were

[1] In Chatham Hall, Mar. 29, 1334, a nativus has demised without licence a piece de terra nativa which is therefore ordered to be seized cum vestura ejusdem.

[2] For exemption granted to a nativus quod non stabit in officium (*sic*) praepositi, bedelli, wodeward nec coronatoris, see Chatham Hall, April 25, 1318.

[3] In Chatham Hall, Oct. 9, 1333, a nativus is fined 2*d.* quod ponit se in officio carpentarii, sine licentia.

[4] Mercandisari, see page 471, note 5.

[5] Clark, 65, 66, 69, 190. For the paliciator (palemender), see Clark, 200. For 8*d.* p. carett' de Ellers (see Murray, s.v.), see Exch. Accts. 131/12. For pieces of wylow, asp (i.e. aspen), aldyr and ash taken from the park, see Waltham Rolls, Mar. 18, 1401. Cf. "la Parrok," Gaunt, Reg. ii. 122. For the maister forster or parker, see York, 107.

[6] Known also as the Fan. Cf. "le Fanne," Waltham Rolls, Sept. 20, 1402; Clark, 70.

[7] Clark, 68; cf. des hors qui vint au pasnage, Beaurepaire, Vicomte, 279, 315. For 6*s.* 1½*d.* received pro pannagio porcorum in Galtres Forest in 1418, see Exch. Accts. 131/14; cf. avesagium et porc'; avesagium et pannagium, Chatham Hall, Sept. 16, 1415. For dispute between the Abbot of Cherbourg and the pannagers (*panageours*) who had rights of free pannage (droit de franc panage) at Tour la Ville in the forest of Brix, see Amiot, 277, 279, where there are fermiers du panage as middlemen who slit the pigs' ears and put them en broche as an incident of the dispute. For pictures of pigs feeding in the woods, see Durrieu, Très riches Heures, Plate xi; Schultz, 224; Windle, 30 (from Strutt). Cf. lour porcs et purcelles, Gaunt, Reg. ii. 122; lour porcheri, ibid.; see Murray, Dict., s.v. *Porkery*.

[8] In Normandy the close months were from May to December inclusive, Delisle, Agric. 369, 384.

[9] See page 469, note 1.

[10] For mastage and pannage, see Exeter Deeds, 1556; J. C. Cox, 41; or pawnage, Stat. i. 121. For receipts from pannage in the Forest of Galtres near York, see Exch. Accts. 131/5–14. The following place-names occur in an account of Ralph Earl of Northumberland as Keeper of the Forest of Galtres, Exch. Accts. 131/14, from Michaelmas 1418 to Michaelmas 1419, viz. *Villae* = Shipton paying 4*s.*, Skelton 2*s.*, Newton 3*s.*, Wigginton 2*s.* 6*d.*, Sheriff Hulton 3*s.*, Strensall 1*s.* 6*d.*, East Lilling 4*s.* 3*d.*, West Lilling 1*s.* 6*d.*, Haxby 5*s.*, Husthwaite 6*s.* 8*d.*, Cornburgh 4*s.*, Benningbrough 1*s.* 4*d.*; other places = Ramell, Brokholmker (? Brockholm Carr), Gressell, Halykeldmor (? Halkeld Moor). For Galtres Forest, see J. C. Cox, 125–130; also Brit. Archaeol. Assoc. Journ. 1904.

[11] Godefroy, s.v. *Estoublage*; cf. cum libero estoublage, Rym. x. 88. For "stubbull," see Hist. MSS. Rept. Lord Middleton's Coll. 108.

turned into the mast[1] or the stubble, the parker[2] keeping note of the number by means of a nickstick[3] known as a cypher[4] or a pigtally[5]. The easing[6] charged was ½*d.* for each porkling, 1*d.* for each pig, corresponding amounts being charged for folding sheep or as a browsage in the lord's pasture at the rate of 6*d.* for a calf[7], 8*d.* for a bullock and 1*s.* for a beast, payment[8] on this account being known as a herbage or justment[9].

When the lord died every tenant had to appear before the Court Baron or Leet and renew the oath of fealty to the reigning king, and we have thus a kind of means of estimating the number of the population living within the limits of the manor. At Great Waltham such lists of the names of all the tenants are preserved for the years 1400

[1] Akire (i.e. acorns) of okys baryng and bukmast, York, 80.

[2] For the maister parker, see York, 107. For sanitem vocatam Parkers causay, see Scrope, 162. For six parkers and three foresters in the Forest of Duffield near Derby, see J. C. Cox, 191.

[3] Jamieson, s.v.

[4] For four ashes cut up for *cipherae*, see Clark, 67.

[5] Calthrop, ii. 94.

[6] Avesagium, Clark, 200; cf. retraxit aesum suum de uno porco, Chatham Hall, Jan. 28, 1332.

[7] Waltham Rolls, July 28, 1400.

[8] Clark, 67. In Normandy such charges were called freschengage (*forcenagium*), curtage and eparnègement (i.e. one pig out of a litter of seven, Godefroy, s.v.), Delisle, Agric. 384; or quarterage, see Godefroy, s.v.; also Cotgr. and Littré, s.v. For a sucking pig given every year to the lord, see Godefroy, s.v. *Fressange* or *Fresange*. For the gavels wine, porcarius ad censum, see Blount, who calls it "gavelswan"; see also Philosophical Transactions, xvii. 691, quoted in Murray, s.v. *Danger*. In Maldon Rolls, 6/1, 10/8a, porci transeuntes per viam debent esse anulati et ligati subject to a fine of 1*d.* pro quolibet pede. For claim for damage done by a sow with 4 porcelli all unringed to teazles (tasyl-plants), onions and garlic in a garden, also by 3 pigs qui devastaverunt brasium (malt) et siromellum (?), see Maldon Rolls, 12/6; cf. hortum plenum de tasyl, ibid. 10/6.

[9] i.e. Agistment, Halliwell, 31, 487; J. C. Cox, 41, where the payments are for cattle, horses and goats; see Murray, s.v. *Gist*. For a gîte amounting to 24 sols per annum paid by the inhabitants of Longueville near Provins (Seine et Marne) for pasturage for grosses bestes, also de prinre aisselles (planks) aux cochiers d'icelle forestz pour leurs maisons et edifices, also bois mort pour ardoir and pasturage for their pigs except during the month of May, see Artois de Jubainville, ii. 74. For droit de gîte in the woods of Isle and Chavurce near Troyes (Aube), see Boutiot, ii. 334, including bread, wine, meat and beds for the huntsmen and pain et logis for the dogs. For nachtseld in Bavaria, see Riezler, 546, 567, where the word is connected with selde, schilda (=mansio, habitacio). For selde in solario superedificato at Colchester, see Benham, 10; cf. in domibus et seldis (1286), Gross, Select Cases. For the Great Selde in the Mercery, see Riley, Mem. 134. For the Selde of the Candlemakers in Chepe, see ibid. 22; also of the Tanners, ibid. 343; Letter Book I, p. 100. For a tenement called "le Brokenselde" in West Chepe, see Sharpe, Wills, ii. 424; Riley, Mem. 183; Letter Book I, p. 109, where it is one of the Sheriff's counters in 1412. For a selda on the bridge at Exeter in 1319, see Cotton and Dallas, v. 112. For selds in front of houses, see ibid. v. 42; selda et solarium superpositum, ibid. v. 86; see also Wylie, iv. 361; also "sheald," ibid. ii. 125, or "shield," Fox-Bourne, 18.

and 1421 showing totals of 142 and 162 respectively[1]. In these lists women appear exactly on the same footing as men, and in cases of death the widow is allowed to continue her husband's holding without (incurring) a fine[2]. All have to pay a chevage or poll-tax[3] every year to the lord as well as the share of the common fine[4] payable to the crown from the township. The whole was grouped in tithings or sets of 10[5] and every resident was bound to be a member of one or other of them[6], and all idle comers and goers had to void the place or to be set fast till all men knew what good they had to live by[7]. Each tithing was held responsible as pledges[8] or security (mainprise[9]) for the good conduct of every one of its members[10], being liable to vicarious fines and distraints in case the original offender could not be got at. One of their number was recognised as the "Chief Pledge[11]," the others being the 2nd, 3rd, &c. down

[1] Clark, 12.

[2] Waltham Rolls, Feb. 14, 1420.

[3] Chevagium, Clark, 15; cf. capitagium, Scrope, 155, 163; see Murray, s.v. *Chevage*.

[4] At Chatham Hall the common fine for the manor for the years 1415 to 1422 varies from 13*d*. to 16*d*. per annum. There is an entry on the Roll, Aug. 24, 1555, communis finis null quod leta est null.

[5] Cf. "ten manne tale," Murray, Dict., s.v. *Frithborh* (i.e. pledge of peace); Hallam 420. Clark (15) thinks that at this time the number in each tithing had fallen to abou four, though in the Chatham Hall Roll on Mar. 25, 1329, there is a list of six tithing where the numbers vary from 7 to 16 including two chief pledges in each. On April 22 1337, there are six tithings with from 7 to 15; also in 1343 with from 8 to 13; but in al three cases the average works out to about 10 per tithing, i.e. the total is 60 in 1329, 5 in 1337, and 56 in 1343, see Eng. Hist. Rev. xix. 716-718. For a dizaine called brigad de dix hommes, see Vallet de Viriville, i. 100; cf. decennarius cum tota decennia, Scrope 158. In Scrope, 234, the decennarius at Castlecombe is charged with the duty of col lecting the 15*s*. granted to the king in 1416. For 18*d*. paid to be exempt from offic decenar', see Chatham Hall, April 2, 1342.

[6] Scrope, 234, quoting Littleton, for precept that no one was to dwell in an town or place unless enrolled in some pledge or suretyship; also Green, 106; thoug permission might be obtained for a few pence to live infra dominium but extra decenar (capitagium, chevagium), Scrope, 163, 165.

[7] For a misericordia (or fine) of 6*d*. imposed on a youth who manet cum patre suo e non est in decena, see Chatham Hall, April 21, 1310; also a mother fined 3*d*. pro recep tamento for her son who resides with her and is extra decenam, see ibid. April 9, 1325.

[8] Cf. "we pledge him," Melusine=nous le plesgeons, Arras, 93; cf. invenir plegium de pace et de se bene gerend. erga populum domini regis, Chatham Hall, Apri 20, 1378. For plegio proprio in placito debiti, see Maldon Rolls, 10/7, Feb. 20, 1413 In Chatham Hall, Feb. 15, 1343, a nativus recepit quoddam Mattok, Capt. de Johann Saward sine pleg. invent.

[9] For William Trewe and his "maynpas" charged with cutting down a hedge, se Waltham Roll, Oct. 8, 1398.

[10] In Green, 190, "frank-pledge"=the free engagement of neighbour for neighbou which "tended to make every one his neighbour's policeman," Cov. Leet, p. ix.

[11] Capitalis plegius, Chatham Hall, Mar. 29, 1334; capitales plegii, Clark, 15, wh translates it "the Headmen of the pledge," though usually called "chief pledges," a Chandler, 3, 112, 123, 155; or "capital pledges," Cowell, s.v. *Pledge*. The latte

to the 7th or 8th pledge[1] in a descending order of "disposability[2]," though, as with all other obligation, exemption from this duty might usually be obtained by paying for it[3].

The number of chief pledges at Great Waltham ranges pretty constantly between 33 and 35[4], so that the total number of the tithing men may be estimated at from 300 to 350[5], which may be taken as a fair index of the total number of adult male population[6]. Most of the necessary village trades appear in the list, such as the butcher[7], the baker[8], the brewer[9], the malter[10], the alehousekeeper[11], the

seems to be the true construction, e.g. "les chiefs plegges" in Stat. i. 246; Pollock and Maitland, i. 586, and individual men are called primus plegius, tertius plegius, &c., see Waltham Rolls, Nov. 1403; Chatham Hall, April 22, 1337, though on June 4, 1395, James Porter is capitalis plegii, also Walter Parker in 1422, and in 1416 there is an entry de denariis capitalium plegii; cf. plegii, per licentiam pleggiorum, Scrope, 158. For 22 capitanei at Agen in 1346, see Magen, 70.

[1] For the phrase ponit se ad legem (or fecit legem) se quinta manu with five names following, see Maldon Rolls, 12/1; or se xi^{a} manu (with 11 names following besides that of the man himself) or se sextamanu, ibid. 1/1, Sept. 11, 1402; or se xii^{a} manu, ibid. 2/3, Feb. 15, 1406.

[2] For persone que juxta leges et statuta regn Anglie *viri plegiabiles* existunt, see Pat. 6 H. V, 14, Feb. 11, 1419.

[3] e.g. for *6d.*, Waltham Rolls, May 20, 1397.

[4] e.g. in 1399, 1400, 1401 there were 33, 35 and 33 respectively, Clark, 15. In Chatham Hall there were 13 chief pledges on April 20, 1378, and 16 on April 14, 1412, and throughout the reign of Henry V.

[5] In Chatham Hall there were six tithings, the total of the tithing men being 63 and 73 in 1329 and 1337 respectively. Clark (Serfdom, 483) shows from the number of those who paid the common fine of *1d.* each (to the lord) at the Chatham Hall leets, that the number of resident labourers in the manor between 13 and 60 years of age was 62, 60 and 56 in 1335, 1339 and 1345, falling to 30, 31 and 25 in 1355, 1358 and 1376.

[6] It is estimated at 240 in 1328, but only 123 in 1395, Clark, 211.

[7] Bocher, Maldon Rolls, Sept. 30, 1415. For picture of a butcher killing an ox with his axe from behind, see Lasteyrie, Pl. xiv; Bordier-Charton, i. 411 (from a 13th century window in Chartres Cathedral); P. Durrieu, Turin, Plate xi.

[8] Three in number, Clark, 209; see Wylie, iii. 190; cf. le Bakar, Scrope, 160.

[9] Pistrices, brasciatrices, Clark, 208, 209, who makes all the brewers women; or asciatrix cervisiae, or misciatrix, Chatham Hall, Ap. 5, 1317; brascereses, Bateson, ii. 21. In Scrope, 163, Edith Tailer is braciator.

[10] Maldon Rolls, Jan. 18, 1406; or malster, Rec. Roll 4 H. V, Pasch., July 25, 1416; cf. maltman, Riley, Mem. 645; Wylie, iv. 274.

[11] For alewives in London, see Pauli, Pictures, 447. For Joan Fitzjohn, tapstetricem at Oxford in 1452, see Mem. Acad. ii. 633. In Maldon Rolls, 8/2, May 29, 1413, 20 freemen are fined *3d.* each on the presentation of the aletasters for selling beer cum cephis et aliis falsis mensuris. For three women fined pro gannokyng, see Chatham Hall, Mar. 25, 1329. For women as gannatores (*sic*) servisiae, see Maldon Rolls, 1/2, 5, Jan. 5, April 30, 1403. For Denise la Marechale, who receives payment pour la ferrure des chevaulx at the Hôtel Dieu in Paris in 1416, see Brièle, iii. 32. For Gannoker, see Chandler, 12, 32, 128, 136; Bateson, Leicester, ii. 288; Wylie, iii. 393, note 3; Halliwell, 391, where gannok is a standard; cf. Strattmann, s.v. *Ganneker*, and Murray, Dict., s.v. For gannatrix or gannonatrix, see Chatham Hall, April 17, 1324; Maud Startleing or Starkley, gannetrix, ibid. April 21, 1310; Clark, Serfdom, 480; called "beer-retailers" in Clark, 207. For Bierman (ebrevisiarius, i.e. brewer), see Schmidt, 27. For Lydgate's Ballad (De illis *quae* vendunt cervisiam in Bodl. MS. Rawlinson, c. 48), see MacCracken, p. ix, quoting Madden, Preface to Roxborough Club Syr Gawayne; also Ritson, Bibliographia Poetica.

innholder[1], though if a woman wished to sell the ale she brewed she had to pay a "sister penny" at the Gule of August[2]. For skilled work there was the tanner, the tawger[3], the arrowsmith[4], the bushelmaker[5], the chandler[6], the fanwright[7], the carpenter[8], the cobbler (sutor), the lockyer[9], the tailor, the glover[10], the mercer[11], the fisher (or fishmonger[12]), the tinker[13], the wheeler (or wheelwright[14]) and the webbe[15], and in professional life the minstrel[16], the cook[17], the schoolmaster[18] and the doctor[19]. Outside work is done by the collier[20] (or charcoal-burner), the lime-burner[21], the barker[22], the hebber[23], the delver[24], the pioneer[25], the pitmaker[26], the skirmisher[27] and other arm-varlets or handworkers[28] who found a livelihood by means of their bone and muscle. Women found occupation as maltsters[29], brewsters, hostelers

[1] Benham, 78. For pandixatrix, see Chatham Hall, April 23, 1359; communis pandixatrix, Maldon Roll, Sept. 23, 1420; hosteler, ibid. Dec. 18, 1413.

[2] Ad gulam Augusti (i.e. Aug. 1), see Hampson, i. 192; ii. 334.

[3] Dealbator correi, Clark, 71, 207, where he makes harvest gloves.

[4] Arwesmyth, Chatham Hall, Oct. 10, 1335.

[5] Maldon Roll, 7/2.

[6] Chaundeler, ibid. Oct. 1, 1414.

[7] Or fanner, Wylie, iv. 271; cf. Fannerscroft, Waltham Rolls, May 16, 1397.

[8] Maldon Roll, Nov. 5, 1414. In Chatham Hall, April 13, 1316, a nativus agrees cum domino quod debuit esse cum [eo] in officio carpentarii.

[9] Maldon Roll, Feb. 13, 1413; serrurier, Caxton, Dial. 2, 46; cf. claveurier pour cliefs claveures et courroiz, Darne, 27.

[10] Maldon Roll, Dec. 18, 1413; Oct. 28, 1420.

[11] Ibid. Oct. 2, 1413.

[12] Piscenarius, Clark, 75; fyscher, Chatham Hall, April 14, 1412; Maldon Roll, 13/1, Mar. 17, 1421.

[13] Maldon Roll, Mar. 25, 1420.

[14] Clark, 71.

[15] Clark, 74; cf. Sayer le Webbe, Chatham Hall, April 20, 1308.

[16] Frensche le menstrell, Maldon Roll, Oct. 4, 1406.

[17] John le cocus or le cok, Chatham Hall, Nov. 19, 1313; April 13, 1316.

[18] Johannes scolemastre, Maldon Roll, Jan. 10, 1407.

[19] Medicus, ibid. July 3, 1413.

[20] Clark, 72; Maldon Roll, 10/5; cf. carbonarius, Statham, 102. For colers places, coliers puttes (i.e. pits), see York, 16; cf. brenne al to coles, Laud Troy Bk. 374.

[21] Lymbrenner, Maldon Roll, Jan. 18, 1417.

[22] Ibid. April 29, 1420.

[23] Or heaver, Halliwell, 441. For Nicholas le hebbere, see Clark, Serfdom, 480; otherwise the helber or helder, Chatham Hall, Sept. 23, 1308; April 21, 1310; Sept. 6, 1344.

[24] Terraceur, Darne, 27; cf. 25 chaettes de terre a faire les terraces du pignon (?gable) de la grant cuisine (in the castle at Angers) et la terrace du travers de la chambre du portier, also carting la terre et la faign (i.e. fange, *not* foin), ibid. 60. For a but and a ben separated by an earthen wall, see Duclaux, 244.

[25] For picture of workers with spade and pick, see Sarrazin, 145, 151.

[26] See Wylie, ii. 467; or ditcher, do. ii. 465.

[27] For Simon le Eskyrmessoure at Colchester, see Benham, 70.

[28] For ouvriers de bras qui sont appelez manœuvres, see Darne, 36; cf. varlets de bras, C. Beaurepaire, Invent. Rouen, 30, 32.

[29] For maltman, see Letter Bk. I, 29; Wylie, iv. 274.

and alewives, all of these latter trades being often carried on jointly by women[1], and took all the ordinary duties of tenants in their own right. Out of a list of 162 tenants at Great Waltham 30 are women, of whom 10 are named Alice, the other names being Agnes, Christine[2] and Mary (4 times each), 3 Joans[3], 2 Agathas[4], 2 Catherines, and 1 Eve, while an analysis of lists of 259 men yields 145 Johns[5], 31 Williams, 26 Thomases, 15 Richards, 11 Roberts, 10 Rogers, 9 Edmunds, 4 Walters and 3 Adams, with Geoffrey, Humphrey, Lawrence and Stephen (2 each). The surnames[6] present few special features. "William de la Wardrobe" is there with "William de la Larder" and "John of the Hoostrete" (i.e. High Street), Simon Loveday, Christina Prechour, Margery Bukkeskyn, Isabel Pundyngwyf[7] (who possibly kept the pound) and plenty of "Attes[8]," such as Atte Ashe, Atte Bregge, Atte Forthe, Atte Grene, Atte Hyde, Atte Narmie[9], Atte Parkgate, Atte Roche[10], Atte Wode and so on. The old people surrender their bits of land and household stuff[11] to their young married sons and daughters, and the portions they reserve for their own use yield fitful glimpses of a type of life still singularly persistent in any of the English village homes of to-day. Thus in 1397 Agatha Couchman gives up a messuage known as Couchmans, together with nine acres of land and half-an-acre of meadow, but reserves for herself during the remainder of her life[12]:—(1) a chamber with

[1] See p. 476, note 9. Cf. also fruytesteres, bywesteres, souteresses, &c., Abram, Life, 35.

[2] Cf. Lydg. Min. Po. 123. For Christiana or Christina, see Cotton and Dallas, v. 120, 122, 137; Letter Bk. I, 54 (1406). For Avice (1416), see Hist. MSS. Lord Middleton's Coll. 104.

[3] For two sisters Joan, sisters both alive at the same time in 1402, distinguished as Johanna the elder and Johanna the younger, see Letter Bk. I, 20.

[4] For Agatha, see Cotton and Dallas, v. 81, 93, 138.

[5] Also 67 out of a total of 119 on the fealty list of 1400, Essex Rev. xiii. 223. For Jehannin as a man's name in Normandy, see C. Beaurepaire, Notes, iii. 225.

[6] Fuller, Church Hist. (i. 403), thinks that surnames were fixed in families in England at or about the Conquest.

[7] Essex Rev. xiii. 222.

[8] See Wylie, Vol. IV. p. 377 (Index); Atte Hay, Iss. Roll 3 H. V, Mich., Dec. 20, 1415; do. 4 H. V, Pasch., July 14, 1416; Attehy, Monast. vi. 1521.

[9] Or Narme, Essex Rev. xiii. 224.

[10] Or Rothe, ibid.

[11] For furniture of a peasant's house in France circ. 1350, see Duclaux, 245; also farmer's stock (1345), ibid. 246. For furniture of a Breton house, see Geslin de Bourgogne, III. p. cv.

[12] Called "an amusing multiplicity of reservations" in Clark, 144.

a solar over it, (2) easement or accommodation in the main building[1], (3) the use of an oven in the kitchen with a "lead[2]" (or as we should say a copper or set-pan) and a grinder[3] whenever she pleases, (4) free timber, (5) a share of the garden, (6) room to keep one or two cows and pigs and six sheep, (7) part of the grange for her corn, (8) exclusive use of a plot of ground except as regards the straw needed for the thatch. Or again on March 8, 1401, John Parker surrenders a messuage and a "quarter" of land to his son and daughter-in-law on condition that they shall keep him in food and linen and woollen clothing well and sufficiently for the remainder of his life or pay him 10*s.* a year instead if he prefers it, and across the ages we still seem to hear the inevitable family grumblings as the dotage becomes a burden and the dower is forgot.

[1] Aysiamentum in capitali domo, possibly the same as the Forhouse (1395). Similarly at Chatham Hall on May 28, 1420, a widow soon after the death of her husband demises a messuage of 24 acres reserving for herself her manse and her easement in the kitchen and the spence (en le keepene-spence), cf. Halliwell, 782, s.v. *Spence.*

[2] Cf. unum plumbum cum maskfat (i.e. mashvat), Du Cange, s.v. *Plumbum.* Cf. asportando et excuriando unum plumbum sine licentia, Waltham Rolls, May 16, 1397, translated "for carying of a lede from his copyhold" as a side-note temp. Elizabeth. Cf. "a lede caryed out of a copye tenement," do. do. Oct. 8, 1398. Cf. will of Wm. Wolstanton, Rector of Great Bowden near Market Harborough, Aug. 23, 1403, in which he leaves to his successor unam pelvim cum lavacro et manutergio, unam mappam, unam ollam eneam, unum plumbum et unum massefactum (mashvat), Stocks, Bragg, 74, who refers (p. 76) to his brass in the church at Great Bowden with an earlier one on the underside in Trans. of Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Soc. vol. VI, pt. iv, pp. 222–224.

[3] For the lead and the handmill cum plumbo et mplari as fixtures, see Clark, 147; also the carts and the plough, ibid.

[A lecture by the Author on the Agincourt Roll, delivered on April 27, 1907, to the Royal Historical Society, was apparently intended by him to be inserted as an Appendix to this Volume. As however it will be found in Vol. v. of the 3rd Series of the Transactions of that Society, it has been considered unnecessary to reprint it here.—J. W.]

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